

Mediaeval Studies

Volume 51
1989



Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

THIS VOLUME OF *MEDIAEVAL STUDIES*
IS PUBLISHED IN COMMEMORATION OF
THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GRANTING OF THE PONTIFICAL CHARTER
AND
THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING
OF
THE PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

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This volume has been published with aid from
a grant from the Social Sciences
and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

ISBN 0-88844-653-5
ISSN 0076-5872

Printed by
UNIVERSA-WETTEREN-BELGIUM

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UNIVOCITY OF THE CONCEPT OF BEING IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: III. AN EARLY SCOTIST*

Stephen F. Brown and Stephen D. Dumont

THE two previous studies in this series have shown that Scotus's doctrine of a concept of being univocally common to God and creatures was variously interpreted and at times critically received even by his closest students.¹ The object of the present study is two early fourteenth-century questions which constitute perhaps the period's most comprehensive exposition and defense of Scotus's

¹ Stephen D. Dumont, 'The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Fourteenth Century: John Duns Scotus and William of Alnwick', *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987) 1-75; 'The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Fourteenth Century: II. The *De ente* of Peter Thomae', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988) 186-256.

Brown is responsible for the edition of the text and the *apparatus criticus* and Dumont for the study and the *apparatus fontium*. The works of Aristotle are abbreviated according to H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek Dictionary*, 9th edition (Oxford, 1968), p. xix. The punctuation and orthography of all sources quoted from early printed editions and manuscripts is given according to modern convention.

The following abbreviations are used in both the study and in the *apparatus fontium* of the edition:

<i>Add. magn.</i>	= <i>Additiones magnaे.</i>
<i>Lect.</i>	= <i>Lectura.</i>
<i>Misc.</i>	= <i>Quaestiones miscellaneae de formalitatibus.</i>
<i>Ord.</i>	= <i>Ordinatio.</i>
<i>QQ De an.</i>	= <i>Quaestiones super libros Aristotelis De anima.</i>
<i>QQ Metaph.</i>	= <i>Quaestiones subtilissimae super libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis.</i>
<i>Quod.</i>	= <i>Quaestiones quodlibetales.</i>
<i>Theor.</i>	= <i>Theoremata.</i>
<i>ArL</i>	= <i>Aristoteles Latinus</i> , ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Bruges-Paris, 1939-).
<i>AvL</i>	= <i>Avicenna Latinus. Liber de philosophia prima sive scientia divina</i> , ed. S. van Riet, 2 vols. (Louvain-Leiden, 1977-80).
<i>Iunt.</i>	= <i>Aristotelis Opera omnia cum Averrois commentariis</i> , 11 vols. (Venice: apud Iuntas, 1562-74).
<i>SQO</i>	= <i>Henrici a Gandavo Summae quaestionum ordinariarum</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1520; rpt. St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1953).
<i>Vat.</i>	= <i>I. Duns Scoti Opera omnia studio et cura Commissionis Scotisticae ad fidem codicum edita praeside Carolo Balic</i> , vols. 1-7, 16-18 (Vatican City, 1950-82).
<i>Vivès</i>	= <i>Joannis Duns Scoti Opera omnia</i> . Editio nova iuxta editionem Waddingi XII tomos continentem . . . recognita. 26 vols. (Paris: Vivès, 1891-95).

The following abbreviations have been used only in the *apparatus fontium* of the edition:

doctrine of univocity. They are the *Quaestiones ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus* contained in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 869, fols. 29r-44r (= A).² Written by a follower of Scotus at Paris sometime between

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|---------------------|---|
| Brown ¹ | = Stephen F. Brown, 'Richard of Conington and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', <i>Franziskanische Studien</i> 48 (1966) 297-307. |
| Brown ² | = ———, 'Robert Cowton, O.F.M. and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', <i>Franciscan Studies</i> 31 (1971) 5-40. |
| Doucet | = Victorinus Doucet, 'L'œuvre scolaistique de Richard de Conington, O.F.M.', <i>Archivum franciscanum historicum</i> 29 (1936) 396-442. |
| Dumont ¹ | = Stephen D. Dumont, 'The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Fourteenth Century: John Duns Scotus and William of Alnwick', <i>Mediaeval Studies</i> 49 (1987) 1-75. |
| Dumont ² | = ———, 'The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Fourteenth Century: II. The <i>De ente</i> of Peter Thomae', <i>Mediaeval Studies</i> 50 (1988) 186-256. |

² A complete description of Vat. lat. 869 is given by August Pelzer, *Codices vaticani latini I-1134*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1931), 2.242-54 and by Prospero T. Stella, "Res generabilis simplex est": Il radicalismo antiilemorfico di Tommaso Barneby et di Giacomo di Carseto nella recensione di Pietro Tomás (Thomae)', *Salesianum* 38 (1976) 755-806 and 'Erronea et horrenda...pulchra et solemnis...Antropologie in concorrenza nel *Com. in I-II De anima* di Pietro Tomás', *Aquinas* 21 (1978) 400-438. On the contents of Vat. lat. 869, see also Franz Peleter, 'Godfroid de Fontaines. Les manuscrits de ses Quolibets conservés à la Vaticane et dans quelques autres bibliothèques', *Revue neo-scolastique de philosophie* 20 (1913) 370 note 2; 'Handschriftliches zu Skotus mit neuen Angaben über sein Leben', *Franziskanische Studien* 10 (1923) 28; 'Franziskanerlehrer um die Wende des 13. und zu Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts in zwei ehemaligen Turiner Hss.', *Gregorianum* 18 (1937) 306-307; Ephrem Longpré, 'Le Quolibet de Nicolas de Lyre, O.F.M.', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 23 (1930) 42-56; Victorinus Doucet, 'Descriptio codicis 172 Bibliotae communalis Assisiensis', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 25 (1932) 268 note 1, 269 notes 1 and 2, 389 note 1; 'L'œuvre scolaistique de Richard de Conington, O.F.M.', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 29 (1936) 420 note 1, 423-24; 'Der unbekannte Skotist des Vaticanus lat. 1113 Fr. Anfredus Gonteri O.F.M. (1325)', *Franziskanische Studien* 25 (1938) 239; *Commentaires sur les Sentences. Supplément au Répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmueller* (Quaracchi, 1954), p. 36 no. 267; Stephen F. Brown, 'Sources for Ockham's Prologue to the *Sentences*', *Franciscan Studies* 26 (1966) 53, 59-65; Joachim Vennebusch, 'Die Einheit der Seele nach einem anonymen Aristoteleskommentar aus der Zeit des Thomas von Aquin und des Siger von Brabant (Vat. lat. 869, ff. 200r-210v)', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 33 (1966) 39-80; Scotus, 1 *Ord.* 'Adnotationes ad nonnullas quaestiones circa Ordinationem I. Duns Scoti' (ed. Vat. 4.28* note 1); Charles H. Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries, Authors: G-I', *Traditio* 24 (1968) 193; 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors Jacobus-Johannes Juff', *Traditio* 26 (1970) 193; Jozef De Raedemaeker, 'Informations concernant quelques commentaires du *De anima*', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 10-12 (1968-70) 196; Marc Dykmans, 'Les frères mineurs d'Avignon au début de 1333 et le sermon de Gautier de Chatton sur la vision beatifique', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 38 (1971) 127-28 note 72; Gedeon Gál, 'Henricus de Harclay: Quaestio de significato conceptus universalis', *Franciscan Studies* 31 (1971) 179; Adriaan Pattin, 'Documentation concernant la controverse des formes au moyen âge', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 13 (1971) 96; Marco Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968-1980)* 2 vols. (Studi e testi 318-19, Vatican City, 1986) 2.1007-1006; William J. Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham. An Introduction to His Life and Writings* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 32, 175, 215; Stephen D. Dumont, 'The Scotist of Vat. lat. 869', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 81 (1988) 254-83; Walter Chatton, *Reportatio et Lectura super Sententias: Collatio ad librum primum et Prologus*, ed. Joseph C. Wey (Toronto, 1989), 'Introduction', p. 6 note 17.

the years 1312 and 1316, these questions are important for the historical light they shed on Scotus's contemporaries Richard of Conington, Robert Cowton, and William of Alnwick, as well as for the clarifications they offer for Scotus's teaching on univocity. Although, as it turns out, this early Scotist left a sizeable corpus of writings, his exact identity remains elusive.

AUTHOR, WORKS AND DATE³

In addition to the above two ordinary questions, our Scotist wrote three other works contained in the same manuscript: a lengthy set of questions on the first two books of the *De anima* (A fols. 51r-101r)⁴ and questions 5 and 7 of the so-called *Quaestiones miscellaneae de formalitatibus* (A fols. 44v-51v) printed by Wadding among the works of Scotus. The latter of these two 'miscellaneous questions' is in fact our author's initial question of his projected commentary on the *Physics*.⁵ Thus, some seventy folios of A form a continuous set of tracts by our author:

- (A fols. 29r-44r): *Duae quaestiones ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus*
(Edited below, pp. 39-129)
- (A fols. 44r-48r): *Quaestio: 'Utrum perfectissimus conceptus possibilis haberi de Deo a viatore ex puris naturalibus sit conceptus entis infiniti'*
(= *Misc. q.5* [Vives 5.384-404])
- (A fols. 48r-51v): *Quaestio in libros Physicorum: 'Utrum scientia naturalis sit scientia una'* (= *Misc. q.7* [Vives 5.417-32])
- (A fols. 51v-101r): *Quaestiones in libros I et II De anima* (Partially edited by Stella in 'Res generabilis simplex', 780-803 [= A fols. 70va-75va] and 'Erronea et horrenda', 400-38).

It is possible that our Scotist is also the author of the *Quaestiones de cognitione Dei*, contained in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 890 (fols. 41r-42v) and printed by Wadding as a genuine work of Scotus (Vives 5.318-37). In his *QQ De anima* our author has appropriated large sections of these *Quaes-*

³ This section is a summary of the results and evidence presented in Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 254-83.

⁴ Cross-references between the two works established that the same author wrote the *QQ ord. de conceptibus transcendentibus* and the *QQ De anima* in A. See Longpré, 'Nicolas de Lyre', pp. 43-44 no. 3; Doucet, 'Richard de Conington', p. 423 note 1; Stella, 'Res generabilis simplex', 770-77; Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 257. See the *apparatus fontium* below to Q.1 (l. 1245) and Q.2 (ll. 1068-69) and the *apparatus criticus* to Q.1 (ll. 894, 1515).

⁵ On the authorship of these two *Quaestiones miscellaneae*, see Palémon Glorieux, 'A propos de "Vatic. lat. 1086". Le personnel enseignant de Paris vers 1311-14', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 5 (1933) 37; Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 263-67.

tiones de cognitione Dei, which deal chiefly with Scotus's distinction between intuitive and abstractive cognition.⁶ In addition to these known works, our author refers to his other writings which have yet to be discovered. Principal among these are a third *Quaestio ordinaria de conceptibus transcendentibus* entitled 'Utrum ens et unum dicant eandem naturam', a set of questions on the third book of the *De anima*, and a commentary on the *Sentences*. He also cites as his own various other disputed questions: 'Utrum infinitum dicat aliquid additum rei', 'Utrum potentia obiectiva dicat aliquid positivum',⁷ 'Utrum idem possit movere se ipsum', *Quaestio de causa individuationis*, *Quaestio de virtutibus*, and a *Quaestio de actu*.⁸

These Scotistic questions in A can be confidently dated between the years 1312 and 1316 on the basis of their citation of contemporary sources.⁹ Thus, the questions on the transcendentals utilize and criticize Alnwick's *Commentary on the Sentences* (before 1314),¹⁰ the questions on the *De anima* quote *Quodlibet* 1.2 of Gui Terrena (1313), calling him a *quidam doctor novus*,¹¹ and the disputed question on the concept of infinite being is a prolonged attack on the Parisian master of theology, John of Mount St. Eligius (1311-14).¹² None of these

⁶ On the relation of the *Quaestiones de cognitione Dei* to our author's *QQ De anima*, see Longpré, 'Nicolas de Lyre', p. 43 no. 5 and Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 268-72. I now find our author's borrowing from the *Quaestiones de cognitione Dei* to be less than compelling evidence that he is their author. When our author borrows from his own works, he appears to cite them explicitly. See notes 4 above and 8 below. There are, however, no explicit cross-references between any of our author's known works and the *Quaestiones de cognitione Dei*.

⁷ Compare a similar question by James of Ascoli in his *Quodlibet* 1.5: 'Utrum potentia quae est differentia entis sit potentia obiectiva vel potentia subiectiva.' See Ludwig Hödl, 'Die Seinsdifferenz des Möglichen im Quodlibet des Jakob von Ascoli OM (Quaestio 5 - Einführung und Edition)' in *Die Philosophie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. In memoriam Konstanty Michalski (1879-1947)*, ed. Olaf Pluta (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 465-94.

⁸ For our author's citations of his other works, see Stella, 'Res generabilis simplex', 770-72 and Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 277-79. See below Q.1 (ll. 681-682, 696, 1704); Q.2 (ll. 112, 466, 494, 523, 1008, 1087).

⁹ For the complete evidence on the dating of these questions, see Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 272-77.

¹⁰ In the first question our author uses Alnwick as a source for arguments against Henry of Ghent and Richard of Conington, while in the second he reports and attacks Alnwick's criticisms of Scotus. Our author's quotations of Alnwick's texts are so accurate that A served as another witness in my edition of Alnwick's 1 *Sent. q.8* (Dumont, 'Alnwick', 31).

¹¹ For the texts, see Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 273-74. At issue is Scotus's distinction between intuitive and abstractive cognition. See also Gui's *Quod. 6.5* 'Utrum alicui viatori Deus possit communicare de se et propriorum suorum sub perfectis et distinctis rationibus notitiam abstractivam' (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Borghese 39, fols. 223r-224v). On Gui's treatment of Scotus's doctrine of intuitive and abstractive cognition, see Bartholomaeus Xiberta, 'De doctrinis theologicis Magistri Guidonis Terreni', *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum* 5 (1925) 273-74; Stephen D. Dumont, 'Theology as a Science and Duns Scotus's Distinction between Intuitive and Abstractive Cognition', *Speculum* 64 (1989) 593, 595-96.

¹² *Misc. q.5 n.3* (Vives 5.385a). An abbreviated version of John of Mount St. Eligius's *Quodlibet* attacked by our author is preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1086,

questions in A, however, can be after 1317 since their author, who is certainly Franciscan and writing at Paris, is unaware of Peter Aureoli's radical criticism of Scotus's central doctrines of intuitive cognition and univocity.¹³ That our author is Franciscan is attested by his dedication to the positions of Scotus¹⁴ and his detailed knowledge of contemporary Franciscan works.¹⁵ His presence in Paris is documented by his claim to have heard Gerard of Bologna and Francis Caracciolo (*Cancellarius*), the Chancellor of the University of Paris from 1309 to 1316, maintain that the human soul is *per accidens* extended.¹⁶

fol. 127r-128r. See Palémon Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique II* (Paris, 1935), 2.156-57; Pelzer, *Codici vaticani*, 2.660.

¹³ For Aureoli's doctrine of intuition see, Katherine H. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham. Optics, Epistemology and the Foundations of Semantics 1250-1345* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 85-112; for his doctrine of univocity see, Stephen Brown, 'Avicenna and the Unity of the Concept of Being. The Interpretations of Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, Gerard of Bologna and Peter Aureoli', *Franciscan Studies* 25 (1965) 135-48. Aureoli, like Henry of Ghent, denies that being has a single univocal *ratio* and, like Alnwick, maintains against Scotus that being is predicated *in quid* of ultimate differences and the other transcendentals. If our author had known of Aureoli's positions, he certainly would have reported and attacked them together with Henry's and Alnwick's, as in fact Peter Thomae does a few years later (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', 193, 218-21, 238-47).

¹⁴ Although in the questions edited below our author mentions Scotus by name only twice (Q.1 [l. 1750] and Q.2 [l. 842]), his knowledge of and adherence to Scotus is thorough. For example, when arguing against Alnwick, his allegiance to Scotus is clear: '... non recedendo a dictis eius [sc. Scoti], dico 'Et ideo [sc. Scotus] dicit, et ego dico cum eo ...' (Q.2 [ll. 901, 905-906]). Again, when appropriating Scotus's own arguments, he says: '... ut nota sit omnibus conclusio quam teneo, inducam rationes alias mihi satis efficaces ...' (Q.2 [ll. 125-126]).

¹⁵ For example, in his *QQ De anima* our author cites Thomas Barnaby and James Carsetto, Franciscan theologians whose positions were apparently known to but not named by Scotus: '... dicunt aliqui quod nulla res generabilis et corruptibilis includit duo entia positiva realiter distincta, sed tantum unam realitatem positivam, quae a Thoma Banaby vocatur materia et a Jacobo de Carsesto vocatur forma' (Stella, 'Res generabilis simplex', p. 782.35-37). Scotus, who is our author's source here, reports the same opinion without naming Barnaby and Carsetto in 2 *Ord. d.12 q.1 n.3* (Vives 12.547b). Our author's identification of this opinion about hylomorphism is confirmed by a manuscript of Peter of Aquila's *Sentences*. In Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1078, fol. 68r, the annotation 'opinio iacobi de carsetto' occurs in the margin opposite the following text: '... est una opinio quae dicit quod materia non dicit entitatem positivam distinctam a forma, sed in substantia generabili et corruptibili est tantummodo una entitas positiva, quae a quibusdam dicitur materia, a quibusdam vero forma' (Peter of Aquila, 2 *Sent. d.12 q.1 a.1* [ed. Speyer, unfoliated]). Barnaby was a Fellow of Merton College and the twenty-third lector at the Oxford convent from 1291 to 1292 (A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 3 vols. [Oxford, 1957-59] 1.111). James of Carsetto or Quesnoy was the Master of Theology at Paris under whom Vital du Four read the *Sentences* between 1290 and 1292 (Pelzer, *Codici vaticani* 2.698; Palémon Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1933], 2.328). Carsetto was attacked by Godfrey of Fontaines in his *Quod. 10.13*, disputed sometime between 1293 and 1295 (Jean Hoffmans and Auguste Pelzer, *Études sur les manuscrits des Quodlibets de Godefroid de Fontaines*, [Les philosophes belges 14; Louvain, 1937], p. 235 note 1).

¹⁶ For texts, see Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 274-75. Our Scotist goes on to report that another doctor thought the position of Gerard of Bologna and Francis Caracciolo on the extension of the

Three candidates for the author of these Scotistic questions in A have been suggested: John of Reading, William of Alnwick, and Peter Thomae. There is simply no evidence to support the claim for John of Reading. Alnwick is certainly not the author of these questions since the second of the *QQ ord. de conceptibus transcendentibus* is a detailed refutation of his theory of univocity.¹⁷ Nor can the evidence put forward in favor of Peter Thomae be sustained.¹⁸ Moreover, as we shall see below, although both our Scotist and Peter Thomae criticize at length Alnwick's question on univocity, they arrive at irreconcilable interpretations of Scotus's doctrine. Who, then, is the author of these Scotistic works? A survey of Scotists of the period on the representative issues of univocity and intuitive cognition has produced no definitive answer. Circumstantial evidence points in the direction of either Hugh of Newcastle or Anfredus Gonterus.¹⁹ At present, however, it can only be said with confidence that our author was a Franciscan, a follower of Scotus, and active in Paris in the first decade after the death of his master.

THE TWO *QUAESTIONES ORDINARIAE DE CONCEPTIBUS TRANSCENDENTIBUS*

As has been shown in the previous articles in this series, Scotus's doctrine of univocity actually comprises two related parts.²⁰ The first is that there is an

soul 'smacked of heresy': 'Sed contra istos doctores invehebat unus alius doctor, dicens quod illud erat periculose dictum et sapiebat heresim, videbatur enim declinare ad opinionem Commentatoris, qui posuit animam intellectivam esse corpoream. Dicebat enim se nescire videre quomodo aliquid possit esse forma in materia, et tamen separari a materia vel secundum esse vel secundum opinionem. Sed salva duos doctores reverentia, non enim bene imponebat sibi <heresim>' (*QQ De anima* q.7 [A fols. 65rb-va]). Opposite the text in the margin is the annotation 'G hermite', which doubtless refers to Gregory of Lucca whose *Quodlibet* is put between 1310 and 1311 (Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique II*, p. 106).

¹⁷ On Reading and Alnwick, see Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 255-56; cf. Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 4 note 9 and p. 20 note 63.

¹⁸ Prospero Stella has argued that our author's citation of his own *quaestio de unitate minori unitate numerali*, which occurs below in Q.1 (l. 1245), is a reference to the *Quaestiones de unitate minori* of Peter Thomae. This, however, is not the case. Rather, our author is citing a question by that title from his own *QQ De anima* (A fol. 66ra-b). The text our author has in view is given below in the *apparatus fontium* to Q.1 (l. 1245) (Stella, 'Res generabilis simplex', 776; Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 257-60; cf. Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 31 note 109; 'Peter Thomae', p. 187 note 3).

¹⁹ For the evidence, see Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 280-83. As noted below on p. 37, the annotation *de anglia* is opposite a fragment of our text preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 829, fol. 141rb. If our author is English, then he is not Anfredus Gonterus and probably not Hugh of Newcastle, who is thought to be from Lorraine (Valens Heynck, 'Der Skotist Hugo de Novo Castro OFM. Ein Bericht über den Stand der Forschung zu seinem Leben und zu seinem Schrifttum', *Franziskanische Studien* 43 [1961] 264-67).

²⁰ Dumont, 'Alnwick', 3-4, 19; Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', 215-16.

irreducibly simple concept of being univocally common to God and creatures.²¹ Robert Cowton and especially Richard of Conington were early and vigorous opponents of this part of Scotus's doctrine.²² William of Alnwick in turn defended this aspect of Scotus's univocity against Cowton and Conington, particularly against the revival by Conington of Henry of Ghent's version of analogy.²³ The second part of Scotus's doctrine of univocity is that the univocal concept of being cannot be essentially contained in or predicated of all else that is intelligible. Specifically, Scotus argues that being cannot be essentially or 'quidditatively' included in either ultimate differences or the other transcendentals.²⁴ Despite upholding against Cowton and Conington the first part of Scotus's teaching on univocity, Alnwick himself levelled an extensive and influential attack on the second part. According to Alnwick, Scotus was inconsistent to admit a univocal concept of being and then to deny that it could be essentially included in everything to which it was univocal.²⁵

Our author's two surviving questions on the transcendental concepts correspond to these two parts of Scotus's doctrine and constitute responses to the contemporary criticisms of them. The first question defends, against the criticisms of Conington and Cowton, Scotus's doctrine that being is conceivable as univocally common to God and creatures. Although in this question our Scotist is heavily dependent upon Alnwick's similar defense of a few years earlier, his treatment is more thorough and contains clarifications of both Scotus's position and of Conington's actual historical role in the debate. The second question is a protracted refutation of Alnwick's attack on the second part of Scotus's doctrine. There would follow other defenses of Scotus against Alnwick on this issue, but our author's was the earliest, the longest, and the most thorough.

UNIVOCITY AND THE NATURAL KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

Our Scotist's first question can be divided into three long articles. The first defines the operative terms of the question, namely, *conceptus*, *conceptus simpliciter*

²¹ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.26-55, 138-46, 152-66; d.8 nn.51-79 (Vat. 3.18-38, 86-91, 94-103; 4.173-89); cf. 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.21-34, 105-123; d.8 nn.60-81 (Vat. 16.232-37, 264-273; 17.20-28).

²² On Richard of Conington's defense of Henry's analogy, see Stephen F. Brown, 'Richard of Conington and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', *Franziskanische Studien* 48 (1966) 297-307; Doucet, 'Richard de Conington', 396-442. On Cowton's doctrine of analogy, see Stephen F. Brown, 'Robert Cowton, O.F.M. and the Analogy of the Concept of Being', *Franciscan Studies* 31 (1971) 5-40. Cf. Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 4 notes 7 and 9.

²³ Dumont, 'Alnwick', 4-9, 38-42, 62-69.

²⁴ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.131-37, 147-51 (Vat. 3.81-86, 91-94); cf. 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.99-104 (Vat. 16.261-64).

²⁵ Dumont, 'Alnwick', 19-31, 45-54; Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', 202-204, 219-21, 247-56.

simplex, *intentio prima*, and *unitas univocationis*.²⁶ The second is the author's own response in favor of univocity, which is based largely on the texts of Scotus and Alnwick.²⁷ The third is a series of *dubia* and *motiva* drawn from the arguments of Conington and Cowton against univocity, together with our author's replies.²⁸ The first article, which seems to have circulated separately, holds historical interest, since in it our author has made regular use of the *Theoremata* attributed to Scotus.²⁹ As indicated above, the second and third articles are to some extent a compilation of texts from Scotus and Alnwick arrayed against the arguments of Henry of Ghent, Conington, and Cowton. Our Scotist, however, was not entirely slavish in his appropriation of material and was expansive on two points in particular. First, our author elaborates on objections posed by Scotus to his second principal argument for univocity and identifies their source. Secondly, our author comments at length on Scotus's solution to the fundamental difficulty posed by his doctrine of univocity: how can what is wholly diverse in reality agree in any real concept? We shall presently consider only the first of these two points, leaving discussion of the second to the next section on being and difference.

Our Scotist, like Alnwick before him, reduces Scotus's position on univocity to three principal arguments taken from 1 *Ordinatio*, dd. 3 and 8.³⁰ Scotus's strategy in the second of these principal arguments is to show that Henry of Ghent cannot consistently deny a univocal concept of being and maintain that knowledge of the divine nature is naturally available.³¹ Henry holds that being and the other

²⁶ Below, Q.1 (ll. 45-215).

²⁷ Below, Q.1 (ll. 217-1079).

²⁸ Below, Q.1 (ll. 1081-1891).

²⁹ See the *apparatus fontium* below to Q.1 (ll. 46-58, 64-66, 87-109, 110-121, 135-136) and to Q.2 (ll. 77-81, 100-105, 144-147). For Peter Thomae's citations of the *Theoremata* and a bibliography on their attribution to Scotus, see Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 188 note 5.

³⁰ Below, Q.1 (ll. 223-259, 391-429, 754-785); Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 42.208-45.275). For the texts of Scotus, see notes 21 and 24 above and parallel passages given in Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 8 note 18. Scotus himself lists as many as ten arguments for univocity (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.44 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti' [Vat. 3.29.3-10]). Alnwick, however, prefers the arguments of Scotus's *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.5 (Vives 7.147b-48a) to those of the *Lectura* and *Ordinatio*. According to Alnwick, the former arguments had not been refuted by the opponents of univocity (Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 54.553-555). Curiously, in *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 Scotus putatively denies univocity. On the resolution of the anomaly presented by the text in *QQ Metaph.* 4.1, see Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 200-201, especially notes 54-56. A recent commentary on the questions in 1 *Ord.* dd. 3 and 8 dealing with univocity can be found in Jean Duns Scot. *Sur la connaissance de Dieu et l'univocité de l'étant*, trans. Olivier Boulnois (Paris, 1988).

³¹ '... secunda de impossibilitate intelligendi Deum in via... ' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.44 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti' [Vat. 3.29.4-5]). Henry holds that the divine nature (*quid est*) can be naturally known by conceiving the attributable perfections of creatures, such as being, goodness, and truth, as absolutely undetermined. Henry, however, qualifies this knowledge of God as merely universal and confused (*in generali*) as opposed to particular and distinct, and as incidental (*per accidens*) as opposed to essential. See *SQO* 24.6-7, 9 (1.141L-144K, 146r-147z). While Scotus agrees with Henry's first limitation on our natural knowledge of God, he differs with him on the second. According to Scotus,

attributable perfections through which the divine nature is known can only be conceived as proper to God or as proper to creatures, but never as common to both.³² What is more, according to Scotus, these two proper concepts are in Henry's doctrine irreducibly simple.³³ Thus, in Scotus's view, Henry's only explanation for natural knowledge of the divine nature is that creatures directly cause a simple, proper concept of God. The core of Scotus's second proof for univocity is that creatures cannot cause any such simple, proper concept of God. They therefore either cause a common concept of God, which Henry denies, or none at all. Scotus himself abbreviates his argument as follows:

- Major: No object can cause a simple, proper concept of another object unless it contains that other object essentially or virtually.³⁴
- Minor: No creature essentially or virtually contains anything proper to God.
- Therefore, no creature can cause a simple, proper concept of God.

Scotus gives the above argument in 1 *Ordinatio* d.3 as part of a larger critique of Henry's doctrine of natural knowledge of God, and again in d.8, when considering divine simplicity.³⁵ To the argument as formulated in d.8 Scotus poses an objection developed from Henry of Ghent's technical notion of *ratitudo*.³⁶

incidental knowledge of God given through the divine attributes presupposes some type of quidditative or essential knowledge of the nature to which those attributes belong. See 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.25 (Vat. 3.16-17). Scotus gives a summary of Henry's position on natural knowledge of God in 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.20-23 (Vat. 3.11-15).

³² ‘Numquam enim potest concipi aliquis intellectus entis simpliciter absque eo quod homo concipit aliquem intellectum Dei aut creaturae, ut concipiatur aliquem unicum intellectum simplicem communem ad Deum et creaturam, alium praeter intellectum Dei et creaturae, quia nullus potest esse talis. Sed si aliquid concipit homo, illud est aut quod pertinet ad esse Dei tantum aut quod pertinet ad esse creaturae tantum . . . Omnis ergo conceptus realis quo aliquid rei concipiatur concipiendo esse simpliciter aut est conceptus rei quae Deus est, aut quae creatura est, non alicuius communis ad utrumque’ (*SQO* 21.2 [1.124o]).

³³ ‘. . . illi duo conceptus sunt simpliciter simplices . . .’ (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.31 [Vat. 3.20]). The expression *conceptus simpliciter simplex* is a technical one for Scotus. See note 57 below.

³⁴ According to Scotus, one thing virtually contains another if it has the ability to produce that other thing. For example, a subject virtually contains its proper attributes and principles of syllogisms virtually contain their conclusions. Cf. ‘. . . includat illud obiectum formaliter, sicut inferius suum superius, vel virtualiter, sicut subiectum suam passionem . . .’ (1 *Lect.* d.3 n.28 [Vat. 16.235]).

³⁵ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.35-36; d.8 nn.51-55 (Vat. 3.21-24, 4.173-77). What Alnwick and our author call the ‘second principal argument’ is second in d.3 but first in d.8. The condensed formulation of the argument quoted here is found only in d.3. Our concern is with the abbreviated form since Scotus’s later addition is made to that version: ‘Ad secundam, ut formatur breviter . . .’ (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.47 [Vat. 3.31]).

³⁶ Henry uses the term *ratitudo* as a synonym for *certitudo*, an expression in Avicenna’s metaphysics that refers to the essence taken absolutely in its own being (*esse proprium*). Henry apparently coined the unusual term to accommodate his clever etymologies *res a ratitudine* and *res a reor reris* (Jean Paulus, *Jean de Gand: Essai sur les tendances de sa métaphysique* [Paris, 1938], pp. 24-25 note 1). For the significance of *ratitudo* and the associated notion of *esse essentiae* in

According to Henry, God as efficient cause not only produces a creature into actual existence (*esse existentiae*), but as exemplar cause establishes it as a true nature in essential being (*esse essentiae*). From its relation to an exemplar in the divine mind, a creature is said to possess the ‘certitude’ (*ratitudo*) of a real nature or essence and is accordingly said to be a real thing (*res a ratitudine*) as opposed to a purely imaginary entity (*res a reor reris*). In Henry’s doctrine, to be constituted as a *res a ratitudine* is to fall under being in the widest sense.³⁷ Assuming this background of Henry’s metaphysics, the objection raised to Scotus’s second argument is that a creature is not a true being (*ens ratum*) of itself but only from its relation to God as its cause. Thus, to conceive a creature insofar as it is *ens ratum* is to grasp it not as something absolute but as something relative. One relation, however, causes a knowledge of its corresponding relation, which in turn causes a knowledge of the foundation of that corresponding relation. But God is the foundation of the relation corresponding to the creature considered as *ens ratum*. Thus, the creature as *ens ratum* causes a proper knowledge of God.³⁸

In effect, the objection denies the major of Scotus’s second principal argument by reducing the created being to a relation. Because it is essentially a relation, the creature is able to cause a proper knowledge of God as its correlative term without formally or virtually containing anything proper to God. Thus, according to the argument of the objection, a univocal notion of being is not necessary to account for natural knowledge of God. Scotus replies that, even granting that the creature as *ens ratum* is essentially a relation, it cannot give rise to a proper concept of God. The reason is that the corresponding relation caused by the creature considered

Henry’s metaphysics, see Walter Hoeres, ‘Wesen und Dasein bei Heinrich von Gent und Duns Scotus’, *Franziskanische Studien* 47 (1965) 156–58; Ludger Honnefelder, ‘Die Lehre von der doppelten *Ratitudo entis* und ihre Bedeutung für die Metaphysik des Johannes Duns Scotus’ in *Deus et homo ad mentem I. Duns Scoti* (Rome, 1972) 661–71; John F. Wippel, ‘The Reality of Nonexisting Possibles according to Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, and Godfrey of Fontaines’, *Review of Metaphysics* 34 (1981) 744–48; Stephen D. Dumont, ‘The *questio si est* and the Metaphysical Proof for the Existence of God according to Henry of Ghent and John Duns Scotus’, *Franziskanische Studien* 66 (1984) 336–42; Steven P. Marrone, *Truth and Scientific Knowledge in the Thought of Henry of Ghent* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 119–29; ‘Henry of Ghent and Duns Scotus on the Knowledge of Being’, *Speculum* 63 (1988) 35–41.

³⁷ The central texts in which Henry explains *res a ratitudine* are *SQO* 21.2 (1.124r–o), 28.4 (1.167r–v), 34.2 (1.212r–s), 75.6 (2.312E); *Quod. 3.9* (1.610r–p), 5.2 (1.154D), 6.3 (2.221G), 7.1–2 (2.258B).

³⁸ 1 *Ord. d.8 n.52* (Vat. 4.174–75); cf. 1 *Lect. d.8 n.63* (Vat. 16.21). Note that in reporting the objection Scotus does not describe the creature, insofar as it is *ens ratum*, as dependent upon God as *exemplar* cause, nor does he allude to Henry’s related doctrine of *esse essentiae*. As we shall see, the objection in fact comes from Richard of Conington, who seems to have used *ens ratum* in this context to refer to the creature in actual existence (*esse existentiae*) rather than in essential being (*esse essentiae*). Henry himself uses *ratitudo* only to refer to what has being in the latter sense. See note 44 below.

as *ens ratum*, namely, the relation of God to creature, is merely a relation of reason. But no relation of reason can contain either virtually or formally anything proper to God.³⁹

Our author incorporates the above objection into his account of Scotus's second principal argument for univocity.⁴⁰ Although our Scotist's reply is little more than a development of Scotus's own response,⁴¹ he nevertheless explicitly identifies Richard of Conington as the source of the objection.⁴² Conington's view that the creature is essentially a relation was apparently well known. Scotus had already attacked it once when considering the creature as *vestige*⁴³ and, according to the

³⁹ 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.53-54 (Vat. 4.175-77).

⁴⁰ Below, Q.1 (ll. 588-656).

⁴¹ Below, Q.1 (ll. 658-614).

⁴² Below, Q.1 (ll. 588-591). Citing our text, the editors of the Vatican edition of Scotus's works cautiously gave Conington as the source of the objection. See the *apparatus fontium* to 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.52 (Vat. 4.174-75), 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.212 (Vat. 16.312) and d.8 n.63 (Vat. 17.21). There can be no doubt, however, that Scotus has Conington in view. Our author ascribes to Conington the same argument used by Scotus and in precisely the same context. See also note 44 below. Despite an examination of Conington's surviving works, his *Quaestiones quodlibetales* and *Quaestiones ordinariae*, I have not located the text in question. In all likelihood, the text comes from Conington's commentary on the *Sentences*, perhaps in his treatment of the creature as *vestige* (cf. next note). Although Conington's commentary is now lost, it was known in the early fourteenth century. Peter Thomae cites it not more than a decade after our author's treatise: 'Secundum ostendo sic: conceptus qui includitur in omni alio conceptu et nullus aliis in eo est abstrahibilis ab omni alio conceptu; sed conceptus entis est huiusmodi; ergo conceptus entis est abstrahibilis ab omni alio conceptu. Maior ponitur a Richardo anglico in *Lectura super primum Sententiarum*. Minor conceditur ab omni schola' (Peter Thomae, *De ente* q.3 [Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2190, fol. 6v]).

⁴³ 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.225-240 (Vat. 16.317-22); 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.302-329 (Vat. 3.184-99). Conington's opinion as Scotus reports it here is considerably more articulated than in the text on univocity. Conington recasts Boethius's distinction between *esse* and *id quod est* in terms of *ratitudo* and *aliquitas* to explain the creature as *vestige*. Apparently Conington is developing the following text of Henry: 'Et secundum hunc modum potest exponi illud dictum Boethii, *De hebdomatibus*, "Diversum est esse et id quod est; quod quidem id quod est non est ipsum esse," ut dicit ibidem, "sed accepta essendi forma est." Sed hoc non aliud re, sed intentione sola, si enim sola ratione different, nullam facerent compositionem. Et est utrumque participatio et partialitas quaedam in se respectu esse Dei et respectu eius quod est id quod est Deus, in quo esse et id quod est sive quod est aliquid sive *aliquitas* eius, differunt sola ratione. Unum tamen illorum, ut ipsum esse, est quasi quiddam participatum ab eo quod est aliquid in ipso, non autem econverso, dicente Boethio, "Quod est participat aliquo; sed ipsum esse nullo modo aliquo participat." Et sic mensura dicitur hic propriissime, quia naturam continet puram esse et secundum veritatem simplicitatis, et essentia creata dicitur mensurata, quia continet esse et *aliquitatem* ut participatam per quandam imitationem ad esse et *aliquitatem* Dei et per quandam compositionem. . . . Et quod est ut commune analogum ad Deum et essentiam creaturae non proprie dicitur ipsum *ens*, sed ipsum *esse*, ut esse sit ipsum latissimum communiter analogum ad esse Dei, hoc est quod est ipse Deus qui non est nisi esse, et ad esse creaturae, hoc est non quod praecise est ipsa essentia creaturae, quia ipsa est aliquid praeter esse, quae quidem *aliquitas* non cadit proprie in altero membro cum dividitur esse, sed in quod esse descendens per identitatem realem ingrossatur et obscuratur ut sit quaedam participatio et participatum esse' (*Quod.* 11.11 [2.466]). On this text, see José Gómez Caffarena, *Ser participado y ser subsistente en la metafísica de Enrique de Gante*, (Rome, 1958), pp. 151-52.

testimony of John Baconthorpe, Alexander of Alexandria reported and criticized it a few years before our author's treatise.⁴⁴ Thus, despite his derivative treatment here of Scotus's text, our author does establish that Scotus, as early as his *Lectura*, had already attacked Conington's interpretation of Henry's analogy.⁴⁵

Although Scotus initially recorded no objection to his same argument in d.3, he nevertheless returned to it and appended a long addition 'outside' (*extra*) the primitive text of his *Ordinatio*.⁴⁶ In this addition, Scotus explores in detail the

⁴⁴ 'Viso primo et secundo, tertio solvenda sunt illa quae possent obici contra rationem dictam. Est autem prima obiectio talis: de essentia rei existentis extra animam est quod habeat esse ratum, licet enim res dicta a reor reris non habeat esse ratum, tamen res quae non habet esse fictum, qualis est res quae est extra animam, oportet quod habeat esse ratum. Sed essentia rei creatae habet esse extra animam, quia creatio terminatur ad esse in effectu. Oportet ergo quod habeat esse ratum. Hoc autem non potest habere sine respectu. Cuius probatio est quia omnis res habet esse ratum vel quia est a se vel quia est ab alio. Sed essentia creaturae non potest habere esse ratum quia sit a se, secundum hoc enim esset Deus. Ergo habet esse ratum quia est ab alio per modum extrinseci vel effecti. Sed esse ab alio dicit respectum, ergo respectus est de essentia rei creatae. Intelligimus enim quod res dicta a reor reris est quasi quoddam commune descendens in ens rationis et in ens fixum, quod est extra animam, quod dicitur habere ratum esse. Tale autem ratum potest subdividi in ens quod habet esse per suam primitatem, et hoc est Deus, et in ens quod habet esse ratum quia ab alio, et hoc est ens terminatum. Haec autem divisio eadem est [esse ms] cum illa qua dicitur quod ens dividitur in necesse esse et possibile esse' (Alexander of Alexandria, *Quod* 1.2 'Utrum aliquis relativus sit de primario intellectu alicuius absoluti' [Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 889, fol. 186va-b; cf. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 932, fol. 3va]). This text and the reply given by Alexander are quoted by Baconthorpe who explicitly cites the argument as Conington's and the reply as Alexander's: 'Primus articulus. An creatura sit sola dependentia ad Deum? Ubi dicunt quidam, ut Comington, quod respectus dependentiae sunt de per se intellectu creaturae. De essentia enim rei existentis est, quod ipsa sit res rata, idest quod sit res extra animam; sed res rata ut est in effectu habet esse existere; igitur de essentia rei existentis, ut est in effectu, est quod sit res rata. Sed quod per essentiam est res rata infra suam essentiam includit respectum ad Deum; igitur quaelibet creatura, ut existens includit in essentia sua respectum ad Deum. Probatio assumpti: quia quod est res rata vel est ens a se, vel ab alio; sed essentia rei primo modo non est res rata; igitur secundo modo; sed essentia ab alio dicit ex suo essentiali conceptu respectum ad alium; igitur respectus est de primo intellectu creaturae Contra hoc arguit Alexander sic . . .' (2 *Sent.* d.36 q.1 a.1 [ed. 1618, 1.663a-b]). There can be no doubt, then, that the argument quoted by Alexander is in fact Conington's, thus confirming our author's attribution. Alexander's *Quodlibet* is dated 1307-8 (Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique II*, pp. 55-56). For an exposition of Alexander's main philosophical positions, which are not scotistic, see Léon Veuthey, *Alexandre d'Alexandrie. Maître de l'Université de Paris et ministre générale des frères mineurs* (Paris, 1932). Note, however, that Alexander interprets Conington's expression *ens ratum* as that which actually exists rather than a nature capable of such existence, which is the meaning Henry of Ghent gives to the term. That is, Conington seems to take *ens ratum* to mean what has *esse existentiae* while Henry takes it to mean what has *esse essentiae*. Scotus himself thought that Conington was unclear in this context on the meaning of *ratitudo*: 'Quaero tunc, quid intelligit per aliquitatem? . . . Si aliquitas dicatur realitas quiditativa, quaero quid intelligit per ratitudinem: aut realitatem quiditativam, aut realitatem existentiae . . .' (1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.311-12 [Vat. 3.189]).

⁴⁵ Conington's same objection to Scotus's same argument for univocity occurs in parallel text of the *Lectura*. See 1 *Lect.* d.8 n.63 (Vat. 17.21); cf. 1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.225-40 (Vat. 16.317-22).

⁴⁶ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.46-55 (Vat. 3.31-38). As the editors note in the critical apparatus, the manuscripts indicate that this passage is 'Extra' or 'Scotus extra', which are shorthand expressions

various weaknesses of both univocity and analogy in accounting for natural knowledge of God. In his account of Scotus's second argument our author includes as a series of objections and replies an expanded version of this later addition, greatly aiding Scotus's at times elliptical discussion.⁴⁷ In the end, our author concludes that, although Scotus's second principal argument has limited value as a critique of Henry's position, it is not an effective demonstration of univocity.

The initial objection that Scotus's addition raises to his second argument is that its major is false. Because an effect has a real connection with or essential dependence upon its cause, it produces some proper concept of its cause, even though it does not contain its cause essentially or virtually. An effect, however, cannot produce a concept of its cause as perfect as the cause can produce of itself. Thus, owing to its real dependence upon God as cause, a creature can produce a proper albeit imperfect concept of God. Scotus's second argument, then, does not prove that a creature cannot cause a proper concept of God but merely that it cannot cause a concept as perfect as God could produce directly.⁴⁸ This is substantially the same objection made in d.8, but without Conington's elaborate explanation based on relation.⁴⁹ Rather, the immediate source of the objection here

for 'Scotus extra sua manu'. That is, it is one of the texts that Scotus added in the course of revision and so lies 'outside' his primitive text of the *Ordinatio*. On the significance of these and other editorial expressions in manuscripts of Scotus's works, see 'De *Ordinatione* I. Duns Scoti: Disquisitio historico-critica' (Vat. 1.175*-205*). This particular 'Extra' in d. 3 is cited as a note from Scotus's own hand in a contemporary question on univocity, perhaps by John of Reading: 'Istud etiam patet secundum eum [sc. Scotum] in primo, distinctione tertia, ubi arguit quod non possumus habere proprium conceptum de Deo, quia omnis conceptus quem naturaliter habemus causatur a phantasmate et specie et intellectu possibili, etc. Sed ista non causant nisi cognitionem. Item, ibidem, distinctione tertia, quaestione prima, ubi probat quod non habemus proprium conceptum de Deo arguens contra Henricum, habetur de manu sua scriptum in notula sic: "Oportet ergo recedere ab opinione Henrici, si ponat conceptum lapidis attribui ad conceptum quem lapis causat de Deo. Praecise autem salvari potest quo obiectum conceptum attribuitur ad obiectum, non tamen conceptus ad conceptum." Hic distinguit conceptum ab obiecto concepto' (John of Reading, *Quaestio de conceptu* [Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. D.IV.95, p. 587; fol. 303v]). This manuscript contains Reading's *Sentences*, followed by what are thought to be Reading's *Quodlibeta* and a fragment of the question (pp. 587-88; fols. 303r-v) on univocity quoted here. Longpré was convinced that this latter question was the *tertia quaestio de conceptu* referred to by Reading himself in his *Sent. prol. q.1* (p. 'o'; fol. 7r). See Ephrem Longpré, 'Jean de Reading et le B. Jean Duns Scot', *La France franciscaine* 7 (1924) 108-109; Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique II*, p. 184; Timothy Barth, 'De argumentis et univocationis entis natura apud Joannem Duns Scotum', *Collectanea franciscana* 14 (1944) 49 note 14, 51 note 33.

⁴⁷ Below, Q.1 (ll. 431-586). Our author's report of this addition serves as a commentary on it, providing helpful expansions to Scotus's compressed argumentation. For an example, see note 63 below.

⁴⁸ 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.47-48* (Vat. 3.31-32); cf. below, Q.1 (ll. 431-454).

⁴⁹ In an annotation Scotus himself links this objection with Conington's in d.8: 'Ad secundum, Henricus distinctione 8, et improbabatur; et hic inferius, sub, tractatur ut sit "communis difficultas contra utramque partem, tamen exponendo opinionem de analogia conceptuum pro ipsis conceptis"' (1 *Ord. d.3 n.44 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti'* [Vat. 3.29]).

is Henry of Ghent's account of how causal dependence between God and creature provides a real basis for analogous concepts.⁵⁰ The evident concern of the objection is that Scotus's second argument has left out all consideration of causal relations in accounting for our naturally acquired concepts of God.

Scotus replies by reformulating his second argument. An object cannot produce a concept more perfect than the one proper to it, for when the same cause produces several equivocal effects, the one most similar to the cause is the most perfect.⁵¹ Consequently, a creature cannot give rise to any concept of God more perfect than its own proper concept. Indeed, such a concept of God will even be less perfect than the concept of the creature, since it is the concept least similar to the creature.⁵² Thus, even granting with Henry that, owing to causal dependence, a creature can produce some proper but imperfect concept of God, Scotus argues that such a concept will be so imperfect as to be less perfect than the concept of the creature itself.

From this response Scotus deduces two difficulties for Henry's position. The first is that Henry's way of analogy cannot hold that the proper *concept* of a creature is attributed to the proper *concept* of God caused by the creature, for what is attributed is always less perfect than that to which it is attributed.⁵³ In other

⁵⁰ The references to Henry given in the Vatican edition are not to the point. See instead *SQO* 21.2 (1.124G-L). Referring to this text, Henry later explicitly says that because of causal dependence creatures can give rise to some knowledge of the divine nature. Such a concept, however, is less perfect than can be caused by the divine nature itself: 'Dicendum quod proportionalitas sicut convenientia duplex est. Quaedam est univocationis participatione eiusdem formae. Haec non potest esse inter Deum et creaturam [creatorem ed.], ut dictum est supra. Alia vero imitationis formae ad formam, omne enim quid in creaturis procedit causaliter ab eo quod est quiditas creatoris. Nunc autem omne agens, licet non semper formam suam imprimat producto, semper tamen forma quam producit aliquam imitationem convenientiae habet ad formam producentis . . . Hoc secundo modo bene est proportio quiditatis Dei ad quiditatem creaturae, ut per illam possit aliquo modo cognosci, ita quod qui perfectius cognoscit quiditates creaturarum perfectius ex eis ascendit in cognoscendo quiditatem Dei, *nullus tamen ita perfecte sicut ex se ipsa nata est cognosci*' (*SQO* 24.6 [1.143A]); cf. ' . . negatur maior, quia, propter conexionem, effectus potest aliquem *conceptum facere de causa*, licet non *ita perfectum sicut causa de se . . .*' (1 *Ord* d.3 n.47 [Vat. 3.31]). Emphases are mine.

⁵¹ Scotus is in fact using Henry's own text against him. In the course of explaining how causal relations account for our analogous concept of God, Henry admits that a cause, as far as it is able, acts to produce an effect similar to itself: ' . . . omne agens etiam quantumcumque contrarium secundum Philosophum agit in finem inquantum simile. Agens autem inquantum simile non producit nisi simile. Agit etiam omne agens per suam formam et producit causatum in aliquo esse formalis. Necesse est ergo in omnibus talibus ut semper in causato et effectu sit similitudo formae agentis . . .' (*SQO* 21.2 [1.124G]).

⁵² 1 *Ord*. d.3 nn.48-49 (Vat. 3.32-33); cf. Q.1 (ll. 455-473, 479-486).

⁵³ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.49 (Vat. 3.32:19-33:5). Note that Scotus does not say that Henry holds for attribution in concepts, but only that if he does, his position must be abandoned: 'Oportet ergo recedere ab opinione Henrici, *si ponat conceptum . . . attribui . . . ad conceptum . . .*' (*ibid.*). At this point in his account of Scotus's addition, our author comments that Richard of Conington holds two contradictory conclusions in his *Quaestio ordinaria*. The first is that a creature can cause a proper concept of God; the second is that the proper concept of God is known naturally prior to the proper

words, Henry cannot consistently claim that creatures cause a proper concept of God and then invoke attribution to explain how that concept of God is more perfect than the corresponding concept of the creature. According to Scotus, however, this difficulty can be solved by restricting the attribution of creatures to God to a relation between objects in reality rather than between concepts in the intellect.⁵⁴

The second difficulty is that Henry cannot define natural beatitude as proper cognition of God in the present state, since, according to Scotus's above argument, such proper knowledge of God is less perfect than that of creatures.⁵⁵ But it is objected against Scotus that this is an equal difficulty for his own position of univocity. In the way of univocity, the creature causes a common rather than a proper concept of God. This common concept is contained in the proper concept of a creature as a part and, consequently, is potential with respect to it. Thus, any such common concept of God will always be less perfect than the proper concept of a creature.⁵⁶ In defense of univocity, Scotus concedes that any irreducibly simple (*simpliciter simplex*), which is to say, univocal, concept of God is less perfect 'positively' (*positive*) than the proper concept of a creature.⁵⁷ That is, such a

concept of a creature because the latter is attributed to the former (below, Q.1 [ll. 474-478]). That is, according to our author, Conington expressly holds that there is attribution of creatures to God in concepts. The text of Conington in view is indeed his *Quaestio ordinaria* 1: 'Hiis premissis, dicendum ad questionem quod intellectus concipiendo intentionem creature, per speciem creature necessario concipit actualiter et formaliter intentionem propriam Deo, licet imperceptibiliter. Secundo, quod concipit eam prius naturaliter quam intentionem creature . . . Ex his patere potest secundum . . . Primum sic ostenditur: unitas *conceptus* Dei et creature non est univocationis, sed habitudinis, non equiparantie sed analogie . . .' (Doucet, 'Richard de Conington', 434-36). Emphasis mine. Our author's explicit citation of Conington at this juncture in Scotus's text, together with Scotus's hesitation to impute this inconsistency to Henry, suggests that, as in d.8, Scotus's actual target here is Conington's interpretation of Henry's analogy. If in fact the difficulty concerning attribution is directed at Conington, then either Scotus knows Conington's views from another source or else Doucet's dating for Conington's *Quaestiones ordinariae* (1306/10) must be pushed back a few years (Doucet, 'Richard de Conington', 430). In this connection, note that Conington's report in his *Quodlibet* 1 of Scotus's univocity is taken from Scotus's *Lectura*, not his *Ordinatio* (Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 8 note 19). Conington's *Quaestiones ordinariae*, however, are earlier than his *Quodlibeta* (Doucet, *ibid.*).

⁵⁴ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.49 (Vat. 3.32-33); cf. below, Q.1 (ll. 487-495). Notice, as our author points out, that there can be attribution of creature to God in the order of concepts as long as the concept of the divine nature is the one directly caused by God in the mind rather than the one caused by creatures: ' . . . *conceptus causatus* a creatura bene habet attributionem ad *conceptum causatum* a Deo in mente' (*ibid.*).

⁵⁵ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.49 (Vat. 3.33:9-12); cf. below, Q.1 (ll. 496-504).

⁵⁶ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.50 (Vat. 3.33-34); cf. below, Q.1 (ll. 505-510).

⁵⁷ An irreducibly or absolutely simple concept (*conceptus simpliciter simplex*) is one which cannot be resolved into any more primitive concepts. Such are the concepts of the transcendentals and ultimate differences. A simple, but not irreducibly simple, concept (*conceptus simplex*), is a notion resolvable into other concepts as parts. It is called simple because its parts are related as potency and act and are thus conceived as a unified notion (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.71 [Vat. 3.49]; 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.68 [Vat. 16.250]; d.2 n.24 [Vat. 16.18]; cf. below, Q.1 [ll. 87-109]).

univocal concept does not ‘posit’ the determinate perfection found in the creature. It is, however, more perfect ‘permissively’ (*permissive*) than any proper concept of a creature, since it abstracts from all limitation and imperfection in creatures. As a result of its abstraction from all limitation, such a univocal notion is conceivable as infinite.⁵⁸ Thus, although univocity does not permit the creature to cause an absolutely simple concept of God more perfect than its own proper concept, it does allow for the construction of a proper concept of God, such as infinite being, from such simple concepts.⁵⁹ This composite notion of God is simple, although not irreducibly simple, and is more perfect than any proper concept of a creature.⁶⁰

This last reply of Scotus encounters two further objections which occupy the rest of his editorial addition. These objections eventually lead our author, and apparently Scotus himself, to the surprising concession that univocity appears no more successful than analogy at explaining the origin of a proper concept of God. The first objection is that Scotus’s appeal to a composite concept of God does not solve the second of the above difficulties for univocity. The combination of two concepts, in this case being and infinite, each of which is less perfect than any proper concept of the creature, would not seem to produce a concept more perfect than the concept of the creature. But Scotus himself has just admitted that the univocal concept of being is less perfect than any proper concept of a creature.⁶¹ Similarly, the concept of the infinite is formed from the notion of finite, which in turn is taken from some object, such as a line. The concept of finite, however, is less perfect than the proper concept of a line because finitude is only an attribute and not an essential part of a line. Moreover, a concept including affirmation and negation is not more perfect because of the negative part. But being is the only positive part of the concept ‘infinite being’. Thus the concept of infinite being would seem to be less perfect, or at least not more perfect, than that of finite being.⁶²

⁵⁸ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.51 (Vat. 3.34); cf. below, Q.1 (ll. 511-531).

⁵⁹ Cf. ‘. . . nullus autem conceptus quem habemus de Deo proprius sibi et non conveniens creaturae est simpliciter simplex . . .’ (1 *Ord.* d.2 n.29 [Vat. 2.140]).

⁶⁰ On the formation of our proper concepts of God according to Scotus, see 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn. 58, 61 (Vat. 3.40, 42). Joseph Owens maintains that Scotus’s technique of reaching a proper concept of God through a combination of univocal ones is ‘open to the Aristotelian indictment of Plato’s philosophy. No new natures are reached in the supersensible order’ (*Up to What Point is God Included in the Metaphysics of Duns Scotus?* *Mediaeval Studies* 10 [1948] 168 note 26). For a different estimation of Scotus’s procedure, see Allan B. Wolter, ‘An Oxford Dialogue on Language and Metaphysics’, *Review of Metaphysics* 32 (1978) 325-35.

⁶¹ ‘Quilibet conceptus . . . univocationis est imperfectior positive quam verbum albi . . .’ (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.51 [Vat. 3.34:5-6]); cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.142 (Vat. 4.224).

⁶² 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.52 (Vat. 3.34-35); below, Q.1 (ll. 532-551).

The second objection is that the technique of aggregation which Scotus claimed for univocity is equally available to Henry for the way of analogy.⁶³ Just as in the way of univocity the irreducibly simple and imperfect concepts of God caused by the creature are combined to construct a more perfect concept of God, so too in the way of analogy.⁶⁴ There would then be only two differences between the positions. First, in univocity the irreducibly simple and imperfect concept of God produced by the creature is common, while in analogy it is proper, for in Henry's analogy there is no concept common to God and creature. Secondly, in univocity, since every proper concept of God is composite, none is less perfect than the concept of a creature, while in analogy, since some are irreducibly simple, some are less perfect.⁶⁵ The point of the objection is that either position will have the same result. Both will hold that any absolutely simple concept of God produced directly by the creature is less perfect than the concept of the creature itself and that, consequently, a more perfect concept of God is attained only by combining such imperfect concepts.

In the face of these two objections, Scotus grants that the ways of univocity and analogy both maintain that a composite concept of God is more perfect than any of the concepts that comprise it. Scotus further concedes that both ways have equal difficulty accounting for how such an aggregation of concepts results in a concept more perfect than that of a creature. In the end, Scotus responds that, if his solution to the problem of attribution is admitted, then the above difficulty applies equally to both positions. It thus cannot be used to dismiss univocity in favor of analogy alone.⁶⁶

The apparent and surprising outcome of the thrust and parry of argumentation in Scotus's editorial addition is that univocity is no more successful than analogy

⁶³ Our author brings out the force of this objection more clearly than Scotus's compressed text. Scotus simply has 'Secundo instatur similiter, pro Henrico' (1 *Ord. d.3* n.53 [Vat. 3.35]), which our author has expanded into the following: ' . . . secundo, ostendendo quod tenendo viam Henrici, qui ponit quod quilibet conceptus habitus de Deo ex creatura est proprius Deo et nullus communis, potest dari aliquis conceptus proprius Deo perfectior conceptu proprio creaturae, sicut tu das tenendo univocationem' (below, Q.1 [ll. 533-537]).

⁶⁴ The reference given to Henry of Ghent in the *apparatus fontium* of the Vatican edition does not seem appropriate. Rather, what Scotus must have in mind is the last stage of Henry's ascent from creatures to a proper notion of the divine *quid sit*, which is the highest knowledge of God naturally attainable. In this stage, which Henry terms the least general (*generaliter*), all of the divine perfections or attributes are seen as radically identical with the divine essence itself. That is, for the sake of the objection, Scotus seems to be interpreting Henry's *generaliter* stage as the combination of all our separate concepts of God into one simple notion. Such a concept would be more perfect than the concept of any creature since no creature contains all such perfections. Cf. 'Tertio modo, generali scilicet, cognoscit homo quid sit deus . . . cognoscendo quid sit in eius primo attributo simplicissimo, reducendo scilicet omnia nobilitatis et dignitatis attributa eius in unum primum simplicissimum . . .' (*SQO* 24.6 [1.143z]).

⁶⁵ 1 *Ord. d.3* n.53 (Vat. 3.35-36); below, Q.1 (ll. 551-573).

⁶⁶ 1 *Ord. d.3* n.54 (Vat. 3.36-37).

in accounting for the natural origins of a proper concept of God. Both doctrines are left appealing to a proper concept of God which is composite, and both have equal difficulty explaining how that composite notion is more perfect than the concepts of creatures from which it is derived. This outcome is confirmed in yet a further annotation Scotus makes to d.3. After outlining all the objections to his arguments for univocity and their solutions, Scotus concludes that Henry would only be concerned about the first and fourth of the five principal demonstrations given in d.3. The reason, says Scotus, is that all the others either involve difficulties common to the two positions, or attempt to prove too much, namely, that there is no proper concept of God rather than there is a common one.⁶⁷ In sum, Scotus's lengthy addition seems to lead to the conclusion that his second principal argument is not demonstrative of univocity and, hence, that the possibility of natural knowledge of God is not a reason for accepting univocity over analogy alone.

Such, at any rate, is the severe conclusion drawn by our author from Scotus's annotation. After his analysis of Scotus's additional text, our author concludes that it is not necessary to hold univocity in order to render natural knowledge of God possible.⁶⁸ In our author's view, although Scotus's second principal argument is effective in pointing out the deficiencies of Henry's position, it nevertheless would not have led Henry to admit univocity. Thus, our author says that he has reported Scotus's second argument more as a criticism of Henry's doctrine of analogy than as a demonstration of univocity.

Therefore, although the second principal argument is effective against Henry, nevertheless absolutely speaking he would not hold univocity because of that argument. Consequently, I have reported it more to refute the opinion of Henry than to demonstrate the principal conclusion [i.e., univocity].⁶⁹

To summarize, then, our author has made two contributions in reporting Scotus's second principal argument for univocity. First, he has established beyond any doubt that Scotus attacked Conington's interpretation of how Henry's doctrine of analogy could lead to a naturally acquired concept of God. Our author explicitly cites Conington as the source of the objection to Scotus's second argument as given in d.8 and implicates Conington again in Scotus's addition to the argument in d.3. Secondly, our Scotist concludes, on the basis of reservations raised by Scotus himself, that Scotus's second principal argument is not demonstrative of

⁶⁷ 'Itaque de sola prima ratione et quarta cures, tum quia non sunt "aeque difficiles" utriusque parti, tum quia non concludunt nimis ultra propositum. Non enim concludunt quod nullus conceptus potest haberi proprius Deo, sed quod aliquis communis' (1 *Ord. d.3 n.44 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti'* [Vat. 3.31:14-17]).

⁶⁸ Below, Q.1 (ll. 565-567).

⁶⁹ Below, Q.1 (ll. 583-586).

univocity. According to our author, the argument has only limited value as a critique of Henry's version of analogy.

BEING AND DIFFERENCE

As indicated above, Scotus maintains in the second part of his doctrine of univocity that, although being has a univocal concept, it cannot be essentially included in, or quidditatively (*in quid*) predicated of, all to which it is univocal. Equivalently stated, Scotus's position is that being is a univocal predicate but not univocally predicated of all things.⁷⁰ Specifically, Scotus allows being to be predicated *in quid* of God, the categories, genera and their essential parts, species, and individuals.⁷¹ He denies, however, that being can be so predicated of the remaining intelligible objects, namely, the transcendental attributes of being and ultimate differences.⁷² Rather, Scotus argues that being is predicated only denominatively of these latter two classes of intelligibles.⁷³ This second part of Scotus's teaching on univocity historically proved to be as contentious as the first and was given conflicting interpretations even by those who accepted it.

In his *Sentences*, read at Paris sometime before 1315, Alnwick defended at length the first part of Scotus's doctrine but mounted an extensive attack on the second.⁷⁴ According to Alnwick, the simple and univocal concept of being was essentially included in all other intelligible objects. Alnwick was particularly adamant that being must be essentially contained in all differences, including what Scotus called ultimate differences.⁷⁵ Writing about a decade later, Peter Thomae in turn attacked Alnwick's criticism of Scotus, but in so doing reached the opposite and extreme view that being was predicated *in quid* of no difference whatever. What is more, Peter tried to establish that, on both textual and doctrinal grounds, this

⁷⁰ On these technical distinctions and Scotus's position, see Dumont, 'Alnwick', 19-20; 'Peter Thomae', 190. Scotus distinguishes between a univocal predicate and univocal predication in 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.89 (Vat. 4.195); cf. 3 *Ord.* d.7 q.1 n.5 (Vives 14.336a). See also, Allan B. Wolter, *The Transcendentals and Their Function in the Metaphysics of Duns Scotus* (Washington, D. C., 1946), pp. 79-81; Ludger Honnefelder, *Ens in quantum ens. Der Begriff des Seienden als solchen als Gegenstand der Metaphysik nach der Lehre des Johannes Duns Scotus* (Münster i. W., 1979), pp. 335-39; L. M. de Rijk, "Categorization" as a Key Notion in Ancient and Medieval Semantics', *Vivarium* 26 (1988) 14-18.

⁷¹ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.137, 150-51 (Vat. 3.85-86, 92-94).

⁷² 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.131-36 (Vat. 3.81-85).

⁷³ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.147, 149-50 (Vat. 3.91-93).

⁷⁴ On the date of Alnwick's *Sentences*, see Joachim D'Souza, 'William of Alnwick and the Problem of Faith and Reason', *Salesianum* 35 (1973) 435-36; Emden, *Biographical Register of Oxford 1.27*.

⁷⁵ Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 19-29, 47.340-54.547.

was the authentic position of Scotus himself.⁷⁶ Our author, writing between these two eminent Scotists, defends the moderate position ridiculed by Peter as the popular reading of Scotus. According to our author, being is essentially included in some differences but not in others. As faithful as our author is in his defense of Scotus on this point, he nevertheless brings his own interpretation to a crucial part of Scotus's teaching on univocity.

A. William of Alnwick and the Scotist of Vat. lat. 869

The second of our author's *Quaestiones ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus* is in effect a treatise written against Alnwick's position that being is univocal *in quid* to all differences. The question is divided into two articles corresponding to our author's two main conclusions.⁷⁷ The first article establishes the preliminary conclusion that the concept of being univocally common to God and creatures is irreducibly simple.⁷⁸ For this result, our author relies in part on the *Theoremata* attributed to Scotus.⁷⁹ The second article demonstrates the proposed conclusion that there are irreducibly simple concepts other than that of being. Here our author expands Scotus's arguments in 1 *Ordinatio* d.3 q.3 that being cannot be essentially included in ultimate differences or the other transcendentals.⁸⁰ The majority of the second article, however, indeed the majority of the question, is given to an extensive rebuttal of Alnwick's critique of Scotus.⁸¹ In defending Scotus against Alnwick, our author is concerned almost entirely with the issue of ultimate differences, deferring his refutation of Alnwick's attendant view on the properties of being to a third, and as yet undiscovered, question on the transcendentals.⁸²

⁷⁶ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 202-214, 223.141-238.543.

⁷⁷ Below, Q.2 [ll. 40-47].

⁷⁸ Below, Q.2 [ll. 49-121].

⁷⁹ For Q.2 [ll. 77-81] our author uses *Theor.* 13 (Vivès 5.32a) and for Q.2 [ll. 100-105] *Theor.* 5 (Vivès 5.14b). See the *apparatus fontium* at these places.

⁸⁰ Below, Q.2 [ll. 123-312] and the *apparatus fontium*. Note that our author draws one argument from 1 *Ord.* d.23 n.20 (Vat. 5.360) where Scotus is discussing predication in the divine persons.

⁸¹ Below, Q.2 [ll. 314-1088]. That is, our author's treatment of Alnwick's position occupies nearly two-thirds of the question.

⁸² Scotus argues that the other transcendentals cannot essentially include being, because, according to the second mode of *per se* predication, properties include the *ratio* of their subject only as something added to (*sicut additum*) or outside of their own *rationes* (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.134 [Vat. 3.83]; below, Q.2 [ll. 264-283]). Alnwick rejects Scotus's application of subject and property to being and its transcendental attributes, arguing that being is not a subject for properties in any proper sense. This is because being and the other transcendentals are distinct only by reason (Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 28, 53.518-54.542; below, Q.2 [ll. 442-523]). Our author planned to refute this view, maintaining that being and its transcendental properties are in some way distinct extra-mentally, in his third question on the transcendentals entitled 'Utrum ens et unum dicant eamdem naturam'. Our author refers to his question six times (below, Q.2 [ll. 466, 468, 494, 523, 1008, 1087]). It is probably heavily dependent upon Scotus's own question of the same title: 'Utrum ens et unum significant eamdem naturam' (*QQ Metaph.* 4.2 [Vivès 7.156-176]).

Alnwick marshals three lines of attack against Scotus's view on the predication of being.⁸³ First, he argues that, just as Scotus's own principal demonstrations for univocity conclude that being is predicated *in quid* of God and creatures, so they must reach the same conclusion concerning ultimate differences.⁸⁴ Secondly, Alnwick brings some thirteen special arguments of his own against Scotus, most of which try to show that, given Scotus's account, ultimate differences would neither be intelligible nor the ultimate act of a composite.⁸⁵ Lastly, Alnwick attempts to establish that Scotus's own arguments against the quidditative predication of being of all intelligibles are invalid.⁸⁶ Although our Scotist reports and replies to Alnwick's critique of Scotus in minute detail, the crux of the disagreement between the two can be seen in their different responses to Scotus's first and most compelling argument that being cannot be essentially included in ultimate differences.

Before considering the different interpretations given by Alnwick and our author to this argument of Scotus, we should address ambiguity over the term 'ultimate difference' itself.⁸⁷ Medieval and modern commentators alike have disagreed over just what Scotus meant by an 'ultimate' difference and, accordingly, over what sorts of differences he had in view in his arguments about the predication of being.⁸⁸ For

⁸³ For a more detailed account of Alnwick's arguments, see Dumont, 'Alnwick', 22-30; 'Peter Thomae', 189-93.

⁸⁴ Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 47.341-49.397 and below, Q.2 (ll. 547-611).

⁸⁵ Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 49.398-52.497 and below, Q.2 (ll. 612-722).

⁸⁶ Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 52.499-54.547 and below, Q.2 (ll. 314-544).

⁸⁷ Scotus mentions ultimate differences in 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.131, 159-61 (Vat. 3.81, 97-100) and 2 *Ord.* d.3 nn.170, 179, 183 (Vat. 7.475, 479, 481). See also, Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 20 note 63.

⁸⁸ As Peter Thomae points out, the term 'ultimate' is ambiguous: '... ultimitas in differentiis tripliciter potest accipi, quaedam enim est ultimitas determinationis; quaedam specificationis ... quaedam vero est ultimitas irresolutionis' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 237.513-516). It would appear that a failure to distinguish, as Peter does, between ultimate in the sense of 'last' and in the sense of 'irreducible' has given rise to confusion in modern commentators of Scotus. Taken in a broad sense, 'ultimate' can refer to any difference incapable of resolution into further differences. In this wide sense, the transcendental differences of being, the primary differences of the categories, the ultimate specific differences, and individuating differences would all be ultimate. In a narrow sense, however, 'ultimate' is contrasted with the 'first' differences dividing finite being into the categories and the 'intermediate' differences dividing the subgenera of the predicamental line. Used narrowly, 'ultimate' differences would refer only to the last specifying difference in the categorical order. Of course, differences ultimate in the latter sense are also ultimate in the former. As we indicate, our author reads Scotus's arguments according to this latter, special meaning. Scotus himself uses 'ultimate' in the latter sense, as do other contemporaries. Cf. '... primo diversa sunt diversa, scilicet primo per differentias primas et ultimas ... differentiae interpositae inter primam et ultimam speciem ...' (Scotus, *Collatio*, edited in C. R. S. Harris, *Duns Scotus*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1927], 2.373). 'Item, tunc absolutum et comparatum non essent contraria, nec differentiae primae dividentes ens ... quia primae differentiae magis differunt quam secundae. Secundae autem differentiae dividentes ens, cum dicitur "aliud substantia", "aliud qualitas" etc., sunt primo diversae; igitur' (Richard Sloley [Vat. 7.138:17-21]). Richard Sloley or de Slolea, here writing against Scotus 2 *Ord.* d.1 n.277 (Vat. 7.137-38), was a master of theology and the thirty-eighth lector at the Franciscan Convent at

example, Peter of Navarre took Scotus's ultimate differences to refer only to individuating differences, an interpretation explicitly rejected by Peter Thomae.⁸⁹ Modern commentators have variously interpreted Scotus's notion of ultimate difference as the transcendental differences of being, ultimate specific differences, individuating differences, or all three.⁹⁰ Our Scotist, however, is clear throughout his discussion that he construes Scotus's arguments on the quidditative predication of being to be concerned only with ultimate *specific* differences, and not with individuating or transcendental differences. In nearly all instances, our author refers to the ultimate difference at issue in Alnwick's critique of Scotus as 'the ultimate grade of the specific form' (*gradus ultimus specificae formae*).⁹¹ Indeed, he is incredulous that Alnwick could have considered his arguments against Scotus as proving that being was essentially predicated of the transcendental differences or intrinsic modes of being.⁹² Thus, as far as our author is concerned, Scotus's position on the relation of being to difference is controversial only in the case of specific differences.

The first of Scotus's two proofs that being is not essentially contained in ultimate differences is based upon the definition of an ultimate difference as that which includes no further difference.⁹³ Consider any two differences that essentially include being. They will not be wholly diverse (*primo diversa*), but will differ themselves, since there will be an element in which they agree, namely, being and another by which they are diverse. These latter diversifying elements include being

Cambridge about 1318 (A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 A. D.* [Cambridge, 1963], p. 533).

⁸⁹ 'Quidam dicunt ipsum per differentias ultimas intellexisse solas differentias individuales, sed hoc non est verum, ut patet insipienti praedicta verba eius . . .' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 222.129-130 and 205 note 70). The text of Peter of Navarre in view is the following: 'Quantum ad differentias ultimas, scilicet individuales, videtur aliquibus quod ens non sit eis commune univocum' (*Doctoris fundati Petri de Atarrabia sive de Nararra In primum Sententiarum scriptum*, ed. Pío Sagüés Azcona, 2 vols. [Madrid, 1974], 1.193:50).

⁹⁰ Barth takes ultimate differences to refer to the intrinsic modes of being, Boehner ultimate specific differences, Stella individual differences, and Wolter all of the above. See Timotheus Barth, 'De fundamento univocationis apud Ioannem Duns Scotum', *Antonianum* 14 (1939) 380-83; Philotheus Boehner, 'Scotus' Teachings according to Ockham: I. On the Univocity of Being', *Franciscan Studies* 6 (1946) 102; Wolter, *The Transcendentals*, pp. 82-87; Prospero Stella, *L'ilemorismo di G. Duns Scoto. Saggio* (Turin, 1955), p. 118 note 42.

⁹¹ Our author so refers to the ultimate difference some 28 times: Q.2 [ll. 182, 183, 197, 217, 308, 356, 406, 413, 441, 752, 753, 757, 765, 768, 772, 776, 777, 796, 799, 802, 809, 823, 827, 878, 976, 1050, 1052, 1055].

⁹² 'Non ergo imaginor quando dicitur "ens praedicari de ultima differentia in quid", quod accipiatur ibi "ultima differentia" pro differentia entis, sed pro differentia ultima specificans aliquod genus' (below, Q.2 [ll. 361-364]). In any event, our author could only have construed Alnwick to be concerned with ultimate specific differences, since Alnwick holds that both individual differences as well as the differences of being are negations (Dumont, 'Alnwick', 15-16). Our author, however, is concerned in the question only with positive concepts (below, Q.2 [ll. 130-131]).

⁹³ 'Differentia ultima dicitur quia non habet differentiam . . .' (1 *Ord. d.3 n.131* (Vat. 3.81).

or not. If so, then they are not wholly diverse but differ properly themselves, and the same argument applies. Therefore, there is either an infinite regress, or else differences are reached that do not include being.⁹⁴

Scotus's reasoning, then, is that ultimate differences by definition are wholly diverse, for otherwise they would be resolvable into yet further differences. Differences, however, that essentially include being are not wholly diverse. Thus, if all differences include being, then none will be ultimate, and consequently there will be an infinite regress in differences. In giving his own version of Scotus's argument, our author makes clear that at issue are the *concepts* of ultimate differences and being.⁹⁵ That is, as our author interprets it, Scotus's argument is that the *concepts* of ultimate differences must be wholly diverse, so that they cannot include the *concept* of being. As we shall presently see, our author thinks Alnwick has completely misconstrued Scotus's argument because he has failed to recognize that it is concerned with conceptual rather than real diversity. But, as we shall further see, our author's interpretation is not without its difficulties in Scotus's scheme.

Alnwick's response to Scotus's argument goes directly to the heart of the issue. According to Alnwick, it is not contradictory, as Scotus maintains, for things to be wholly diverse and yet essentially include being. This is evident from Scotus himself, who recognizes that the categories are totally diverse, yet concedes that being is predicated of them *in quid*.⁹⁶ Thus, on Scotus's account, since the categories essentially include being, they should not be diverse but properly different. They would then not be the primary genera but only species. Thus, Alnwick concludes, things are not different as opposed to wholly diverse simply because they agree in being and are distinct in something else. Against Scotus, then, Alnwick denies that total diversity excludes agreement in being.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.132 (Vat. 3.81-82); cf. 2 *Ord.* d.3 n.170 (Vat. 7.475). See also, Dumont, 'Alnwick', 20-21; 'Peter Thomae', 191.

⁹⁵ Below, Q.2 (ll. 136-149). Although Scotus's second argument concerning ultimate differences is expressly about concepts, his first is not explicitly so. Thus, Scotus's first argument concludes: '... vel stabitur ad alias [sc. differentias] non includentes ens quiditative ...' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.132 (Vat. 3.82:3-4)). For the conclusion of the same argument, our author has: '... aut erit status ad aliquos conceptus primo diversos non includentes aliquem conceptum unum in quid' (below, Q.2 [ll. 146-147]).

⁹⁶ On the diversity of the categories according to Scotus, see 2 *Ord.* d.1 nn.190, 277 (Vat. 7.95, 137-38) and 2 *Lect.* d.1 nn.165, 260 (Vat. 18.54, 88). Scotus, as mentioned, holds that being is essentially contained in all genera: '... omnia enim genera et species et individua, et omnes partes essentiales generum, et ens increatum includent ens quiditative ...' (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.137 [Vat. 3.85]).

⁹⁷ For the text of Alnwick's argument, see Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 53.499-53.507 and below, Q.2 (ll. 314-330). Cf. Dumont, 'Alnwick', 26-28; 'Peter Thomae', 190-93.

The evident point to Alnwick's counterexample of the categories is that the supreme genera are no less diverse than ultimate differences. If the former essentially include being, then why not the latter? As John Bassoles later recognized, Scotus could have supplied Alnwick with an even more compelling counterexample. Scotus is explicit that God and creatures are wholly diverse in reality, yet maintains that being is predicated *in quid* of both.⁹⁸ Alnwick could thus have argued that God and creatures, which differ as finite and infinite, are even more diverse than ultimate differences, which, at least in the case of specific differences, are all finite. Therefore, if God and creatures essentially include being, then *a fortiori* so do ultimate differences.⁹⁹

Our author replies to Alnwick that his counterexample of the categories is irrelevant. The categories are indeed wholly diverse in reality (*in re*), which Scotus would concede, but not in concept (*in conceptu*).¹⁰⁰ Scotus's argument, however, is that ultimate differences must be wholly diverse in their *concepts* and, therefore, cannot include the concept of being.¹⁰¹ For total diversity in one order excludes any agreement in that same order, but it does not necessarily prohibit agreement in some other order. Thus, just as what is totally diverse in reality can agree in no reality, so what is totally diverse in concept can agree in no concept.¹⁰² But it is not necessarily a contradiction for what is totally diverse in reality to agree in some concept.¹⁰³ Thus, Alnwick's reply correctly shows that it is not a contradiction for

⁹⁸ 1 *Lect.* d.8 n.84 (Vat. 17.29) 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.82 (Vat. 4.90). Cf. Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 192 note 27.

⁹⁹ Indeed, this is how Bassoles construes Alnwick's argument: 'De passionibus et differentiis ultimis potest argui quod ens praedicatur quidditative de ipsis. Et primo de ultimis differentiis sic, ex dictis eorum [sc. Scoti] procedendo contra eos: non minus distinguuntur extra intellectum Deus et creatura, substantia et accidens, quam duae differentiae ultimae cuiusdam generis, quia illa se totis distinguuntur et in nullo reali convenientiunt, cum Deus non sit contractus ad genus aliquod sicut duae differentiae ad idem genus. Sed hoc non obstante ens est univocum quidditative ad Deum et creaturam, accidens et substantiam, ut dicunt, igitur ad differentiam et differentiam, et est contra primam rationem [sc. Scoti]' (1 *Sent.* d.8 q.1 [ed. Paris, 1516, fol. 87vb]). Cf. Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 192 note 26.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 'Quantum ad hoc quod dicit quod prima genera non essent primo diversa, dico quod sunt primo diversa in re, licet non in conceptu, sicut declaratum est de Deo et creatura' (below, Q.1 [ll. 1836-37]).

¹⁰¹ See note 95 above.

¹⁰² Cf. 'Ad aliud, quando dicitur quod "primo diversa in nullo convenientiunt", dico quod sicut sunt primo diversa, sic in nullo convenientiunt; si enim sint primo diversa secundum realitatem, in nulla realitate convenientiunt; si autem secundum conceptus suos sint primo diversa, tunc in nullo uno conceptu convenientiunt' (1 *Lect.* d.8 n.84 [Vat. 17.29]).

¹⁰³ To show that this is not a contradiction, of course, is the main burden of Scotus's doctrine of univocity: 'Nota quomodo aliqua intentio prima de *a* et *b* indifferenter et nihil unius rationis in re correspondet, sed intelliguntur objecta formalia primo diversa, in una intentione prima . . .' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti' [Vat. 8.221]). Our author admits that diversity in reality and agreement in a real concept appears contradictory and gives it as the most difficult question (*dubium*) to answer about univocity: 'Primum igitur dubium quod occurrit contra conclusionem est: cum Deus et creatura sint primo diversa in re, quomodo potest esse eis aliquis conceptus realis communis

the categories to be wholly diverse in reality and yet include the concept of being. But this is hardly to the point. Scotus's argument is that it is a contradiction for the *concepts* of ultimate differences to be wholly diverse and yet include the *concept* of being.¹⁰⁴

Nor does it follow for Scotus, as Alnwick claims, that since the categories agree in the concept of being, they therefore properly differ and are species. Being does not descend into the categories, as a genus descends into its species, through the addition of some further reality in the difference. Rather, being is 'contracted' to the categories by its own intrinsic grades or modes of perfection.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, each categorical reality can produce two concepts, one imperfect, which is of the reality without its intrinsic mode or grade of perfection, and the other perfect, which is of the reality with its intrinsic grade. The common concept of being, then, is simply the imperfect concept of some categorical reality. It does not have as its objective foundation any reality other than that of a category itself. The concepts of a genus and difference, however, cannot be merely imperfect and perfect concepts of the same reality. At minimum, two formally distinct realities related as potency and act are required for proper concepts of genus and difference. The concept of being common to the categories, therefore, is not the concept of a genus nor, consequently, are the categories species with respect to being.¹⁰⁶

In our author's view, then, Alnwick has equivocated on the notion of 'totally diverse' operative in Scotus's argument, taking it to refer to diversity in reality rather than to diversity in concept. As a result, Alnwick has failed to see the evident contradiction in maintaining that ultimate differences are wholly diverse yet essentially contain being. For, as Alnwick's counterexample of the categories shows, Scotus himself would admit that what is diverse in reality can agree in the concept of being. But it is a contradiction to hold that ultimate differences are wholly diverse in concept yet include the concept of being, for totally diverse concepts can agree in no concept.¹⁰⁷ What remains to be seen is whether such an

univoco. *Ista enim videntur incompossibilia: quod aliqua duo sint primo diversa in re et tamen quod convenient in aliquo conceptu reali communi utriusque. Cum enim conceptus realis ideo dicatur realis, quia causatus a re, dicere aliqua duo primo diversa in re convenire in aliquo conceptu reali videtur includere repugnantiam intellectui* (below, Q.1 [Il. 1089-95]). For our author's interpretation of Scotus's solution, see pp. 32-33 below, Cf. Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 3 note 6, 5 note 11, 27-28 note 94.

¹⁰⁴ Below, Q.2 (Il. 331-343). Cf. Dumont, 'Alnwick', 26-28; 'Peter Thomae', 191-93.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. 'Unde istae differentiae quibus ens descendit in substantiam et accidentis, quae non sunt formaliter entitates sed modi entitatis . . .' (1 *Lect. d.3 n.122* (Vat. 16.272).

¹⁰⁶ Below, Q.2 (Il. 343-367); cf. Dumont, 'Alnwick', 28. This is of course Scotus's solution to why being is not a genus with respect to God and creature. See 1 *Ord. d.8 nn.82, 103-108, 136-50* (Vat. 4.190, 200-203, 221-27); 1 *Lect. d.3 nn.109, 123* (Vat. 16.265, 272-73); d.8 nn.84, 102-104, 123-25, 129 (Vat. 17.29, 34-36, 43-45, 46-47). See also the texts of our author given below in note 142.

¹⁰⁷ Below, Q.2 (Il. 368-376).

interpretation of specific ultimate differences is consistent with Scotus's texts and doctrine.

B. Peter Thomae and the Scotist of Vat. lat. 869

Perhaps less than ten years after our author wrote his *Quaestiones ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus*, Peter Thomae disputed his *Quaestiones de ente* at the Franciscan studium in Barcelona.¹⁰⁸ Question 13 of Peter's *De ente* is devoted to the refutation of the views of William of Alnwick and Peter Aureoli on the predication of being.¹⁰⁹ While Alnwick and Aureoli disagree on the univocity of the concept of being, they both hold against Scotus that being is predicated essentially of ultimate differences.¹¹⁰ Like our author, Peter Thomae reports Alnwick's critique of Scotus in its entirety and replies to all arguments. That Peter Thomae uses Alnwick's position to supply the principal arguments of his question, reserving Peter Aureoli for the *alia opinio*, shows how established Alnwick's criticism of Scotus on this score had become.¹¹¹ Although Peter Thomae and our author both defend Scotus against Alnwick, they reach entirely different conclusions on the predication of being, and indeed entirely different interpretations of Scotus.

Arguing against the position of Alnwick and Aureoli that being is predicated of all differences, Peter Thomae reaches the exactly opposite conclusion that being is essentially predicated of no difference.¹¹² According to Peter Thomae, all differences must have irreducibly simple concepts, not just certain types of difference, such as the ultimate specific differences or transcendental differences of

¹⁰⁸ The summary of Peter's positions is taken from Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', 186-216 and Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 257-63. Note that in addition to the manuscripts given in Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', 217, the first five questions of Peter's *De ente* also exist in Prague, Knihovna metropolitní Kapituly, M 52, fols. 106r-113r. The titles of Peter's questions are listed as anonymous by František Šmahel, 'Verzeichnis der Quellen zum Prager Universalienstreit, 1348-1500', *Mediaevalia philosophica Polonorum* 25 (1980) 35. For bibliography on Peter's life and works, see Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 187 note 3, and on the origin of the *De ente* as questions disputed at Barcelona, see p. 216 note 113.

¹⁰⁹ Q.13 of the *De ente* is concerned exclusively with the problem of ultimate differences. Peter attacks Alnwick's attendant view on the transcendental properties of being in Q.12: 'Utrum ens praedicetur in quid de suis propriis passionibus' (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 2190, fols. 44v-48v).

¹¹⁰ Aureoli maintains against Scotus that the concept of being is not a distinct and simple *ratio* but a confusion of all *rationes*. In such a framework, obviously, the *in quid* predication of being presents no difficulty, since the concept of being contains all *rationes*. See Brown, 'Unity of Concept of Being', 135-50. Peter Thomae argues against Aureoli's position on the unity of the concept of being in *De ente* q.9: 'Utrum conceptus entis sit unus sola unitate confusionis' (Vat. lat. 2190, fols. 29v-38r).

¹¹¹ Alnwick's arguments are found in Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 218.5- 221.91 and Aureoli's on pp. 238.545-240.603.

¹¹² 'Tertia conclusio: conceptus proprius differentiae est simpliciter simplex . . .' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 225.204).

being. Peter's overriding concern in making the concepts of all differences absolutely simple was to avoid redundancy (*nugatio*) in definition. Peter argued that if *any* specific differences essentially included being, there would be redundancy, since being would be repeated at least twice, once in the concept of the genus and again in the concept of the difference.¹¹³ This was, of course, a standard difficulty, and both Scotus and Alnwick offered solutions to it.¹¹⁴ Peter, however, not only rejected Alnwick's two solutions, but even that of Scotus upon which they were based.¹¹⁵ The only way around the problem of redundancy according to Peter was to purge every difference of being, thus rendering the concept of every difference irreducibly simple. In Scotistic terms, Peter Thomas in effect reduced every specific difference to an ultimate or irresolvable difference.¹¹⁶

Peter was well aware that his interpretation of the relation of being to difference was at odds with the prevalent reading of Scotus, according to which being is predicated essentially of intermediate, but not of ultimate, specific differences.¹¹⁷ Peter held this to be merely the vulgar understanding of Scotus's position, imputed to him without clear textual basis and against his own principles.¹¹⁸ Accordingly, Peter sets out exactly what Scotus's texts say on the matter.¹¹⁹ Peter sees the common interpretation as resting primarily on a passage in which Scotus distinguishes between two types of differences.¹²⁰ The first type constitutes an essential part which is itself a 'thing' (*res*) or nature different from the nature which forms the genus, such as is the case in a plurality of forms. The second type of difference is not a nature or 'thing' in itself but the ultimate reality or real perfection of such a thing or nature. In this passage, Scotus says that being is predicated essentially

¹¹³ 'Probatio assumpti: primo ex nugationis inevitabilitate, quia si conceptum entis includit, in qualibet definitione erit nugatio, idem enim multotiens repetetur, cum ens tam in genere quam in qualibet differentia quiditative ex hypothesi includatur' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 226.214-216).

¹¹⁴ Scotus's solution is found in 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.161 (Vat. 3.99-100) and Alnwick's in Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 72.1068-73.1092).

¹¹⁵ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 226.218-229.309 and 202-204.

¹¹⁶ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 209 and 237.513-520. See note 88 above.

¹¹⁷ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 234.431-238.543 and 208-14.

¹¹⁸ 'Alii et quasi omnes dicunt quod Scotus intendit quod ens praedicatur in quid de differentiis mediis, non tamen de ultimis specificis, sed hoc mihi non videtur eius principiis concordare' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 223.136-138); '... non legi quod expresse [sc. Scotus] ponat quod ens praedicetur in quid de mediis differentiis, tamen vulgus imponit sibi . . .' (p. 235.470-471); 'Praeterea si ipse loquitur de solis ultimis, ut dicit vulgus . . .' (p. 237.505). Peter makes the same point in his *Sentences*: 'Forte dices quod hoc videtur esse contra mentem Scotti, qui dicit quod ens includitur quiditative in omnibus praedicamentis et speciebus et differentiis non ultimis. Dico quod ipse voluit vulgo satisfacere, propterea dixit quod ens praedicatur in quid de praedicamentis et speciebus ipsorum, licet non de ultimis differentiis' (1 *Sent.* prol. q.5: 'Utrum utibili et fruibili sit aliquis conceptus univocus' [Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1106, fol. 62v]). I am grateful to Fr. Gedeon Gál for drawing my attention to this passage in Peter's *Sentences*. The reference to Scotus is 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.137 (Vat. 3.85-86).

¹¹⁹ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 205 and 221.96-22.128.

¹²⁰ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.150-60 (Vat. 3.97-99); cf. 2 *Ord.* d.3 nn.170, 176-86 (Vat. 7.475, 478-83).

of the first type of difference, but not of the second, since the latter is irreducibly simple.¹²¹ On the common reading, Scotus makes this distinction in difference to explain why being is more common than a genus. For, according to Scotus, being has greater community than a genus because it can be predicated essentially of some differences, while a genus can be so predicated of none.¹²²

Against this textual argument, Peter maintains that Scotus only hypothetically advanced this distinction of specific differences and that it is not to be taken as his true view. As Peter reads the passage, Scotus only considers these two types of difference in a framework of plurality of substantial forms, which, according to Peter, Scotus denies. Instead, Peter claims that Scotus's true position on specific differences is that they are all of the latter type.¹²³ Nor, argues Peter, does Scotus need such a distinction in differences to explain the greater community of being.¹²⁴ Scotus does not maintain that being is more common than a genus because it is predicated *in quid* of some differences, but because it is predicated by identity (*identice*) of all differences.¹²⁵ In the end, Peter takes Scotus's more authoritative text to be from the *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam* 7.17: 'Unde duae differentiae nihil habent commune praedicatum de eis in quid per se primo modo.' These are Scotus's own words, concludes Peter, and none more clear can be stated for our position.¹²⁶

There is disagreement between Peter Thomae and our author on all of the above points.¹²⁷ First of all, our Scotist, in direct contrast both to Peter's own view and

¹²¹ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 221.101-222.111, 235.465-469.

¹²² '... tertio quia dicit quod ens non est genus, quia ens praedicatur de aliqua differentia in quid; genus autem de nulla differentia praedicatur in quid' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 236.473-474). Cf. 1 *Ord. d.3 n.158* (Vat. 3.96:17-97:4).

¹²³ 'Scotus ponit expresse quod omnis differentia sumpta ab aliqua parte essentiali, quae est aliqua natura alia a natura a qua sumitur genus, includit quiditative ens. Sed illud quod supponitur in isto dicto non est secundum opinionem eius. Nam ipse tenet quod genus et differentia non sumuntur ab alia et alia natura, sed ab alia et alia realitate' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 235.465-469); cf. pp. 210, 221.105-222.111, 238.534-537.

¹²⁴ '... sicut patet expresse ex texto suo, supponit opinionem illorum qui dicunt quod aliqua differentia sumitur a parte essentiali, quod tamen non est verum secundum opinionem eius. Et ideo illud quod in ista hypothesi fundatur, scilicet quod ens praedicatur in quid de aliqua differentia, non videtur esse de mente eius. Contra: illud assignat pro ratione ad probandum quod ens non est genus. Respondeo: istam rationem assignat ex suppositione istius opinionis, sed aliam assignat secundum mentem propriam...' (Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 238.534-540).

¹²⁵ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 210-14 and 248.803-250.863, 256.1037-44. On the later development of predication by identity in Trinitarian theology, see Alfonso Maierù, 'Logic and Trinitarian Theology. *De modo predicandi ac sylogizandi in divinis*' in *Meaning and Inference in Medieval Philosophy. Studies in Memory of Jan Pinborg*, ed. Norman Kretzmann (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 247-95, especially pp. 253-55 and 260 notes 14-17.

¹²⁶ Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', pp. 236.499-237.504. The text of Scotus is *QQ Metaph.* 7.17 n.3 (Vives 7.451b).

¹²⁷ On these disagreements between our author and Peter Thomae, see Dumont, 'Scotist of 869', 261-63.

to that which he attributes to Scotus, explicitly maintains that being is predicated essentially of intermediate, but not of specific, differences.¹²⁸ In other words, in the estimation of Peter Thomae, our author would simply be one of the *vulgaris* who have misconstrued Scotus on the relation of being to specific differences.¹²⁹ Accordingly, our author uncritically accepts in support of that position the very texts of Scotus which Peter Thomae dismisses. Thus, our author unquestioningly appropriates the passage in which Scotus distinguishes between the two types of specific differences and holds that being is predicated essentially of the one type and not the other.¹³⁰ Similarly, our Scotist gives preference to one of Alnwick's answers to the problem of redundancy rejected by Peter Thomae, going so far as to call it the 'more elegant' solution.¹³¹ Finally, in agreement with Peter Thomae's depiction of the common position, our Scotist argues that being is not a genus because it, unlike a genus, is predicated essentially of intermediate specific differences.¹³²

All of these differences between Peter Thomae and our author on the predication of being, particularly with regard to their estimations of Scotus's own texts on the matter, show not only that Scotus's position is ambiguous, but that Peter Thomae cannot be the Scotist of Vat. lat. 869. It now remains to see how our author's interpretation of the relation of being to difference corresponds to Scotus's own.

C. Duns Scotus and the Scotist of Vat. lat. 869

As indicated above, Scotus's notion of an ultimate difference has proved difficult for both medieval and modern commentators. We also have seen that our Scotist interprets the ultimate difference at issue in Scotus's discussion of univocity to be the ultimate grade of the specific form.¹³³ This description itself, however, marks a departure from Scotus's own vocabulary concerning ultimate differences. In the texts of the *Ordinatio* that serve as the main sources for our author's own discussion, Scotus regularly terms the ultimate difference an ultimate *reality*, not

¹²⁸ 'Sed ista aequa est contra me sicut contra illos [sc. Alnwick] qui dicunt conceptum entis includi in quid in omni conceptu posteriori, licet ego non ponam conceptum entis includi quidditative in conceptu sumpto ab ultimato gradu in forma quem voco conceptum ultimae differentiae. In hoc discordo ab eis. Tamen pono conceptum entis includi quidditative in conceptu differentiarum intermediarum' (below, Q.2 [ll. 215-219]; cf. ibid., ll. 221-222).

¹²⁹ In addition to our author, Anfredus Gonteri holds that being is predicated *in quid* of mediate but not of ultimate differences. For texts, see Dumont, 'Peter Thomae', p. 206 note 73.

¹³⁰ See below, Q.2 (ll. 852-880).

¹³¹ See below, Q.1 (ll. 1519-51) and Q.2 (ll. 225-234).

¹³² Below, Q.2 (ll. 1057-61).

¹³³ See the references given in note 91 above.

an ultimate grade of a reality.¹³⁴ This departure from Scotus's terminology can be clearly seen by comparing the passage in which our author distinguishes between the two types of specific differences with the parallel text of Scotus. Where Scotus's text says that an ultimate difference is taken from an ultimate reality (*ultima realitas*), our author's has instead that it comes from the ultimate grade of a reality (*ultimatus gradus realitatis*).¹³⁵ Emphases are mine:

1 *Ord.* d.3 n.159 (Vat. 3.98):

Sed ultima realitas sive perfectio realis talis naturae, a qua ultima realitate sumitur ultima differentia, est simpliciter simplex; ista realitas non includit ens quiditative, sed habet conceptum simpliciter simplicem. Unde si talis realitas sit a, haec non est in quid, 'a est ens', sed est per accidens...

Below, Q.2 (ll. 866-869, 873-874):

Alia est differentia quae sumitur ab ultimato gradu entitatis talis realitatis. Et tunc de tali gradu ultimo, dico quod ens de ea non praedicatur in quid . . . sed est conceptus simpliciter simplex. . . . posito quod talis gradus sit a, haec non est in quid, 'a est ens', sed est per accidens.

Now in the context of univocity, and particularly in the context of the relation of being to difference, Scotus uses the term *modus* and its equivalent *gradus* in a very technical and nuanced way to explain why univocity does not reduce being to a genus.¹³⁶ Scotus sharply contrasts the distinction between two *realitates*, which corresponds to the concepts of genus and difference, and that between a *realitas* and its intrinsic *modus* or *gradus*, which does not.¹³⁷ According to Scotus, the

¹³⁴ 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.159-61 (Vat. 3.97-100); d.8 n.106 (Vat. 4.201-2); cf. 2 *Ord.* d.3 n.179 (Vat. 7.479); 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.127 (Vat. 16.274); d.8 nn.102, 103 (Vat. 17.34, 35); 2 *Lect.* d.3 nn.171-72 (Vat. 18.282-83). In one text of the *Lectura*, which has no parallel in the *Ordinatio*, Scotus does describe ultimate differences as modes of being (*modus essendi*) rather than as *realitates* (1 *Lect.* d.3 nn.121-22 [Vat. 16.271-72]). However this text might be reconciled with Scotus's usage in the *Ordinatio*, it is the latter which is the source of our author's discussion.

¹³⁵ It is to be noted that in three places in this text (Q.2 [ll. 862, 864, 873]) our author calls the ultimate difference a *realitas*. In these cases, however, he has simply reproduced the text of Scotus.

¹³⁶ On Scotus's notion of an intrinsic grade or mode, see Wolter, *Transcendentals*, pp. 153-55; Walter Hoeres, 'Wesen und Dasein bei Heinrich von Gent und Duns Scotus', *Franziskanische Studien* 47 (1965) 172-73; 'Francis Suarez and the Teaching of John Duns Scotus on univocatio entis' in *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy 3: John Duns Scotus* (Washington, D. C. 1965), pp. 284-87; John Duns Scotus, *God and Creatures. The Quodlibetal Questions*, trans. Felix Alluntis and Allan B. Wolter (Princeton, N. J., 1975), pp. 518-19; Honnefelder, *Ens in quantum ens*, 367-83; Dumont, 'Alnwick', 15-18.

¹³⁷ The following texts are all from 1 *Ord.* d.8 where Scotus shows that being is not a genus: ' . . . compositio realitatum — potentialis et actualis — minima quae sufficit ad rationem generis et differentiae . . .' (n.107 [Vat. 4.202]); ' . . . conceptus realitatis et modi intrinseci eiusdem realitatis . . .' (n.108 [Vat. 4.202]); ' . . . finitum et infinitum, qui dicunt gradus intrinsecos ipsius . . .' (ibid.); ' . . . compositio rei et rei non requiritur in ente in genere, sed requiritur compositio realitatis et

distinction between a *realitas* and its *modus intrinsecus*, which provides the objective foundation for the concept of being univocal to God and creatures, is insufficient to ground the concepts of a genus and difference. The latter concepts require at minimum a distinction of two *realitates* related as potency to act in one and the same thing or nature.¹³⁸ Thus, Scotus's solution to one of the central difficulties confronting his doctrine of univocity depends upon observing his distinction between a *realitas* and its intrinsic *modus* or *gradus*.

It is textually evident that, in calling an ultimate difference a grade instead of a reality, our author is using the term *gradus* according to its special meaning in Scotus's scheme of univocity. Thus, when our author addresses in Q.1 the same problem of the nongeneric character of being, he adopts Scotus's solution, rigorously observing the technical usage of *realitas* and *gradus*.¹³⁹ Indeed, our author several times in Q.2 specifically refers to the ultimate difference as the

realitatis . . . (n.135 [Vat. 4.220]); ‘. . . isti conceptus contrahentes dicunt modum intrinsecum ipsius contracti, et non aliquam realitatem perficienter illum . . .’ (n.136 [Vat. 4.221]); ‘. . . modum intrinsecum realitatis . . .’ (ibid.); ‘. . . aliqua realitas cum modo suo intrinseco . . .’ (n.138 [Vat. 4.222]); ‘Requiritur ergo distinctio, inter illud a quo accipitur conceptus communis et inter illud a quo accipitur conceptus proprius, non ut distinctio realitatis et realitatis sed ut distinctio realitatis et modi proprii et intrinseci eiusdem . . .’ Sed conceptus generis et differentiae requirunt distinctionem realitatum . . .’ (n.139 [Vat. 4.223]); ‘Si autem tantum esset distinctio in re sicut realitatis et sui modi intrinseci, non posset intellectus habere proprium conceptum illius realitatis et non habere conceptum illius modi intrinseci rei . . .’ (n.140 [Vat. 4.223]). Although Scotus does here use the expression *gradus intrinsecus*, he clearly prefers *modus intrinsecus*. Elsewhere, Scotus uses the term *gradus* in the same sense he here uses *modus*: ‘. . . nam quaelibet entitas habet intrinsecum sibi gradum suae perfectionis . . .’ (1 *Ord.* d.2 n.142 [Vat. 2.1]); ‘. . . in certo gradu perfectionis, scilicet infinitatis . . .’ (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.58 [Vat. 3.41]). Cf. 1 *Add. magn.* prol. q.1 n.44 (Vives 22.30a); *Quod.* q.5 n.4 (Vives 25.200a-b); q.6 nn. 6, 10 (Vives 25.243a, 247a-b).

¹³⁸ 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.106-7, 138-40 (Vat. 4.201-2; 221-23).

¹³⁹ ‘Et ideo realitas aliqua cum gradu sibi intrinseco est simpliciter simplex in re . . .’ (l. 1364); ‘. . . non enim gradus naturae est alia realitas a natura sed eadem’ (l. 1370); ‘Licit autem res et gradus intrinsecus rei dicant eandem realitatem . . .’ (ll. 1711-12); ‘. . . ista res et gradus sibi intrinsecus sint una realitas simplex . . .’ (ll. 1716-17); ‘. . . ista realitas et suus gradus sibi intrinsecus sit una realitas simplex . . .’ (ll. 1725-26); ‘. . . concipitur realitas albedinis conceptu non includente gradum intrinsecum albedini . . .’ (ll. 1729-30); ‘. . . ista realitas cum gradu sibi intrinseco . . .’ (l. 1734); ‘. . . nullam compositionem faciente in re cum realitate cuius est gradus’ (ll. 1732-33); ‘. . . cum finitas non sit nisi gradus intrinsecus naturae dicens unam realitatem simplicem cum ipsa natura . . .’ (ll. 1738-39); ‘. . . gradus intrinsecus realitatis . . .’ (l. 1759); ‘. . . conceptus sumptus a gradu intrinseco eiusdem realitatis . . .’ (ll. 1762-63); ‘. . . conceptus sumptus a gradu intrinseco realitatis’ (l. 1767); ‘. . . conceptus sumptus a gradu intrinseco realitatis . . .’ (l. 1769); ‘. . . albedo dicat realitatem et gradum intrinsecum albedinis . . .’ (l. 1772); ‘. . . conceptus contrahens sumitur praecise a gradu intrinseco alicuius realitatis . . .’ (l. 1776); ‘. . . realitas animalis, etiam in quocumque gradu, . . .’ (l. 1795); ‘. . . distinctio realitatis et gradus intrinseci ipsi realitati . . .’ (ll. 1797-98); ‘. . . nullam compositionem facit gradus cum re cuius est gradus in re . . .’ (l. 1799); ‘Non enim realitas est perfectibilis per gradum sibi intrinsecum . . .’ (ll. 1801-2); ‘. . . sumitur tantum a gradu intrinseco realitatis . . .’ (ll. 1889). Unlike Scotus, who seems to prefer the expression *modus intrinsecus*, our author uses almost exclusively the term *gradus intrinsecus*. See the previous note. In this technical sense *modus* occurs only three times: Q.1 (l. 327), Q.2 (ll. 1953 and 2007).

gradus intrinsecus or *perfectio intrinseca* of the reality of the specific form, leaving no doubt that he has in mind Scotus's distinction between a reality and its intrinsic mode or grade of perfection.¹⁴⁰ Given that it is technically significant in Scotus's doctrine of univocity to term an ultimate difference a grade instead of a reality, the question is why has our author made such a shift in terminology? The answer appears to be that this was the only way our author could explain how the concept of an ultimate difference is irreducibly simple.

Recall that against Scotus's first argument concerning ultimate differences, Alnwick objects that ultimate differences could be wholly diverse, yet still essentially include being, since Scotus himself maintains this in the case of the categories. Our author's reply was that the categories were indeed wholly diverse in reality, but not in concept. Scotus's argument, however, is that ultimate differences must be wholly diverse in concept. Such an interpretation of Scotus's argument, of course, simply raises a further question. Why is it that the categories, or even God and creatures, which are wholly diverse in reality, can agree in a concept, while ultimate differences, which presumably are also diverse in reality, cannot? Seemingly, there should be some correspondence between diversity in reality and diversity in concepts. But the categories, and certainly God and creatures, are no less diverse really than ultimate differences. Yet the former can agree in a common concept but the latter cannot. To put the problem in equivalent terms, why is it, according to our author, that the proper concepts of God or any of the categories are *not* irreducibly simple, while those of ultimate differences are?

To see why for our author the categories of God and creature can be conceived in a common concept and ultimate differences cannot, it is necessary to turn to his account of the objective basis for that common notion. According to our author, no thing (*res*), nature (*natura*), or reality (*realitas*) is so simple in the being it has outside the intellect that it causes only an irreducibly simple concept.¹⁴¹ The reason

¹⁴⁰ Below, Q.2 (ll. 772-781, 824-842, 885). The second text (ll. 824-842) is of particular importance. Here our author is responding to an objection of Alnwick based upon Scotus's principle that one object cannot cause a simple concept of another object unless it contains that other object essentially or virtually. Alnwick argues that ultimate differences cannot virtually contain being, since being is the attribute of no subject. Therefore, if ultimate differences are to be able to cause any concept of being, they must contain it essentially (Dumont, 'Alnwick', pp. 26, 48.378-387 and below, Q.2 [ll. 593-602]). Our author responds that ultimate differences virtually contain the concept of being in the sense that no intrinsic grade of perfection can be known unless the thing of which it is the intrinsic grade is known first. Our author concludes that in this way it is possible to speak of one irreducibly simple concept virtually containing another: 'Videtur hoc tamen convenienter dici posse, quod conceptus talis simpliciter simplex [sc. ultimae differentiae] virtualiter includit conceptum entis . . .' (below, Q.2 [ll. 844-845]). In what sense, if any, one irreducibly simple notion can be said to contain virtually another has always been considered problematic in Scotus's scheme of univocity. See Wolter, *Transcendentals*, pp. 90-94.

¹⁴¹ ' . . . impossibile est aliquod obiectum esse ita simplex secundum esse quod habet in re extra quin ei apud talem intellectum correspondeat conceptus non simpliciter simplex' (Q.1 [ll. 1690-92]);

is that any reality, however simple, is always found outside the mind according to some determinate grade of being or perfection intrinsic to it. Consequently, any reality can always cause at least two concepts: one of the reality as it is found with its intrinsic grade or degree of perfection, and another just of the reality itself without its grade. The former will be a perfect concept of the reality and adequate to it. The latter will be only an imperfect concept, inadequately capturing the reality of which it is the concept. For example, a simple accidental form, such as the color white, can be conceived according to one of the grades of intension or remission intrinsic to the color itself, and thus perfectly, or without such a grade, and then imperfectly. Even the divine nature, which is the simplest of all realities owing to its infinity, can be conceived perfectly with the grade of infinity intrinsic to it, or imperfectly as just a being in no determinate grade, whether infinite or finite. Thus, God and creatures can agree in a common concept, even though they agree in no reality, because the reality in either case, whether divine or created, can be conceived imperfectly.¹⁴²

Let us return to the question posed by our author's response to Alnwick's criticism of Scotus's argument. According to our author, no reality, not even that of God, which is infinite, or those of the categories, which contain neither genus nor difference, is so simple that it can produce only an irreducibly simple concept. Why is it, then, that ultimate differences must be so simple, apparently even more simple than the divine or categorical realities, that they can have only an irreducibly simple notion? Our author's answer appears to be that, unlike God or the categories, an ultimate difference is not some reality possessing an intrinsic grade of entity, but is rather itself the ultimate grade of entity intrinsic to some reality, namely, that of the specific form. That is, an ultimate difference is not a reality that can be conceived imperfectly without its grade, and hence in some common concept, but is itself merely the grade of a reality so conceivable. The minimal objective basis for a common concept is a reality that can be conceived both perfectly in proper concept and imperfectly in a common concept. Since an ultimate difference is not itself such a reality, but rather the ultimate grade of perfection intrinsic to a reality, it cannot be an objective foundation for any common concept.

The apparent reason, then, for our author calling an ultimate specific difference a grade intrinsic to a reality, rather than a reality, is that the concept of an ultimate difference must be irreducibly simple. Since no reality, however simple, produces

cf. ' . . . quando intelligitur aliqua realitas cum modo suo intrinseco, ille conceptus non est ita simpliciter simplex quin possit illa realitas absque modo illo . . .' (1 *Ord. d.8 n.138* [Vat. 4.222:6-8]).

¹⁴² Q.1 (ll. 1335-92, 1681-1830). For the texts of Scotus upon which our author's account depends, see note 106 above.

merely an irreducibly simple concept in the intellect, the only solution is to make the grade of perfection intrinsic to a reality the objective correlate of the irreducibly simple concept of an ultimate difference. In this case, the reality of which the ultimate difference is the grade is the specific form. Thus, in our author's scheme, the objective foundation for the irreducibly simple quidditative concept of being is a reality without its intrinsic grades. Conversely, the foundation for irreducibly simple qualitative concepts of ultimate differences would seem to be, on our author's account, the intrinsic grade without the reality of which it is the grade.

Whatever advantage such an interpretation of ultimate specific differences might have in explaining how their concepts are irreducibly simple, it is not unproblematic for Scotus's own scheme of univocity. After all, the whole reason Scotus distinguishes an intrinsic grade or mode from its reality is to provide a basis for common and proper concepts that are *not* related as genus and difference. Moreover, Scotus is explicit that an intrinsic mode cannot be a difference at any level of form.¹⁴³ Our author appears aware of this difficulty, for he remarks that the concept corresponding to the ultimate grade of the form is only the concept of an ultimate difference in an improper sense.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, it would seem that according to our author the proper concept of the ultimate specifying difference is the concept of the specific form together with the ultimate grade of perfection intrinsic to it.

Our author's interpretation of ultimate specific differences as grades, or as what Scotus more often calls modes, is in fact in line with such later Scotists as Francis of Meyronnes, who defines a mode as whatever is not a quiddity.¹⁴⁵ According to this definition, for example, Meyronnes construes the individuating difference or *haeceitas* to be an intrinsic mode of the specific form, since it adds nothing

¹⁴³ 'Modus intrinsecus non est differentia in quocumque gradu formae . . .' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.108 *Adnotatio Dun Scoti* [Vat. 4.202]); cf. ' . . species dicit "quid", species sub gradu "quid-quantum virtute"; "quantum" non est differentia (distinctione 8 huius)' (1 *Ord.* d.17 n.214 'Adnotatio Duns Scoti' [Vat. 5.245]). See Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 18 note 56.

¹⁴⁴ ' . . conceptus autem per se determinans et primo sit conceptus sumptus ab ultimo gradu formae specificae, non a tota forma, quia toti formae correspondet conceptus resolutibilis, sed tantum ab ultimato gradu formae, quem alii minus proprie vocant conceptum ultimae differentiae . . .' (Q.2 [ll. 181-184]). The *alii* here is Alnwick: ' . . ultima differentia sumitur ab ultima forma sive ab ultimo gradu formae . . .' (Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 50.426-427)

¹⁴⁵ ' . . nihil autem aliud est a quidditate nisi modus . . .' (Francis of Meyronnes, 1 *Sent.* d.42 q.4 [ed. 1520, fol. 121k]). On Meyronnes's doctrine of formalities and modes, see Armand A. Maurer and Alfred Caird, 'The Role of Infinity in the Thought of Francis of Meyronnes', *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971) 201-227. The foundation in Scotus for this view of intrinsic mode is that a grade does not vary the nature (*ratio*) of which it is a grade: ' . . non tollitur formalis ratio illius perfectionis propter istum gradum . . .' 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 [Vat. 4.221]). See Dumont, 'Alnwick', p. 13 note 36 and p. 18 note 56.

quidditative.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, our author maintains that the ultimate specific difference has no quiddity, for otherwise it would essentially include the quidditative concept of being.¹⁴⁷ The result for our author seems to be that, because the ultimate difference is not a quiddity, it must be the grade or mode of a quiddity.

* * *

The two *Quaestiones ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus* are in effect a chronicle of the reception of Scotus's doctrine of univocity in the first decade after his death. In these *Quaestiones*, Scotus's chief protagonists are Richard of Conington and Robert Cowton on the issue of the univocity of the concept of being and Alnwick on the problem of the nature and extent of that univocity. Within two or three years after these questions, Peter Aureoli arrived at Paris with a fresh criticism of Scotus on these and other central points of his doctrine. Aureoli was then seen as Scotus's chief critic and became the main target of defenders of Scotus, such as Peter Thomae, for the next decade.

The author of these extensive questions, a Franciscan writing at Paris between the years 1312 and 1317, is not without his own contributions to the debate over univocity. He establishes beyond all doubt that Scotus had in view not only Henry's version of analogy, but Richard of Conington's restatement of it. He also concludes that Scotus's second principal agreement is not absolutely speaking a demonstration of univocity, but rather a criticism of the analogist position of Henry. But our Scotist's largest contribution is his pervasive and detailed refutation of Alnwick's arguments against Scotus on the predication of being. Our author takes a middle position between the extreme views of Alnwick, who argues that being is essentially included in all differences, and Peter Thomae, who after our author would maintain against Alnwick that it is so included in none. Our author upholds the commonly held view of Scotus's position that being is essentially included in mediate specific differences but not in ultimate ones. Although our author's moderate opinion on the relation of being to difference accords with the common reading of Scotus, it nevertheless required him to reinterpret Scotus on the nature of ultimate differences. According to our author, the ultimate specific difference, to which corresponds the irreducibly simple concept demonstrated by Scotus, is the intrinsic grade of the specific form. While such an interpretation of ultimate difference seems problematic given Scotus's technical meaning of an intrinsic grade, it was apparently the only way our author could coherently account for irreducibly simple concepts outside that of being.

¹⁴⁶ ‘... haecceitas nihil videtur nisi modus intrinsecus illius cuius est haecceitas ...’ (1 *Sent. prol.* q.11 [ed. 1520, fol. 8C]); cf. Dumont, ‘Alnwick’, 17–18.

¹⁴⁷ Below, Q.2 (ll. 877–880).

Scotus's doctrine of univocity is most often discussed from the point of view of the unity of the concept of being, especially as it constitutes a rejection of purely analogous notions of the transcendentals. The three authors considered in this series show that the part of Scotus's doctrine concerning the relation of this univocal concept to its inferiors was equally contentious, if not more so. All three agree with Scotus that the concept of being is irreducibly simple and univocal, but they each reach different and even contradictory conclusions on the nature of this univocity.

THE EDITION

The *Quaestiones ordinariae de conceptibus transcendentibus* edited below are known to survive in four manuscripts:

- A = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 869, fols. 29ra-44rb (s. xiv).¹⁴⁸
- B = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3092, fols. 39va-45vb (s. xiv).¹⁴⁹ [Contains Q. 1 only].
- C = Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 953, fols. 25v-27v (s. xiv).¹⁵⁰ [Contains the first article of Q. 1 only].
- D = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 829, fol. 141rb (s. xiv).¹⁵¹ [Contains fragment of Q.1 only].

Codex A alone preserves both questions.¹⁵² B carries only Q.1, while C contains only the first article of Q.1, breaking off at line 215 of our edition. The abbreviation in C is deliberate since it suppresses the division of the question in which the other three articles of the question are promised (Q.1, ll. 32-36). Apparently, the first article of Q.1, which defines the technical terms given in the question, was meant at some point to circulate separately. The fragment in D is a similar excerpt, preserving only the definition of the term *conceptus* given in our text from lines 45

¹⁴⁸ For descriptions of A, see the articles by Pelzer and Stella cited in note 2 above.

¹⁴⁹ This codex also contains the *QQ De anima* of Vat. lat. 869. For a detailed description of Vat. lat. 3092, see Stella, 'Res generabilis simplex est', 755-806; and 'Erronea et horrenda', 400-438 cited in note 2 above.

¹⁵⁰ Henricus Narducci, *Catalogus codicium manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca angelica* (Rome, 1893), p. 403; Doucet, 'Richard de Conington', p. 420 note 1.

¹⁵¹ Pelzer, *Codices vaticani latini* 2.194; Brown, 'Richard of Conington', 299; Brown, 'Ockham's Sources', 53.

¹⁵² It is possible that Q.2 in A is slightly truncated. Our author refers twice (Q.2 [ll. 134, 492]) to a response to the principal argument of the question (Q.2 [ll. 3-27]), which is in fact never answered in A.

to 80.¹⁵³ It appears to be an annotation to the immediately preceding question entitled '*Utrum secundae intentiones sint entia rationis*' (D fols. 140va-141rb). The fragment holds interest, because at the beginning of the passage the scribe has drawn a line to the outside margin and noted *de anglia*. It is possible that *de anglia* is part of our author's name.¹⁵⁴

A and B share four *homoeoteleuta* against C and thus derive from a common ancestor.¹⁵⁵ Since these four *homoeoteleuta* occur within the first 100 lines, they also indicate that AB does not transmit an exceptionally accurate text. B, however, presents a weaker tradition than A, since it contributes 12 *homoeoteleuta* of its own within the first question.¹⁵⁶ Thus, for the edition of Q.1, A has been taken as the base text and B collated in its entirety. Because C and D carry so little of Q.1, they were not collated, but C was used to supply missing text or readings better than those of AB. The edition of Q.2 is a transcription of A corrected where necessary. Punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphs are the editor's own. The manuscripts have been read in microfilm copies.

The *apparatus criticus* will record only those inversions and transpositions which effect a change of meaning in the text or form part of another variant. The *apparatus* also omits all but the lengthier marginal annotations and disagreements over the following: *aliqua* and *alia*; *hic*, *haec*, and *hoc*; *quod* and *quia*. A has a tendency to read *tantum* for *tamen*, but the apparatus does not note this. The *apparatus fontium* identifies the author's explicit citations as well as his implicit

¹⁵³ The fragment in D is as follows: 'Sciendum autem quod conceptus est nomen aequivocum ad obiectum et ad actum (de anglia *in marg.*) intellectus. Quando accipitur conceptus pro actu intellectus tunc conceptus est idem quod per intellectum concipi aliquid vel intellectum aliquid concipere. Contingit autem per intellectum tripliciter aliquid concipi: primo, per se et perfecte. Quando intellectum adaequatur intellectioni, quando intellectum est totum obiectum et non pars obiecti inclusa in toto. Secundo per se concipitur illud quod essentialiter includitur in eo quod primo concipitur, sicut genus per se concipitur quando species primo concipitur. Tertio perfecte concipitur quando sic concipitur quod nihil intrinsecum obiecto est ignotum ipsi intellectui nec aliquid eius latet. Si autem accipiatur conceptus ut se tenet ex parte obiecti, est sciendum quod obiectum est quid communius quam conceptus, nam obiectum est commune ad omnem potentiam. Unumquodque autem quod terminat actum alicuius potentiae potest dici obiectum illius potentiae sive sit potentia sensitiva sive intellectiva. Conceptus autem specialiter concernit intellectum. Unde per conceptum ut se tenet ex parte obiecti nihil aliud intelligo nisi praesentiam obiecti intellectus apud intellectum sub ea ratione qua terminat actualiter actum intellectus, ita quod sit actualis relatio obiecti ad intellectum et non potentialis tantum. Intelligibile autem dicitur tantum obiectum praesens intellectui sub ea ratione sub qua potest terminare actum intellectus et fundat tantum relationem potentialiem ad intellectum' (D fol. 141rb). Note that the fourth sentence is defective in D.

¹⁵⁴ Professor Gerard Etzkorn graciously checked this folio in the Vatican Library and has verified that the margins have not been trimmed and that no first name is visible even under ultra-violet light.

¹⁵⁵ For the *homoeoteleuta* A and B have in common, see below, Q.1 (ll. 13-15, 21-22, 59-60, 88-89).

¹⁵⁶ For the *homoeoteleuta* proper to B, see below Q.1 (ll. 127-128, 177, 200-201, 347-348, 627, 904-905, 971-972, 1052-53, 1456, 1554, 1581, 1673-74).

sources. The *apparatus criticus* uses the abbreviations suggested by the Société internationale pour l'étude de la philosophie médiévale in A. Dondaine, 'Abréviations latines et signes recommandés pour l'apparat critique des éditions de textes médiévaux', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 2 (1960) 146-49. The abbreviations used in the *apparatus fontium* are those given on pp. 1-2 above. For convenience, the foliation of A is given in the outside margins of the edition.

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<CUIUSDAM SCOTISTAE DUAE QUAESTIONES
ORDINARIAE DE CONCEPTIBUS TRANSCENDENTIBUS>

<QUAESTIO 1>

UTRUM ALIQUIS CONCEPTUS SIMPLICITER SIMPLEX PRIMAE INTENTIONIS
POSSIT ESSE COMMUNIS UNIVOCE DEO ET CREATURAE.

A 29ra

5

Arguitur quod non:

Primo diversis in re non potest esse aliquis conceptus primae intentionis communis univoce. Sed Deus et creatura sunt primo diversa in re. Ergo Deo et creaturae non potest aliquis conceptus primae intentionis esse communis univoce.

10 Maior probatur sic: si primo diversis in re posset esse aliquis conceptus primae intentionis communis univoce, aut illi conceptui communi corresponderet aliquid in re aut nihil. Si nihil, igitur talis conceptus communis non esset primae intentionis sed secundae, quia causatus mere ab actu rationis, non a re. Si autem illi conceptui communi corresponderet aliquid in re, igitur illa quibus ille conceptus 15 est communis non sunt primo diversa in re. Impossibile est igitur quod primo diversis in re sit aliquis conceptus primae intentionis communis. Probatur minor, nam si Deus et creatura non sunt primo diversa in re, sequitur quod Deus non erit simpliciter simplex sed in Eo erit aliqua compositio, rei scilicet in qua convenit cum creatura et rei qua distinguitur ab ea.

20 Contra:

Quando aliquid commune prius offertur in intellectu quam aliqua contenta sub illo communi potest illud commune creare in intellectu conceptum sibi correspondentem indifferentem ad conceptus correspondentes contentis sub illo communi. Ista est manifesta. Sed ens prius occurrit intellectui quam Deus et creatura. Igitur 25 ens poterit causare conceptum correspondentem indifferentem ad conceptum Dei et creaturae in intellectu. Talis autem conceptus communis pluribus, indifferentis ad utrumque, dictus de eis in quid, est communis eis univoce. Igitur aliquis conceptus primae intentionis potest esse communis Deo et creaturae univoce. Minor probatur per Avicennam, i *Metaphysicae* sua, ubi dicit quod ens et res et huiusmodi 30 transcendentia prima impressione imprimuntur in anima.

7-19 *SQO* 21.2 (1.124E). 29 *Prima philosophia* 1.5 (AvL 1.31:2-32:4).

7 intentionis] esse add. A 12-13 Si . . . re C: om. per hom. AB 21 offeretur intellectui C
21-22 quam . . . intellectu C: om. per hom. AB 22 creari AB

〈DIVISIO QUAESTIONIS〉

Circa quaestionem istam sic procedam: primo, declarabo terminos positos in quaestione; secundo, respondebo ad quaestionem declarando et confirmando conclusionem quam reproto probabiliorem et excludam aliquas responsiones quae 35 dantur ad rationes roborantes conclusionem; tertio, quaedam alia dubia occurrentia contra conclusionem quam teneo inducta ab adversariis excludam solvendo.

〈I. DECLARATIO TERMINORUM POSITORUM IN QUAESTIONE〉

Quantum ad primum est sciendum quod in quaestione ponuntur isti termini, scilicet conceptus, conceptus simpliciter simplex, conceptus primae intentionis, et 40 communitas univocationis. Primo igitur declarandum est quid intelligo per conceptum; secundo, quid intelligo per conceptum simpliciter simplicem; tertio, quid intelligo per conceptum primae intentionis, et etiam quomodo distinguitur prima intentio a secunda; quarto, quid intelligo per unitatem univocationis.

〈Quid sit conceptus〉

45 Quantum ad primum terminum est sciendum quod conceptus est nomen aequivocum ad obiectum et ad actum intellectus. Quando autem accipitur conceptus pro actu intellectus, tunc conceptus est idem quod per intellectum concipi aliquid vel intellectum aliquid concipere. Contingit autem tripliciter per intellectum aliquid concipi, scilicet primo, per se, et perfecte. Declaratio istorum: 50 tunc dicitur aliquid concipi primo quando intellectum intellectioni adaequatur. Intelligo autem per istam adaequationem quando intellectum est totum obiectum, et non pars obiecti inclusa in toto obiecto et cuius notitia continetur in notitia totius obiecti. Per se autem 〈aliquid dicitur〉 concipi quando 〈concipitur〉 illud quod essentialiter includitur in eo quod primo concipitur, sicut genus per se 55 concipitur quando species primo concipitur, et ita de aliis quae essentialiter includuntur in primo conceptis. Perfecte autem dicitur aliquid concipi quando sic concipitur quod nihil intrinsecum obiecto est ignotum ipsi intellectui nec aliquid eius latet quocumque modo cognoscatur. Ista amplius notificabuntur inferius ubi simul fiet sermo de conceptu ut se tenet ex parte obiecti in comparatione ad 29rb 60 conceptum ut se tenet ex parte actus concipiendi. / Sic igitur patet quomodo

46-58 *Theor.* 9 (Vivès 5.19a); cf. *Misc.* 5 (Vivès 5.393a-b). 58 infra, ll. 130-163.

39 et C: *om.* AB 40 primum A 46 aequivocum C: -voce AB 48 vel C: *om.* AB
49 intellectum] -tionem A 59-60 obiecti . . . parte C: *om.* per hom. AB

conceptus se tenet ex parte actus concipiendi et quomodo contingit aliqua per intellectum diversimode concipi.

Si autem accipiatur conceptus ut se tenet ex parte obiecti est sciendum quod obiectum et conceptus se habent secundum istum ordinem. Obiectum enim est 65 quid communius quam conceptus, nam obiectum est commune ad omnem potentiam. Unumquodque enim terminans actum alicuius potentiae potest dici obiectum illius potentiae, sive sit potentia sensitiva sive intellectiva. Conceptus autem specialiter concernit intellectum. Unde per conceptum ut se tenet ex parte obiecti nihil aliud intelligo nisi praesentiam obiecti intellectus apud intellectum sub 70 ea ratione sub qua actualiter terminat actum intellectus, ita quod sit actualis relatio obiecti ad intellectum et non potentialis tantum, sicut dicitur intelligibile. Unde conceptus quid particularius est quam obiectum, quia, ut dictum est, obiectum est commune ad omnem potentiam, conceptus autem concernit determinatum obiectum determinatae potentiae, scilicet intellectus. Et in hoc convenienter conceptus et 75 intelligibile, sed differunt, quia, ut dictum est, conceptus dicitur quando obiectum est praesens intellectui sub ea ratione sub qua actualiter terminat actum intellectus et fundat relationem actualem ad intellectum. Intelligibile autem dicitur tantum obiectum praesens intellectui sub ea ratione sub qua potest terminare actum intellectus et fundat tantum relationem potentiale. Sic igitur patet quid intelligo 80 per conceptum.

<Quid sit conceptus simpliciter simplex>

De secundo termino, quid intelligitur per conceptum simpliciter simplicem, est sciendum, ad aliqualem declarationem dictorum in expositione primi termini, quod ex parte obiecti, quantum ad praesens spectat, est distinguere duplum conceptum, 85 scilicet conceptum simplicem et conceptum simpliciter simplicem sive, sub aliis verbis, conceptum resolubilem et irresolubilem.

Conceptum igitur simpliciter simplicem voco illum qui non est resolubilis in plures conceptus partiales. Conceptum autem simplicem dico illum qui est resolubilis in plures conceptus partiales, qui quidem conceptus partiales hoc modo se 90 habent inter se et ad conceptum resolubilem in tales partiales conceptus: nam inter se sic se habent quod unus est per se potentialis, alius per se actualis, sive unus per se determinabilis, alius autem per se determinans. Istud probo sic: conceptus simplex qui resolvitur in istos duos conceptus partiales est conceptus per se unus

64-66 *Theor. 8* (Vivès 5.19a). 87-109 *Theor. 8* (Vivès 5.19a-b); *Misc. 5* (Vivès 5.392a-393b);
1 *Ord. d.3 n.71* (Vat. 3.49); 1 *Lect. d.3 n.68* (Vat. 16.250, d.2 n.24 (Vat. 16.18).

61 concipiendi] intelligendi *A* 76 qua] potest terminare actus intellectus et fundat tantum relationem potentiale add. et del. *A* 83 aliqualem] et add. *A* 88-89 Conceptum . . . partiales¹
C: om. per hom. AB

sicut et obiectum a quo causatur est ens per se unum. Cuiusmodi obiectum est
 95 quodlibet ens per se existens in genere. Hoc supposito, arguo tunc sic: impossibile
 est ex aliquibus duobus conceptibus partialibus fieri conceptum unum nisi alter
 illorum conceptuum sit per se potentialis sive per se determinabilis et alter per se
 determinans. Sicut enim accidit in compositis realibus quod impossibile est aliqua
 100 duo entia constituere aliquod compositum reale per se unum nisi alterum com-
 ponentium sit per se potentiale et alterum sit per se actus, ita consimiliter,
 metaphysice loquendo, impossibile est aliquos duos conceptus constituere aliquem
 conceptum per se unum nisi alter illorum sit per se potentialis et per se determi-
 nabilis et alter per se determinans. Sic igitur patet qualiter illi conceptus partiales
 105 in quos resolvitur conceptus simplex se habeant ad invicem. Ad conceptum autem
 includentem istos duos conceptus partiales sic se habent quod unus in quid dicitur
 de illo conceptu simplici, alter autem in quale; uterque tamen est sibi essentialis.
 29va Ex quo per modum corollarii inferri potest / quod in plus est esse essentiale
 alicui quam dici in quid de eo, nam quidquid dicitur in quid de aliquo est essentiale
 ei, sed non convertitur, ut patet ex dictis hic.
 110 Viso quid intelligitur per conceptum simplicem et per conceptum simpliciter
 simplicem, iuxta hoc videndum est an sit dare aliquem conceptum simpliciter
 simplicem. Et dico quod sic. Quod probatur sic: processus in infinitum in
 conceptibus realibus in quid est impossibilis. Igitur est dare aliquem conceptum
 115 simpliciter simplicem in quid praedicantem. Antecedens probatur, nam si in
 conceptibus realibus praedicantibus in quid esset processus in infinitum, cum
 intellectus noster actu suo non possit simul infinita cognoscere nec etiam succes-
 sive sic infinita pertransire, sequitur quod nihil ab intellectu nostro erit cognoscibile
 perfecte. Impossibile est enim aliquid perfecte cognoscere nisi cognoscantur omnia
 120 praedicata eius in quid, licet forte confuse posset cognosci, non cognitis omnibus
 talibus in quid, cum nullum quid possit cognosci eo quod uniuscuiusque quid
 dependet ab infinitis quid. Consequentia probatur sic: quanto conceptus praedicans
 quid est communior tanto conceptus ille est simplicior simplicitate excludente
 conceptus partiales. Ista est manifesta: conceptus enim animalis hac simplicitate est
 125 simplicior quam conceptus hominis et etiam conceptus corporis simplicior quam
 conceptus animalis. Si igitur in conceptibus praedicantibus quid est status, erit dare
 conceptum praedicantem quid irresolubilem in plures conceptus partiales. Talem
 dico simpliciter simplicem. Igitur est dare conceptum aliquem simpliciter simpli-
 cem. Sed an sit dare plures tales conceptus simpliciter simplices vel unum tantum
 hoc sequens quaestio declarabit.

110-121 *Theor. 5, 9* (Vivès 5.14a, 22a).

96 alter] per se determinans sicut enim accidit <i>add. et del. AB</i>	106 quale <i>C</i> : <i>aequale AB</i>		
109 hic <i>C</i> : <i>hoc AB</i>	111 an <i>C</i> : <i>aut AB</i>	112 <i>processus om. B</i>	116 <i>infinita om. B</i>
124 etiam <i>om. A</i>	127-128 <i>Igitur . . . simplicem om. per hom. B</i>		

130 Viso quid est conceptus simplex et quid conceptus simpliciter simplex et quod est dare conceptum aliquem simpliciter simplicem, ut amplius appareant dicta de conceptu ut se tenet ex parte actus concipiendi est sciendum quod obiectum cui correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex est tantum perfecte cognoscibile et distincte, et non potest cognosci primo; bene tamen potest cognosci per se.

135 Declaro ista ex dictis. Illud dicitur perfecte concipi cuius nihil latet intellectum quocumque modo cognoscatur. Sed si obiectum cui correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex aliquo modo cognoscatur, cum sit simpliciter simplex, nihil eius poterit esse ignotum: non enim potest secundum quid esse notum et secundum quid ignotum, quia non habet quid et quid. Et ideo de talibus loquens, Philosophus

140 dicit quod vel secundum totum sciuntur vel secundum totum ignorantur.

Declaro secundum dictum, scilicet quod tale obiectum non possit primo cognosci, quia, ut dictum est supra, obiectum quod primo cognoscitur est quoddam totum, sicut exponebatur ibi, et est tale totum quod includit partes essentiales. Cum igitur esse tale totum repugnet obiecto cui correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex, impossibile est tale obiectum primo cognosci. Est tamen advertendum quod si accipiatur primo cognosci <pro> posse una et propria intellectione attingi, sic eiusmodi ens bene est primo intelligibile. Aequae enim potest una intellectione sibi propria attingi sicut quocumque aliud obiectum.

Tertium dictum, scilicet quod tale obiectum possit per se cognosci est manifestum. Tunc enim dicitur aliquid per se concipi quando concipitur illud in quo essentialiter / includitur. Planum est autem quod iste conceptus simpliciter simplex in multis essentialiter includitur – etsi forte non in omnibus, secundum opinionem aliquorum, – igitur tale obiectum cui correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex potest per se cognosci, cognito scilicet eo in quo essentialiter includitur. Eorum 155 autem quibus correspondet conceptus simplex quaedam sunt quae possunt primo cognosci, quia sunt quaedam tota habentia partes essentiales; possunt etiam per se cognosci, quia sunt inclusa essentialiter in aliis, possunt etiam perfecte cognosci ita quod nihil eorum lateat intellectum. Et huiusmodi sunt genera subalterna. Quaedam sunt quae possunt primo cognosci, quia habent partes essentiales; possunt 160 etiam perfecte cognosci ita quod nihil talium sit ignotum intellectui; sed quaedam eorum non possunt per se cognosci, quia non includuntur essentialiter in aliis sed alia in eis. Et huiusmodi sunt species specialissimae vel individua. Haec dicta sunt ad declarationem secundi termini positi in quaestione.

135-136 *Theor. 8* (Vivès 5.19a). 139-140 *Metaph. 9.10 t.22* (1051b17-1052a4).

132 est] obiectum add. et del. A: add. B 135 ista] istam A cuius] cui B 137 simplex^{1]} nihil eius poterit esse add. et del. A: add. B 143 tale] obiectum add. B 144 obiecto C: -tum AB 147 bene] non A enim] non A 148 sicut] ad add. B 150 dicitur] proprie add. B 151 essentialiter] plura add. B 158 intellectui B subalterna C: -nae AB 161 cognosci] concipi A 162 sunt^{1]}] sint B

〈Quid sit prima intentio〉

165 De tertio termino, scilicet quid intelligitur per primam intentionem, est sciendum quod intentio, ut vere de ea loquimur hic, distinguitur contra rem. Nomen enim rei proprie dicitur de his quae habent existere extra in effectu — cuiusmodi sunt ipsa singularia. Nomen autem intentionis non dicitur de re ut habet existere in effectu, sed ut in proposito loquimur de intentione, nomen intentionis dicitur 170 de obiecto ut est praesens intellectui eo modo quo potest movere intellectum. Unde intentio dicit rationem intelligibilitatis in obiecto. Istarum autem intentionum quaedam dicuntur primae, quaedam secundae. Videndum est igitur quid sit prima intentio et quid secunda. Ex quo patebit quomodo differunt ab invicem. Prima igitur intentio dicitur esse ratio intelligibilitatis in obiecto praevia omni actui 175 intellectus, ita quod talis ratio intelligibilitatis non causatur in obiecto per actum aliquem intellectus nec in tali esse intelligibili constituitur per quemcumque actum intellectus, sed potius cum intellectu est causa primi actus <quo> intellectus intelligit. Intentio autem secunda secundum illud esse intelligi quod sibi competit non habet esse praeivium cuicunque actui intellectus, sed ipsa quantum ad tale esse 180 intelligi constituitur per actum intellectus, et non per quemcumque actum intellectus, quia non per primum actum quo apprehenditur res secundum suum quid, sed per posteriorem comparativum praesupponentem actum primum. Postquam enim intellectus apprehendit aliqua obiecta comparando illa ad invicem secundum rationem superioris et inferioris, magis communis et minus communis, fundat ipse 185 intellectus in eis quandam respectum rationis, puta generis vel speciei vel consimiles. Est igitur intentio prima ratio intelligibilitatis in obiecto absoluta, si sit obiectum absolutum habens esse intelligibile, praeivium tamen actui intellectus, nata cum intellectu causare ipsum actum intellectus. Secunda autem intentio est ratio respectiva habens esse intelligi constituta in tali esse primo per actum intellectus, 190 non primum sed comparativum plurium obiectorum ad invicem sub habitudine superioris et inferioris, communis et minus communis, vel aliquo alio modo.

Ex definitionibus datis patere potest triplex condicio imperfectionis in secunda intentione respectu primae. Prima est quod secunda intentio non est illud quod intelligitur nisi ex praesuppositione prioris intellecti, videlicet illius in quo fundatur 30ra 195 talis intentio secunda. Impossibile est enim intelligi esse speciei, / ut est secunda intentio, non praesupposito esse intelligi alicuius naturae in qua fundatur esse speciei. Secunda condicio imperfectionis est quod intentio secunda non est illud

173-182 1 *Ord. d.23 nn.10, 20 (Vat. 5.352, 360:19-20).*

172 sit *om.* *B* 174 actus *A* 177 intellectu . . . causa] intellectui *B* intellectus²] includit
B 179 esse² *om.* *B* 183 illam *B* 185 quandam *B* 189 respectiva] relativa *B*
 195, 196 intelligi] intellectum *B*

quod intelligitur tamquam absolutum sed tamquam ratio respectiva, nec quaecumque respectiva, quia non respectiva realis sed rationis tantum. Tertia condicio est
 200 quod talis intentio secunda non potest esse illud quod intelligitur, circumscripta prima: est enim intentio secunda sic coniuncta primae quod non potest separari a prima in esse intelligi. Cum enim entitas relationis non solum dependeat ab extremo, verum etiam a fundamento, sic eius notitia dependet a notitia fundamenti. Et si hoc verum est de reali relatione, multo fortius verum est de respectu rationis
 205 – cuiusmodi est intentio secunda. Omnes autem istae tres condiciones repugnant intentioni primae. Sic igitur aliqualiter est declaratum quid intelligitur per conceptum primae intentionis et qualiter differt prima intentio a secunda.

<Quid sit unitas univocationis>

De quarto termino, scilicet quid intelligitur per unitatem univocationis, est
 210 sciendum quod conceptum univocum in proposito intelligo conceptum communem unitate sufficiente ad contradictionem, affirmando et negando ipsum de eodem; qui etiam conceptus sit sufficiens medium in syllogismo ut extrema unita in tali medio sic uno sine fallacia aequivocationis concludantur inter se uniri. De isto termino, scilicet de unitate univocationis, potuissent plura dici, sed quantum
 215 ad propositum spectat, sufficit istud breve verbum.

<II. RESPONSIUS AUCTORIS>

His praemissis ad intellectum terminorum positorum in quaestione, teneo istam conclusionem: quod Deo et creaturae per se existenti in genere est aliquis conceptus primae intentionis simpliciter simplex communis univoce, accipiendo
 220 univocationem sive unitatem conceptus univoci modo exposito in declaratione quarti termini.

<Prima ratio principalis>

Hanc conclusionem confirmo multipliciter. Primo sic: omnis intellectus certus de uno conceptu et dubius de duabus habet conceptum de quo est certus alium et
 225 neutrum a conceptibus de quibus est dubius. Sed intellectus viatoris potest esse certus de Deo quod sit ens, dubitando utrum sit ens finitum vel infinitum, creatum vel increatum. Igitur conceptus entis de Deo est alius a conceptu entis finiti et

210-213 1 *Ord. d.3 n.26* (Vat. 3.18). 223-259 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.27-29* (Vat. 3.18-19).

198 relativa *B* 199 relativa^{1,2} *B* 200-201 non . . . secunda *om. per hom. B*
 203 verum etiam] verum est *A* 206 Sic] sicut *B* 207 qualiter] aequaliter *A* 211 et] vel *B*
 215 istud *om. B* 219 simplex] primae intentionis *add. A* 227 finiti et *om. A*

infiniti, creati et increati. Conceptus igitur entis est neuter istorum; includitur autem in utroque; ergo est conceptus univocus ad ista duo: hoc enim est de ratione conceptus univoci quod sit neuter univocatorum et quod includatur in utroque.

230 Maior istius rationis probatur, quia de nullo eodem conceptu potest aliquis esse certus et dubius, aliter de eodem esset certus et non certus, quae est contradictio manifesta. Si enim aliquis est certus de uno conceptu et dubius de pluribus, vel oportet quod ille conceptus de quo est certus sit alius ab illis de quibus est dubius — quod est propositum, vel est nullus, et ita erit certus de nihilo. Minor probatur sic: quilibet enim philosophus fuit certus illud quod posuit principium primum esse ens, nam ille qui posuit ignem esse primum principium et similiter ille qui posuit aquam vel aliud quodcumque fuerunt certi quod tam ignis quam aqua erat ens;

30rb dubitabant autem utrum esset ens finitum vel infinitum, creatum / vel increatum,

240 primum vel non primum. Non enim fuit aliquis eorum certus quod illud quod posuit primum principium esse primum, quia tunc fuisse certus de falso, quod tamen non est scibile. Non fuit etiam certus quod illud tale non erat primum, quia tunc non posuisset oppositum. Conceptus igitur entis est alius ab istis inferioribus, et neuter ad istas; et salvatur in utroque, igitur est communis univoce.

245 Confirmatur ista declaratio minoris et simul etiam probatur quod conceptus entis includatur in conceptu Dei et creaturee sic: aliquis videns philosophos discordare potuit esse certus de quocumque quod quilibet illorum posuit illud primum principium esse ens, et tamen propter contrarietatem opinionum eorum potuit simul dubitare utrum illud quod aliquis illorum posuit primum principium esset primum vel non primum. Et tali sic dubitanti si fieret aliqua demonstratio concludens sibi quod ignis quem unus illorum posuit ens primum non esset primum sed esset posterius primo, non destrueretur in eo conceptus entis quem habuit de igne, de quo tantum erat certus quod erat ens. Immo talis conceptus entis salvaretur in illo conceptu particulari praedicato de igne, nam quantumcumque

255 demonstraretur sibi quod ignis non est primum ens sed ens posterius ente primo, semper stat quod ignis est ens. Conceptus igitur entis salvatur in conceptibus posterioribus conceptu entis, qui sunt ens creatum et increatum. Conceptus igitur entis, cum sit neuter ad conceptum entis finiti et infiniti et includatur in utroque, sequitur quod sit univocus eis.

232 esset] erit *B* 239 creatum] quod illud quod posuit *add. et del. A* 242 primum] principium *B* 244 et²] ut *AB* 245 etiam] et *A* 248 contrarietatem] Nota hic quod non conceditur conceptum univocum entis esse in quid ad deum et creaturam per hoc, quod aliquis est certus de ente et dubius de contentis sub eo, quia hoc aequo concluderet eum esse univocum ultimis differentiis, sed quod univocus in quid ad deum et creaturam probat per hoc, quod includitur in utroque, quod probatur per confirmationem hic positam *in marg. add. A* opinionum] apud *B* 251 quam *AB* 253 habet *B* tantum] taliter *A* 254 praedicato] probato *A* 257 ens *om. B*

260 <Argumenta Henrici de Gandavo contra primam rationem solutionesque eorum>

Ad istam rationem respondetur multipliciter, et primo responsionem istam tangit Magister Henricus de Gandavo, articuli 21 quaestio 2 in pede, in solutionibus argumentorum: quod concipiens ens non concipit conceptum unum sed duos, scilicet conceptum Dei et conceptum creaturae, qui licet sint duo,
 265 videntur tamen unus propter propinquitatem analogiae eorum ad invicem. Et diversi philosophi ponentes diversa entia esse primum principium concipiendo ens non erant certi de uno conceptu et dubii de duobus, sed erant certi de duobus conceptis confuse et indistincte, et erant dubii de eis conceptis determinate et distincte.

270 Contra istam solutionem arguitur: quando dicitur ‘quod concipiendo ens concipiuntur duo confuse,’ aut intelligitur confusa notitia istorum duorum in aliquo conceptu univoco eis, sicut concipiendo animal confuse concipiuntur homo et asinus, et hoc est propositum. Aut concipiuntur ista duo sub unitate alicuius analogiae et attributionis, et tunc arguitur sic quod hoc sit impossibile: quando
 275 aliqua duo non possunt concipi sub aliqua unitate, nisi prius vel saltem simul concipientur sub dualitate propria eis quae supponitur illi unitati, impossibile est intellectum esse certum de eis in quantum illa habent unitatem et esse dubium de eis in quantum sunt duo. Sed intellectus concipiens ens dictum de Deo et creatura, si dicat duos conceptus habentes attributionem, non potest istos conceptus
 280 concipere secundum aliquam unitatem attributionis nisi prius natura vel saltem simul concipiatur illos conceptus sub ratione distinctionis, quia unitas attributionis includit necessario distinctionem et dualitatem. Igitur sic non potest esse certus de eis sub ratione unius, dubitando de eis sub ratione / multorum. Si ens diceret duos 30va
 285 conceptus habentes attributionem ad invicem, concipiens ens non posset esse certus de uno conceptu et dubius de duobus, sed esset certus de duobus conceptis sub propriis rationibus eorum.

Ad illud dicitur sic: quando aliqua duo sic analogantur ad invicem quod eorum unitas non potest concipi nisi perceptibiliter cognoscatur eorum dualitas, tunc vera est propositio quod talia duo non possunt concipi sub alia unitate et dubitari de
 290 eis sub propria distinctione. Sed quando dualitas talium duorum obiectorum non percipitur – quod maxime accidit quando concipiens habet duos conceptus

261-269 *SQO* 21.2 (1.125s); cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.59 (Vat. 4.179); Conington (ed. Brown¹, pp. 306.27-307.1); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 43.215-218). 270-295 Has responsiones ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 43.219-232) auctor accipit. 270-286 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.67 (Vat. 4.183). 287 ‘dicitur’, sc. ab Conington (ed. Brown¹, p. 307.5-8).

261 istam¹] ista A 268 conceptis] -tibus A 279 si] sic B istos] duos add. B
 282 dualitatem] unitatem B Igitur] vel add. A 291 concipiens . . . duos] talia duo A

propinquos qui propter propinquitatem videntur unus, tunc talia duo possunt bene concipi sub unitate absque hoc quod concipientur sub dualitate et propria distinctione eorum. Et ita est de conceptibus Dei et creaturae in ente, qui licet sint

295 duo videntur tamen unus.

Contra istam solutionem quantum ad hoc quod dicit quod conceptus entis est duo conceptus, tamen videntur unus propter propinquitatem eorum ad invicem. Si ista solutio valeret, destrueretur omnis via probandi aliquem conceptum univocum ad aliqua plura. Si enim dicas quod homo dicat conceptum unum ad Sortem et 300 Platonem, dicet adversarius quod non, sed homo dicit duos conceptus, tamen propter propinquitatem eorum videntur unus. Et planum est quod rationabilius esset istud dictum quam primum, quia maiorem similitudinem et maiorem propinquitatem habent ad invicem duo individua eiusdem speciei quam Deus et creatura sub ente. Non igitur per illud dictum evaditur argumentum.

305 Praeterea, Deus et creatura secundum proprias rationes sunt fundamenta unitatis ordinis et attributionis. Non potest autem cognosci relatio nisi prius vel saltem simul cognoscatur fundamentum, quia, ut dictum est supra, notitia relationis dependet a notitia fundamenti sicut et eius entitas dependet ab entitate fundamenti. Si 310 igitur conceptus entis dicat duos conceptus habentes attributionem ad invicem sive unitatem attributionis, non poterunt isti duo conceptus concipi in quantum habent unitatem attributionis sive sub conceptu unitatis talis nisi prius natura vel saltem simul concipientur sub propriis rationibus et sub propriis conceptibus quibus distinguuntur.

Confirmatur ratio: cognitio relationis praesupponit cognitionem extremorum, 315 igitur distincta cognitio relationis praesupponit distinctam cognitionem extremorum. Ergo cognitio qua cognoscuntur Deus et creatura secundum ordinem analogiae sive attributionis praesupponit cognitionem Dei in se, et per consequens non poterit cognosci unitas ipsorum nisi praecognoscatur vel saltem simul cognoscatur eorum dualitas.

320 Confirmatur idem secundo per Philosophum, II *De anima*, ubi arguit quod sensus communis cognoscens differentiam albi et dulcis cognoscit extremum differentiae. Hoc autem argumentum non concluderet si ista extrema, scilicet album et dulce, possent cognosci sub isto respectu qui est differentia absque hoc quod cognoscerentur sub propriis rationibus. Videlicet igitur Philosophus velle quod

296-301 1 *Ord. d.3 n.30* (Vat. 3.20). 305-330 Has rationes ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 43.233-44.253) auctor verbatim accipit. 305-313 Cf. I *Ord. d.8 nn.62-63* (Vat. 4.181). 320 *De an. 2.2 t.144-45* (426b8-15). 320-330 Cf. I *Ord. d.8 n.63* (Vat. 4.181).

292 alia B 296 solutionem] conclusionem B 302 et maiorem] quia maior est B
306 autem om. B 307 simul om. B 309 Si] sicut B 311 unitatis] communitatis B
talism] autem add. B 320 arguit] dicit B 323 qui] quia B 324 cognoscantur B

325 prius cognoscuntur album et dulce in se quam cognoscantur sub respectu differentiae. Igitur eodem modo in proposito prius cognoscuntur Deus et creatura sub propriis rationibus quam cognoscantur sub unitate ordinis et attributionis sive analogiae, et ita quicumque intellectus concipit istos duos conceptus sub unitate ordinis preconcipit eos distinctius in se, quod negat adversarius. Stat igitur
 330 argumentum primum.

Aliter dicitur ad argumentum primum quod intellectus concipiens ens non est certus de uno conceptu / et dubius de duobus, sed est certus de duobus conceptibus 30vb disiunctim, dubius tamen est de alterutro illorum determinate. Verbi gratia, concipiendo ens certus sum quod concipio substantiam vel accidens, dubito tamen
 335 de alterutro illorum determinate, utrum scilicet illud quod concipio sit determinate substantia vel accidens. Certus sum tamen quod vel est substantia vel accidens. Non igitur est vera minor propositio illius rationis quae assumebat quod philosophi erant certi de uno conceptu et dubitabant de conceptibus inferioribus. Et si adducatur contra eos dictum Avicennae, i *Metaphysicae* sua, quod ens prima
 340 impressione imprimitur in anima, respondent: prius concipitur indeterminate concipiando unum conceptum quem dicit ens disiunctum quam concipiando alterum illorum conceptuum determinate, puta Dei determinate vel creature determinate.

Contra istam solutionem arguo ostendendo primo quod concludit propositum
 345 sic: dictum est in declaratione secundi termini quaestionis, et probatum, quod conceptus simpliciter simplex non potest indeterminate concipi sed tantum determinate. Hoc supposito, arguo sic: illud quod potest indeterminate concipi et natum est determinate concipi non habet conceptum simpliciter simplicem, quia omne tale indeterminate concipit Deum vel creaturam; igitur Deus non habet
 350 conceptum simpliciter simplicem sed resolubilem. Ergo concipiando <ens> aliquid conceptus Dei latet et aliquid eius patet; igitur conceptus entis includitur in conceptu Dei et est communior, igitur univocus sibi et alii.

Contra eandem solutionem potest argui, sicut argutum est prius, quia secundum hoc, impossibile videtur probare esse aliquem conceptum univocum pluribus:
 355 dicam enim quod concipiando hominem concipiā Sortem et Platonem indeterminate, concipiando scilicet hunc vel istum.

331-336 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.68 (Vat. 4.184), d.3 n.46 (Vat. 3.31). 339 *Prima philosophia* 1.5 (AvL 1.31:2-32:4). 344-352 Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.64 (Vat. 4.182), d.3 n.31 (Vat. 3.20). 345 supra, ll. 130-140. 353 supra, ll. 296-304.

340 respondent] id est A: scilicet B 341 ens] esse B 344 primo] prius B includit B
 345 probant AB 347 determinate] habet determinationem B 347-348 et . . . concipi om. per
hom. B 349 tale] quia add. A 352 est] esse A 356 vel] et B

Item, contra eandem solutionem arguitur, licet ista ratio directius concludat principale quam contra solutionem, sic: cognoscendo Deum ex creaturis cognosco quod aliter sapientia est in Deo, aliter lapis, quia sapientia dicitur de Deo formaliter, lapis non. Tunc arguo: concipiendo sapientiam absolute secundum suum conceptum quidditativum, aut concipio aliquid unius rationis non determinans sibi finitum vel infinitum. Et si sic, habeo propositum: quod conceptus sapientiae est communis univoce Deo et creaturae. Aut concipio sapientiam determinantem sibi finitatem, cuiusmodi est sapientia creata. Et si sic, impossibile 360 est talem sapientiam dici de Deo formaliter: nihil enim ex ratione sua determinans sibi esse finitum dicitur formaliter de infinito; nec tunc aliter cognoscerem sapientiam esse in Deo quam lapidem, nec aliter diceretur sapientia de Deo quam lapis. Si dicas quod concipiam sapientiam determinantem sibi infinitatem: cum omne infinitum formaliter repugnet creaturae, non poterit sapientia dici de 365 creature. Et praeterea, unde habebit sapientiam quod ex ratione sua sit perfectio simpliciter plus quam lapis? Ex quo enim sapientia ut concipitur secundum rationem suam includit infinitatem vel finitatem, non poterit dici perfectio simpliciter ut includit finitatem, quia nihil formaliter finitum dicit perfectionem simpliciter. Si dicas quod dicit perfectionem simpliciter quia est infinita formaliter, hoc est 370 dicere quod sapientia, quia est in Deo, dicit perfectionem simpliciter, et tunc non attribuam Deo aliquid quod dicat perfectionem simpliciter, immo prius intelligitur esse in Deo, et ex hoc conveniat sibi ratio perfectionis simpliciter, quod est manifeste contra intentionem Anselmi, attendendo modum / suum quo docet nos 375 venire in notitiam eorum quae Deo attribuuntur.

380 Similiter, si sapientia dicat duos conceptus, scilicet Dei et creaturae, — ut dicit conceptum Dei dicitur de Deo, ut dicit conceptum creaturae dicitur de creatura —, eodem modo potero dicere lapis dicit duos conceptus, et secundum unum dicetur formaliter de Deo, secundum alium de creatura, et ita eodem modo poterit dici Deus lapis est sicut sapientia.

385 Ad salvandum igitur commune dictum quod aliter dicuntur de Deo sapientia, et huiusmodi, et ista quae ex ratione sua imperfectionem important, ut lapis, videtur necessario concedendum quod sapientia ex ratione sua non determinat sibi finitatem vel infinitatem, sed est indifferens ad utrumque, quod est propositum principale. Videtur igitur quod prima ratio principalis stet in robore suo.

357-379 Cf. 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.38, 40* (Vat. 3.25-27). 377 *Monologion c.15* (PL 158.163; ed. Schmitt, 1.28-29).

364 Et om. B 365 talem] aliquam B 366 finitum] infinitum A praeterea] propter eum AB 370 sapientiam] ut concipitur secundum rationem add. et del. A: add. B 375 quia] quae B

390

<Secunda ratio principalis>

- Secunda ratio principalis ad eandem quaestionem est ista: si Deus non potest concipi a viatore sub conceptu univoco sibi et creaturae, sed si debet concipi, concipientur tantum sub conceptu proprio sibi, ostendo quod nullam notitiam possumus de Deo habere in via sic: suppono quod nihil naturaliter est motivum intellectus nostri pro statu isto nisi intellectus agens <et> phantasma sive species intelligibilis existens in intellectu. Tunc arguo: nullus conceptus realis potest naturaliter causari in intellectu nostro pro statu isto nisi causetur ab his quae sunt naturaliter motiva intellectus nostri; sed naturaliter motiva intellectus nostri, ut patet ex suppositione, sunt intellectus agens <et> phantasma sive species intelligibilis; igitur nullus conceptus simplex potest causari in intellectu nostro nisi causetur ab his vel virtute istorum. Tunc ultra: nullus conceptus simplex proprius Deo potest causari in intellectu nostro nisi virtute istorum. Si igitur non cognoscatur Deus in conceptu communi sibi et creaturae causato in nobis ab his quae sunt naturaliter motiva intellectus nostri, sequitur quod nullam notitiam habebimus de Deo naturaliter, quia nec in conceptu proprio nec communi. Quod autem virtute istorum quae posita sunt naturaliter motiva intellectus nostri non possit causari in nobis aliquis conceptus simplex proprius ipsi Deo probatur sic: impossibile est aliquid obiectum causare in intellectu nostro conceptum simplicem alterius obiecti nisi tale obiectum includatur in eo essentialiter vel virtualiter essentialiter, sicut conceptus speciei includit conceptum generis: virtualiter, sicut conceptus subiecti includit conceptum passionis. Sed conceptus creaturae nec essentialiter nec virtualiter includit conceptum simplicem et proprium ipsius Dei. Igitur per nullum conceptum creaturae potest causari in intellectu nostro conceptus simplex proprius ipsi Deo.
- Minor est manifesta: constat enim quod conceptus simplex proprius ipsi Deo non includitur essentialiter in conceptu creaturae. Quod autem non includatur in eo virtualiter probatur sic: quando aliqui duo conceptus sic se habent quod unus est perfectior alio, repugnat naturae conceptus perfectioris includi in conceptu imperfectiori.
- Similiter, quando aliqua duo habent ordinem essentialem ad invicem secundum prius et posterius repugnat posteriori essentialiter continere virtualiter prius essentialiter: semper enim virtualiter includens est perfectior et prior essentialiter virtualiter inclusus. Sed conceptus simplex proprius Deo est perfectior quocumque

391-429 1 *Ord. d.3 n.35* (Vat. 3.21-24).

392 creaturae *corr. ex creabile B: creabile A* 394 naturaliter] causari *add. et exp. A: add. B*
 396 conceptus *corr. ex intellectus B* 397 in intellectu] intellectui *B* 403 causato] creato *B*
 409 eo] naturaliter *add. A*

conceptu creaturae et prior essentialiter conceptu creaturae; unde conceptus
 425 creaturae attribuitur sibi sicut posterius essentialiter priori. Ergo in nullo conceptu
 creaturae potest virtualiter contineri conceptus proprius ipsi Deo. Per nullum igitur
 conceptum creaturae poterit a nobis causari conceptus proprius ipsi Deo. Si ergo
 31rb non cognoscatur Deus ex creaturis / sub conceptu communi sibi et creaturae, nulla
 notitia naturaliter poterit haberi de Deo in vita ista.

430 <Instantiae ad istam rationem responsonesque ad eas>

Ad istam rationem, quando dicitur ‘nullum obiectum causat naturaliter
 conceptum simplicem alterius obiecti nisi contineat illud obiectum virtualiter vel
 formaliter,’ dicitur quod ista maior est falsa, quia effectus propter connexionem
 435 quam habet cum sua causa a qua essentialiter dependet potest aliquem conceptum
 causare qui sit proprius causae, licet talis conceptus causatus ab effectu de causa
 non sit perfectissimus conceptus possibilis haberi de causa, quia perfectior esset ille
 qui causaretur a causa immediate.

Falsitas illius propositionis patet in complexis: conceditur enim quod conclusio
 facit aliquam notitiam de principio. Ex conclusione enim demonstratione ‘quia’
 440 habetur aliqua notitia de principio, licet talis notitia non sit notitia perfectissima
 possibilis haberi de principio, quia perfectius cognoscitur quando cognoscitur ex
 terminis. Sicut igitur hoc conceditur in complexis quod conceptus complexus
 imperfectus causat aliquam notitiam de conceptu complexo perfectiori, eodem
 modo videtur etiam concedendum in simplicibus quod effectus simpliciter appre-
 445 hensus causabit aliquam notitiam de causa.

Ad probationem maioris, quando dicitur ‘nihil potest causare aliud nisi conti-
 neat illud virtualiter vel formaliter,’ dico quod per hoc tantum probatur quod
 effectus non potest in causam aequivocam existentem nec in aliquid eiusdem
 450 rationis cum causa ipsa, cum causa et quidquid est eiusdem rationis cum causa sit
 perfectius ens ipso effectu. Quando tamen effectus possit causare aliquam notitiam
 de causa, et maxime imperfectam, non sufficenter concluditur, quia talis notitia
 quam pono causari de causa per effectum non solum est imperfectior ipsa causa
 in se, verum etiam est imperfectior effectu aequivoco ipsius causae, scilicet conceptu
 perfecto nato immediate causari ab ipsa causa.

455 Ad excludendam istam solutionem accipiam sic maiorem: nullum obiectum
 causare potest in intellectu aliquem conceptum nisi contineat illum conceptum
 virtualiter vel formaliter. Ista est manifesta ex ratione causae et effectus aequivoci.

431-433 supra, ll. 407-409. 433-473 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.47-48* (Vat. 3.31-32). 438 ‘illus
 propositionis’, sc. supra, ll. 431-433. 446-447 supra. ll. 407-409.

438 Falsitas] et add. A 442 conceditur] continetur B 452 pono] dono B
 455 solutionem] conclusionem B

Sed nullum obiectum creatum nec virtualiter nec formaliter continet conceptum quidditativum proprium ipsi Deo. Hoc probatur, et primo quia non formaliter –
 460 patet. Quod non virtualiter probatur: nullum obiectum continet virtualiter aliquem effectum qui sit perfectior effectu sibi proprio et adaequato – plana est: aliter enim adaequatus non esset adaequatus. Sed conceptus quidditativus proprius Deo est perfectior conceptu quidditativo et proprio ipsi creaturae, qui tamen est effectus adaequatus obiecto creato, quia simillimus effectus causae possibilis produci a
 465 causa dicitur adaequatus causae – cuiusmodi est conceptus quidditativus correspondens obiecto creato. Igitur creatura non continet virtualiter aliquem conceptum proprium Deo.

Quod autem quidditativus conceptus proprius ipsi Deo sit perfectior conceptu proprio et adaequato creaturae probatur, quia quando duo conceptus sic se habent
 470 quod unus attribuitur alteri, ille qui attribuitur est imperfectior cui attribuitur. Sed conceptus proprius creaturae habet attributionem ad conceptum quidditativum Dei, loquendo etiam de conceptu quidditativo Dei quem ponunt causari a creatura. Igitur conceptus quidditativus Dei est perfectior perfectissimo conceptu creaturae.

Ex ista deductione patet falsitas duarum conclusionum in prima *Quaestione ordinaria* Conington. Prima est quod concipiendo creaturam habetur proprius conceptus Dei. Secunda est quod per prius concipitur Deus quam creatura; cuius ratio est, secundum eum, ibidem, quia conceptus creaturae habet attributionem <ad> conceptum Dei. Unde secunda conclusio destruit primam.

Absolute igitur videtur dicendum quod nullus conceptus de Deo potest fieri in
 480 nobis per actionem obiecti creati qui sit perfectior conceptu proprio et perfecto illius obiecti, sed erit imperfectior, quia effectus similius causae est perfectior effectus ipsius causae quam dissimilior. / Conceptus autem proprius creaturae 31va similius est obiecto a quo causatur quam conceptus Dei causatus a tali obiecto. Si hoc verum est quod conceptus causatus de Deo ex creatura est imperfectior
 485 conceptu proprio ipsius creaturae, constat quod conceptus creaturae non attribuitur conceptui Dei, et ita perit opinio Henrici dicentis contrarium.

Quomodo igitur tenebimus attributionem creaturae ad Deum? Dico quod obiectum bene attribuitur obiecto. Creatura enim bene habet attributionem ad Deum, et etiam conceptus causatus a creatura bene habet attributionem ad
 490 conceptum causatum a Deo in mente. Sed conceptus proprius creaturae non habet attributionem ad conceptum Dei causatum ex creatura, quia est imperfectior – loquendo, dico, de conceptu simplici. Bene enim de obiecto perfectiore potest

474-475 Conington (ed. Doucet, 434-37). 477 ‘... unitas *conceptus* Dei et creature non est univocationis, sed habitudinis, non equiparantie, sed analogie ...’ (ibid., 436). 478-586 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.49-55* (Vat. 3.32-37). 490-492 Cf. supra, ll. 477-478.

462 quidditativus] dictus *B* 470 imperfectior] et add. *A* 483 Si] sed *B* 492 potest]
 habet *AB*

haberi conceptus imperfectior quam de imperfectiori obiecto, dummodo conceptus talis obiecti perfectioris non sit perfectissimus conceptus possibilis haberi de tali
495 obiecto.

Sed hic occurrit una difficultas: si conceptus proprius Deo causatus ex creatura est imperfectior conceptu creaturae, quomodo igitur in tali cognitione de Deo consistet beatitudo quae ponitur a Philosopho, x Ethicorum, consistere in tali cognitione propria Dei? Videtur igitur quod ex creatura nullus conceptus quidditatis proprius ipsi Deo possit haberi ex creatura, quia talis conceptus nec potest esse perfectior conceptu creaturae, ut deductum est, sed imperfectior — quia in tali non consistet beatitudo. Videtur vera igitur quod nisi sit dare conceptum communem Deo et creaturae in quo cognoscatur Deus nulla notitia poterit haberi de Deo.
500

505 Sed forte dicet aliquis: videtur quod tenendo istam univocationem non possis etiam salvare beatitudinem consistere in cognitione naturali ipsius Dei, quia cum iste conceptus communis causatus de Deo ex lapide sit imperfectior conceptu proprio lapidis, quia talis conceptus communis continetur in conceptu proprio lapidis et est pars eius, in tali conceptu habito de Deo non poterit consistere
510 beatitudo naturalis.

Responsio: conceptus enim communis semper est imperfectior conceptu proprio in quo continetur, quia est potentialis respectu eiusdem et pars eius. Dico, intelligendo viam univocationis, quod quilibet conceptus simpliciter simplex habitus de Deo ex creatura est imperfectior verbo creaturae sive conceptu perfecto
515 creatureae — imperfectior, dico, positive, quia non tantam perfectionem includit positive conceptus communis quantam includit conceptus proprius et perfectus creaturae; tamen permissive conceptus communis est perfectior: compossibilis est enim alicui perfectioni, quae repugnat conceptui proprio creaturae, quia est compossibilis enti infinito, quae repugnat creaturae. Licet autem conceptus simpli-
520 citer simplex habitus de Deo ex creatura sit imperfectior conceptu perfecto creatureae, nec per consequens in eo consistet beatitudo naturalis, tamen conceptus compositus ex pluribus conceptibus habitis de Deo ex creatura, cuiusmodi est conceptus entis infiniti, est perfectior conceptu perfecto creatureae, et in tali potest consistere beatitudo naturalis. Licet igitur conceptus simpliciter simplex
525 habitus de Deo ex creatura non sit perfectior conceptu perfecto creatureae, tamen

498 EN 10.7 (1177a12-17).

496 difficultas] quod add. B 497-499 de . . . cognitione *in marg. A* 498 consistit B
502 nisi sit] non B 505 diceret B 508, 509 lapidis] -de A 512 potentialis respectu] potentia vel B eius] responsio add. A 513 univocationis] dico add. A 515 dico positive] deo possibilitatem B 517 communius B 518 perfectiori AB conceptu A 519 enti infinito] est infiniti A

conceptus simplex, etsi non simpliciter simplex, ut conceptus entis infiniti, est perfectior proprio conceptu creaturae. Cum igitur talis conceptus simpliciter simplex non sit proprius Deo sed conceptus simplex, et ille simplex est proprius Deo, patet quomodo secundum viam univocationis salvatur quod conceptus 530 proprius Deo causatus ex creatura est perfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae. Sic autem non potest salvare alia via negans univocationem.

Contra istam solutionem instatur duplum: primo, ostendendo quod conceptus entis infiniti non est conceptus perfectior conceptu creaturae; secundo, ostendendo quod tenendo viam Henrici, qui ponit quod quilibet conceptus habitus de Deo ex 535 creatura est proprius Deo et nullus / communis, potest dari aliquis conceptus 31vb proprius Deo perfectior conceptu proprio creaturae, sicut tu das tenendo univocationem.

Primum igitur ostenditur sic: ex duobus conceptibus, quorum uterque est imperfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae, non potest fieri conceptus unus qui sit 540 perfectior conceptu proprio creaturae. Sed conceptus entis est imperfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae, ut tu concedis, et similiter conceptus infiniti. Probatio, quia ‘infinitum’ concipitur a nobis per finitum, ‘finitum’ autem concipitur per lineam vel per aliquod tale obiectum, cuius ‘finitum’ est passio. Sequitur igitur quod conceptus entis infiniti est imperfectior quam conceptus lineae virtute cuius 545 causatur primo conceptus finiti et virtute finiti conceptus infiniti.

Confirmatur ista ratio sic: conceptus includens affirmationem et negationem non est perfectior propter negationem, aut saltem non est perfectior quam concipiendō affirmationem illius negationis. Sed in conceptu entis infiniti non est aliquis conceptus positivus nisi entis tantum; igitur infinitas non facit conceptum perfectio- 550 rem quam sit conceptus entis tantum, vel saltem non erit perfectior conceptus entis infiniti quam entis finiti; quod est intentum.

Secundo ostendo quod ponendo quilibet conceptum causatum de Deo ex creatura proprium Deo, sicut ponit Gandavensis, aequē possum dare conceptum proprium Deo perfectiorem conceptu proprio creaturae sicut tu cum univocatione. 555 Sicut tu dicis quod conceptus simpliciter simplex causatus de Deo ex creatura qui est conceptus communis non est perfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae, conceptus tamen simplex, qui non <est> simpliciter simplex, sicut est conceptus entis infiniti, est perfectior conceptu creaturae, ita dicam ego quod non omnis conceptus proprius Deo causatus ex creatura est perfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae sed 560 conceptus proprius includens multos erit perfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae. Et ita non erit differentia inter me et te nisi quod tu ponis aliquem conceptum simpliciter simplicem possibilem haberi de Deo ex creatura qui sit communis Deo

526 etsi] si B 533 ostendo B 534 quod^{1]}] non add. A 541 et om. A 543 aliquod] aliud B 550 erit] est B 553 possunt B 560 creaturae] sed conceptus proprius includens add. et del. A

et creaturae, ego nullum talem pono. Similiter, tu dicis quemlibet conceptum simplicem habitum de Deo esse perfectiorem conceptu perfecto creaturae, ego

565 autem non, sed tantum illum qui includit plures tales proprios. Non igitur oportet ponere univocationem propter cognitionem possibilem haberi de Deo, quae tamen videbatur multum efficax ad concludendum. Hoc tamen advertendum est hic: quod utraque opinio, in quantum ponit aliquem conceptum possibilem haberi de Deo ex creatura perfectiorem <conceptu perfecto> creaturae, habet solvere rationem

570 illam per quam probatur quod conceptus entis infiniti, nec quicumque aliis, est perfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae, cum quilibet eorum sit causatus virtute conceptus creaturae: aggregatio enim duorum imperfectorum non videtur facere conceptum perfectiorem.

Quid igitur dicemus tenendo quod beatitudo non necessario requirat perfectissimum actum intensive sed solum quod requirat actum coniungentem obiecto perfectissimo, quod puto probabiliter posse teneri? Posset dici quod quilibet conceptus causatus perfectissimus de Deo ex creatura esset imperfectior conceptu perfecto creaturae. Et si arguatur contra me quia secundum hoc sequitur quod

32ra 580 conceptus Dei attribuitur conceptui creaturae, dico quod Henrico est ista difficultas insolubilis, quia ipse / ponit conceptum creaturae habere attributionem ad conceptum Dei, et hoc idem dicit Conington, discipulus eius. Sed mihi est solubilis, quia ego dicam istam analogiam non esse conceptus ad conceptum sed obiecti concepti ad obiectum conceptum. Licet igitur illa secunda ratio principalis efficax sit contra Henricum, tamen absolute non teneret propter eam univocationem. Principalius 585 igitur induxi eam propter opinionem Henrici destruendam quam ad ostendendum principalem conclusionem.

<Responsio Richardi de Conington>

Conington tamen aliter volens salvare Gandavensem aliter respondet ad istam rationem, declarando quomodo non obstante quod conceptus entis non sit

590 communis univoce Deo et creaturae, nihilominus tamen conceptus creaturae potest causare notitiam proprii conceptus de Deo. Quod declarat sic: ‘ens ratum sive ens dictum a ratitudine quod distinguitur contra ens tantum opinabile sive dictum a reor-reris, quod idem est quod opinor-opinari – tale, dico, ens ratum causat in intellectu nostro notitiam de se in quantum est ens ratum. Cum autem in quantum 595 est ens ratum dicat respectum ad ens primum a quo habet quod sit ens ratum, ut

580-581 *SQO* 21.2 (1.125s-r); 24.9 (1.146y-z). 581 Circa opinionem Conington, vide supra, ll. 477-478. 591-604 Hunc textum Conington non invenimus. Cf. autem I. Baconsthorpe, 2 *Sent.* d.36 q.1 a.1 (ed. 1618, 1.663a-b); Scotum 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.52 (Vat. 4.174-75).

568 opinio om. B 585 opinionem] opus B 589 non om. B 592 dictum del. (?) A
quod] non add. B

refertur ad ipsum sub habitudine causae formalis exemplaris, concipiendo ens ratum ut ens ratum non concipitur sub ratione absoluta sed sub ratione respectiva.⁵⁹⁹ Tunc deducunt ultra: ‘Si concipiendo ens ratum ut ratum non concipitur aliquid sub ratione absoluta sed respectiva ad primum ens, cum relatio in uno extremo 600 habeat causare in intellectu conceptum alterius extremitatis sive conceptum relationis correspondentis sibi in altero extremo, concipiando ens ratum ut ratum causabitur in intellectu nostro conceptus entis primi. Et ita poterit haberi conceptus proprius de ente primo per conceptum creaturae, non obstante quod in nullo conceptu 605 communi univoce communicant.’ Dicunt igitur isti quod non obstante quod conceptus entis non sit communis univoce Deo et creaturae, concipiendo tamen creaturam habeo conceptum proprium de ipso Deo. Et istam conclusionem probant multipliciter sic: primo, concipiendo creaturam vel concipio ipsam in communi, ut concipiendo ens vel aliam perfectionem ut sapientiam in communi, vel concipio creaturam magis in particulari, et hoc dupliciter: vel cum nota 610 particularitatis addita tali intentioni communi, puta concipiendo hoc bonum, vel concipiendo propriam rationem alicuius creaturae, ut hominis vel lapidis; sed quocumque istorum modorum concipiāt creaturam concipio conceptum proprium Deo; igitur per conceptum creaturae poterit in nobis causari conceptus proprius Deo.

615 Maior est nota. Minor probatur, et primo quod concipiendo ens in communi concipiāt conceptum Deo proprium primo sic: ‘Nulla intentio communis pluribus non univoce est neutra aut altera tantum intentionum quibus est communis, sed utraque in actu.’ Hoc probatur: ‘Si enim esset tantum altera, non esset communis utriusque; similiter, si esset neutra, tunc esset abstracta a differentiis earum, et per 620 consequens esset una et descendens in eas per differentias et esset univoca.’ Sed intentio communis Deo et creaturae est communis non univoce, dicente Lincolniense, *Super De divinis nominibus*, cap. 9, parte 5: ‘Non enim ordinatur Deus cum alio sub eodem et in eodem univoco ut ab omnibus alterum et diversum.’ Et de intentione entis dicit specialiter, cap. 5: ‘Ens est prius ente et ente particulato 625 prioritate non convertendi consequentiam, non / quod ens sit genus, quia dicitur 32rb

616-656 Conington (ed. Doucet, 434-35). 622 Grosseteste, *In div. nom. c.9 p.7* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1620, fol. 54vb): ‘Non enim ordinatur cum aliquo et in eodem unico ut ab omnibus alterum seu diversum.’ 624 *ibid.*, c.5 p.5 (fol. 41ra): ‘Priors enim ut praestansum est, non tempore sed prioritate non convertendi consequentiam est ipsum esse secundum se consideratum a praente deo, et consequenter est ens particulatum aliqua differentia, ut pote eo quod est non in altero ens vel in altero ens, vel eo quod est vivere vel non vivere, vel non quod est esse vel ens sit genus, cum de diversis dictum non omnino univoce sed homonyme dicatur.’

599 primum] ipsum <i>B</i>	603 non obstante] tamen absolute <i>B</i>	nullo] intellectu <i>B</i>
607 concipio] -cipiendo <i>A</i>	609 creaturam <i>om. B</i>	vel ² <i>om. B</i>
ex neutra <i>A</i> : neutram <i>B</i>	622 divinis] dei <i>A</i>	611 lapide <i>A</i>
	5] etiam <i>B</i>	618 utraque <i>corr.</i>
	623 et ¹] vel <i>B</i>	

de differentiis non univoce sed homonime.⁶³³ Igitur concipiendo ens concipio intentionem propriam Deo et intentionem creaturae.

Item, quilibet experietur in se ipso quod audiendo de aliquo quod sit bonum, si vult videre an bonum sit quod audivit, statim sine discursu occurrit sibi absoluta intentio bonitatis, de qua non dubitat an sit bona, per quam intentionem tamquam per sibi notam naturaliter iudicat de quilibet an sit bonum. Hoc autem non esset, nisi in communi conceptu boni percepto, conceptum fuisse bonum absolutum quod est proprium soli Deo. Haec videtur intentio Augustini viii *De Trinitate*, cap. 5, dicentis: 'Neque enim in his omnibus bonis diceremus aliud melius alio, cum vere iudicamus, nisi esset nobis impressa notitia ipsius boni per quam aliud alii praeponeremus.' Sic igitur patet minor rationis quantum ad primam partem, scilicet quod concipiendo creaturam in communi, puta concipiendo intentionem entis, concipio intentionem Deo propriam.

Probatur alia pars eiusdem minoris, scilicet quod concipiendo creaturam in particulari, ut concipiendo intentionem communem cum nota particularitatis, scilicet concipiendo 'hoc bonum', concipio intentionem Deo propriam, sic: concipiendo 'hoc bonum' concipio de necessitate duo, 'hoc', scilicet et 'bonum'. Sed concipiendo 'bonum' concipio intentionem Deo propriam, ut patet ex praecedenti ratione,⁶³⁴ igitur concipiendo 'hoc bonum' concipio intentionem Deo propriam.

Tertia pars eiusdem minoris, scilicet quod concipiendo creaturam secundum propriam rationem creaturae, ut concipiendo lapidem, concipiatur intentio Deo propria, probatur sic: Impossibile est concipere creaturam secundum suam propriam rationem nisi concipiatur intentio entis, cum includatur formaliter in propria ratione creaturae. Sed ostensum est quod concipiendo ens concipitur intentio Deo propria; igitur concipiendo lapidem secundum suam propriam rationem concipitur intentio Deo propria. Ex conceptu igitur creaturae causatur in intellectu nostro conceptus proprius de Deo, non obstante quod conceptus entis non sit univocus Deo et creaturae. Et ita posito quod conceptus entis non sit conceptus unus poterit 655 haberi notitia alia de Deo, cuius contrarium concludebat secunda ratio principalis ad conclusionem.

<Contra responsonem Richardi de Conington>

Contra ista, et primo arguo contra responsonem, ostendendo quod non evadit argumentum; secundo, solvam rationem eius. Contra solutionem arguo ergo sic,

633 *De Trin.* 8.3 (PL 42.949; CCL 50.272:17-21). 659-719 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.53-55 (Vat. 4.175-77).

627 propriam . . . intentionem² om. *per hom.* B 628 experitur A 629 an om. A
640 ut] puta add. B

660 et ostendo quod argumentum stat, scilicet quod nihil potero cognoscere de Deo, et accipio sicut prius: Nullum obiectum potest causare in intellectu nostro aliquem conceptum de aliquo obiecto nisi contineat illud essentialiter vel virtualiter. Sed conceptus relationis nec essentialiter nec virtualiter continet conceptum fundamenti, licet forte e converso conceptus fundamenti contineat virtualiter conceptum relationis. Igitur quantumcumque concipiendo ens ratum ut ratum concipio relationem in altero extremo, impossibile tamen est quod conceptus relationis causet aliquem conceptum proprium ipsius fundamenti. Et ita stat prima ratio quod nisi Deus concipiatur a nobis sub aliquibus conceptibus communibus univoce sibi et creatureae nulla notitia poterit haberi de Eo in via.

670 Item, secundum responsionem datam ad argumentum supponuntur tria quae omnino sunt falsa. Primum est quod relatio in uno extremo prius intelligitur quam fundamentum alterius relationis in altero extremo. Istud est falsum, quia cum entitas relationis in uno extremo dependeat ab utroque extremo notitia etiam relationis dependebit a notitia utriusque extremi, et ita notitia relationis in uno 675 extremo non habebitur prius in intellectu nostro quam notitia fundamenti alterius / relationis, immo fundamentum praeintelligetur relationi, cuius contrarium dicit. 32va

Item, videtur supponere quod relatio in uno extremo praeintelligitur relationi in altero extremo, ex quo relatio in uno extremo causat conceptum relationis in altero extremo, quod est etiam falsum, quia simul natura concipiuntur.

680 Supponit etiam quod res rata creata non intelligitur a nobis nisi in quantum relata, quia est tantum respectus, quod tamen ostendetur esse falsum in tertia distinctione de vestigio, ubi amplius explicabitur istud dictum de ente rato.

Quantum tamen ad praesens spectat illud dictum, scilicet quod res creata rata non sit nisi relata et non possit intelligi nisi relata, videtur esse contra beatum 685 Augustinum, vii *De Trinitate*, cap. 8, ubi dicit sic: ‘Omnis res ad se subsistit, quanto magis Deus.’ Loquitur autem ibi Augustinus de subsistentia qua res naturaliter in se subsistit. Subsistentia igitur qua res naturaliter subsistit est ad se; non igitur res creata rata est tantum respectus.

Item, ibidem, Augustinus dicit: ‘Omnis res quae relative dicitur est aliquid excepta relatione; immo si non esset aliquid ad se, non esset aliquid ad aliud.’

Quare igitur ista, quae supponit data responsio, sunt falsa. Responsio etiam parum valet.

680-681 Hoc commentum in libros *Sententiarum*, quod auctor passim allegat, non invenimus; cf. autem Scotum, 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.302-329* (Vat. 184-99). 685 *De Trin. 7.4* (PL 42.942; CCL 50.260:149-150). 689 *De Trin. 7.8* (PL 42.935; CCL 50.247:106-248:117).

660 ostendendo *B* 662 vel *om. A* 662-663 Sed . . . relationis *bis A* 668 sibi et] deo *B* 669 Eo] deo *B* 673 relationis] in altero extremo *add. et del. A* 674 notitia² *om. B* 678 altero¹] -ra *A* 685 omnes *B* 686 de subsistentia *om. B* 687 est] esse *B* 688 tantum] tamen eius *B* 689 ibidem] *idem A*

Item, dato secundum respositionem eorum quod relatio in uno extremo causaret conceptum relationis in altero extremo, ita quod relatio creaturae ad Deum causaret conceptum relationis Dei ad creaturam, cum relatio Dei ad creaturam sit relatio rationis, ut declarabitur distinctione trigesima sexta libri I, non potest includere in se aliquem conceptum absolutum in quo fundetur. Quia cum absolutum in quo fundetur sit essentia divina vel alia perfectio absoluta, et ens rationis non possit in conceptu suo includere conceptum alicuius perfectionis simpliciter, quantumcumque conceptus relationis in creatura causaret conceptum correspondentem relationi in Deo ad creaturam, numquam poterit concipi de Deo aliqua perfectio simpliciter, quod est falsum et inconveniens.

Item, contra eos arguo sic ex dictis eorum, nam, secundum eos, essentia divina non est nata de se facere conceptum nisi unum reale de se in intellectu; igitur de ipsa essentia non est natus haberi nisi unus conceptus realis. Ista consequentia probatur, quia omnem conceptum realem natum haberi de ea, ipsa nata est causare in intellectu. Hoc enim competit in perfectionibus obiectivis, causare scilicet in intellectu omnem conceptum possibilem haberi de eis. Ulterius deduco: si de essentia divina non est natus haberi nisi unus conceptus, et quem nata est essentia divina causare in intellectu, igitur quodcumque obiectum natum de illa essentia facere aliquem conceptum reale natum est facere illum unicum qui natus est haberi de ea et qui natus est causari ab ea, quia si non est natum facere illum, tunc nullum, cum tantum unus realis natus sit haberi de ea. Sed nulla creatura potest causare illum unicum reale conceptum natum haberi de ea et causari ab ea, quia cum per istum conceptum unicum cognoscatur essentia divina ut haec, posset nunc ex creatura cognosci essentia divina ut haec. Sequitur igitur secundum positionem eorum quod nullus conceptus realis posset haberi de Deo in via, et ita nullam notitiam haberemus de Deo in via, quod tamen est falsum. Stant igitur primae duae rationes concludentes aliquem conceptum communem univocum Deo et creaturae.

32vb 720 Ad rationem illam per quam probatur quod / non obstante quod conceptus entis non sit univocus Deo et creaturae, ex conceptu tamen creaturae poterit causari in intellectu nostro conceptus Deo proprius, quia creatura sive concipiatur in communi, ut concipiendo intentionem entis, sive in particulari – et hoc sive concipiendo intentionem communem cum nota particularitatis, ut concipiendo ‘hoc bonum’, sive concipiendo creaturam secundam suam proprium rationem, ut concipiendo lapidem secundum rationem lapidis, – semper concipitur intentio Deo propria, nego.

696 Cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.30 n.49 (Vat. 5.192).
Il. 223-244, 391-429.

718-719 ‘primae duae rationes’, sc. supra,
Il. 604-614.

695 ad¹ *om. A* 701 numquam] non *add. A* 707 competit] concipit *B* 726 lapidis] -de
A intentio] intellectus *B* 727 proprius *B*

Ad primam probationem, quando dicitur quod intentio communis pluribus non univoce non est neutra nec altera tantum utraque in actu, concedo. Et quando
 730 assumitur quod intentio entis est talis, falsum est. Tu probas <illud> per Lincolnensem. Dico quod ex ista auctoritate adducta potest directe concludi oppositum, sic arguendo: conceptus prior aliquibus conceptibus prioritate non convertendi consequentiam inclusus in posterioribus conceptibus est communis eis univoce. Omnis enim conceptus qui sic se habet ad conceptus posteriores est conceptus
 735 unus et neuter posteriorum. Et talis est univocus eis, sicut patet de conceptu generis respectu specierum et de quolibet conceptu superiorum respectu inferiorum. Sed secundum Lincolnensem ‘ens est prius ente et ente particulari prioritate non convertendi consequentiam.’ Igitur conceptus entis <est> conceptus univocus ad ens, per quod intelligo ens per essentiam, et ad ens particulatum, et ita potius
 740 videtur Lincolnensis velle quod conceptus entis sit conceptus univocus Deo et creaturae quam oppositum. Sed quantum ad illam partem auctoritatis, quando dicit quod ‘non est genus’, verum est, et hoc declarabitur in tertio articulo. Sed quando dicit quod ‘homonyme sive analogice dicitur,’ dico quod talis analogia compatitur secum univocationem, sicut declarabitur in eodem articulo et ibidem solvetur. Ad
 745 primam auctoritatem, quae videtur dicere quod nihil est commune univoce Deo et creaturae, sic igitur dico quod concipiendo ens non concipio intentionem Deo propriam sed communem Deo et creaturae. Ex hoc patet quod concipiendo hoc bonum non habeo conceptum Deo proprium, nec concipiendo lapidem; sed tantum ex conceptu huius boni sive ex conceptu lapidis causatur in intellectu
 750 nostro quidam conceptus communis Deo et creaturae, et componendo tales conceptus ad invicem aliquo modo habetur conceptus Deo proprius. Nec aliter est a nobis naturaliter cognoscibilis pro statu isto.

<Tertia ratio principalis>

Tertia ratio ad conclusionem principalem est ista: conceptus simplex habitus de
 755 aliquo subiecto, si sit proprius illi subiecto, est sufficiens ratio ad cognoscendum omnia conceptibilia de tali subiecto quae sibi necessario insunt: talis enim conceptus erit medium ad demonstrandum omnia praedicata quae necessario insunt subiecto de proprio subiecto. Sed ex creatura nullum conceptum talem habemus de Deo qui sit sufficiens ratio ad cognoscendum omnia quae necessario

728 supra, II. 615-627. 742, 744 infra, II. 1096-1106, 1754-1831. 744-745 supra,
 II. 622-623. 754-763 1 Ord. d.3 n.36 (Vat. 3.24).

728 intentio] intellectus *B* 730 quod intentio] intellectus *B* 731 directe *om. B* 736 in-
 feriorum *corr. ex infinitorum A* 747 concipiendo *om. B* 749 lapide *A* 750 componendo]
 concipiando *B* 751 Nec] non *B* 756 sibi] sunt *B* 758 proprio] ipsi *B*

- 760 insunt ipsi Deo, sicut patet, quia per nullum conceptum habitum de Deo ex creatura possum cognoscere Deum trinum, et ita de aliis credilibus necessariis. Igitur ex creatura non possumus habere aliquem conceptum simplicem proprium ipsi Deo. Igitur ex creatura vel nullum conceptum habebimus de Deo in via, vel oportet ponere quod cognoscatur ex creatura in conceptu communi sibi et
- 33ra 765 creaturae et ex talium concep/tuum aggregatione habebitur conceptus unus compositus proprius ipsi Deo.

Item, sapientia quae est perfectio simpliciter aut est eiusdem rationis ut dicitur de Deo et creatura, aut alterius. Si eiusdem, habetur intentum. Si alterius, non plus poterit ex sapientia in creatura argui sapientia in Deo formaliter quam ex lapide.

- 770 Sicut enim sapientia in Deo est alterius rationis a sapientia quae est in creatura, et sapientia quae est in Deo dicitur formaliter de Deo, ita consimiliter dicam quod lapis exsistens in Deo formaliter est alterius rationis a lapide creato, et lapis qui est in Deo dicitur formaliter de Deo.

Confirmatur ista ratio per Anselmum. Anselmus enim reprehendit definitionem illam datam de libero arbitrio: quod est potestas peccandi, quia dicit ipse quod secundum hoc non esset ponere in Deo liberum arbitrium, quia talis ratio non reperitur in Deo. Unde videtur Anselmus velle quod oportet rationem assignari de libero arbitrio, quia secundum illam rationem reperiatur in Deo et creatura, nam si alterius rationis esset liberum arbitrium ut dicitur de Deo et creatura, nihil valeret

- 780 dictum Anselmi, quia diceretur sibi quod illa est definitio liberi arbitrii in creatura.

Item, arguitur ad eandem conclusionem sic: unius potentiae formaliter est aliquod obiectum simpliciter unum. Sed intellectus noster est una potentia formaliter, licet sit plures virtualiter. Ergo eius obiectum primum erit simpliciter unum. Sed nihil aliud potest poni eius primum obiectum ut talis potentia nisi ens. Ergo

- 785 ens dicit conceptum unum.

Ad istam rationem respondetur distinguendo de potentias. Quaedam enim sunt determinati generis, sicut potentiae in operatione sua dependentes ab organo et habentes operationem suam mediante aliquo organo. Et de talibus conceditur quod habent obiectum unum simpliciter. Aliae sunt potentiae magis abstractae et magis

- 790 indeterminatae quae sunt respectu totius entis; cuiusmodi est intellectus. Et tali potentiae non correspondet unum obiectum simpliciter.

767-773 1 *Ord. d.3 n.40* (Vat. 3.27). 774-780 1 *Ord. d.8 n.72* (Vat. 4.185-86). 775 *De libero arbitrio c.1* (PL 158.489; ed. Schmitt, 1.207). 781-931 Has rationes ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 54.555-59.670) verbatim et ordinatim auctor accipit. 781-785 cf. Scotum, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.5 (Vives 7.148a). 786 'respondetur', sc. ab Cowton (ed. Brown², 34-35).

760 quia om. B 766 ipsi] ipsum A 771 formaliter] a add. A de] a B 772 creata A
775 ipse om. B 777 assignare A 788 aliquo om. B

Contra istam solutionem arguo et ostendo quod generaliter illa maior est vera sic: inter potentiam et obiectum est naturalis ordo motivi et mobilis sive perfectivi et perfectibilis sive determinativi et determinabilis. Sed impossibile est unum
 795 formaliter primo ordinari ad plura; immo, si ordinetur ad plura, hoc erit sub ratione unius. Igitur obiecta intelligibilia ab intellectu habent unum primum obiectum quod erit adaequatum intellectui.

Secundo probatur eadem maior sic: intellectus noster refertur ad intelligibile ut mensuratum ad mensuram, ex v *Metaphysicae*. Sed unius mensurati formaliter est
 800 una mensura prima, ex x *Metaphysicae*. Et si sunt plures mensurae per se, hoc erit in quantum sunt <plures> rationes simpliciter. Igitur omnia intelligibilia ab intellectu nostro per se habent unum primum intelligibile, quod est primum obiectum et mensura intellectus nostri.

Minor autem praedictae rationis, scilicet quod ens et nihil aliud sit primum obiectum intellectus nostri, quod negatur a pluribus, scilicet ab illis qui ponunt Deum primum obiectum intellectus nostri et ab illis qui ponunt quod quid est rei materialis esse primum obiectum intellectus nostri, de quibus erit sermo diffusior
 805 tertia distinctione libri primi, probatur tamen, quantum ad praesens spectat, sic: aliquid poni obiectum primum intellectus nostri non potest intelligi nisi dupliciter:
 810 vel primum / primitate communitatis sive praedicationis, quod dicitur de quolibet 33rb per se intelligibili, vel primum primitate virtutis, quod scilicet primo sit motivum intellectus et virtute eius quodlibet aliud, ita quod nullum intelligibile aliud possit virtute propria movere intellectum sed tantum virtute primi obiecti, sicut ponitur
 815 essentia divina obiectum primum intellectus divini: sic enim movet intellectum divinum quod nullum aliud obiectum movet nisi virtute primi, scilicet virtute ipsius
 essentiae. Sed constat quod <nec> Deus nec substantia potest poni primum obiectum intellectus nostri primitate virtutis. Non Deus, quia Deus pro statu isto
 <non> sic se habet ad intellectum nostrum quod moveat ipsum ad cognitionem sui
 820 et ad cognitionem omnium aliorum, ita quod nihil aliud moveat ad cognitionem sui <et> Dei nisi virtute Dei, sed potius est e converso, quod alia movent ad cognitionem Dei, dicente Apostolo, Rom. 1: 'Invisibilia Dei a creatura' etc. Nec et substantia potest poni tali primitate primum obiectum intellectus nostri: non enim substantia primo movet intellectum nostrum ad cognitionem sui et virtute sui ad cognitionem accidentium, ita quod accidentia virtute propria non possint movere intel-

799 *Metaph.* 5.15 t.20 (1020b30-35). 800 *Metaph.* 10.1 t.2-3 (1052b19-35). 804-
 808 Henricus Gandavus et eius discipulus Richardus de Conington Deum esse primum obiectum
 nostri intellectus pro statu isto posuerunt; S. Thomas quiditatem materialem. 807-808 Cf.
 Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.108-28, 189-201 (Vat. 3.69-80, 115-23). 821 Rom 1:20.

798 ut] et A 800 prima] potentia B 801 rationis A 806 Deum] idem B 809 poni]
 ponitur B 812 eius] cuius B 822 potest . . . substantia om. per hom. B 824 possunt B

825 lectum nostrum ad cognitionem sui; sed potius e converso, dicente Philosopho, i
De anima, accidentia magnam partem conferunt ad cognoscendum quod quid est.
 Accidentia etiam secundum propriam virtutem movent intellectum nostrum.

Similiter, loquendo de primitate communitatis sive praedicationis, nihil aliud ab ente potest poni primum obiectum intellectus nostri, nam nihil aliud ab ente dicitur
 830 de omnibus per se intelligibilibus. Ens igitur est primum obiectum intellectus nostri et in eo concurrit duplex primitas, scilicet virtutis respectu proprietarum passionum et primitas communitatis respectu eorum in quibus includitur essentialiter. Unde forte non est dare respectu intellectus nostri pro statu isto aliquod obiectum primum tantum primitate communitatis, quia forte nihil est — etiam conceptus
 835 entis — quod quidditative includatur in quolibet per se intelligibili. Sed istud diffusus tractabitur in quaestione sequenti.

Item, quod ens sit primum obiectum intellectus nostri probatur sic: illud est primum obiectum potentiae cognitivae sub <cuius> ratione cetera cognoscuntur et sub cuius ratione cetera obiciuntur potentiae, ut patet de primo obiecto potentiae
 840 visivae. Sed sub ratione entis omnia intelligibilia cognoscuntur et sub eius ratione cetera cognoscibilia obiciuntur potentiae intellectivae. Ergo ens est primum obiectum intellectus nostri, et per consequens ens dicit conceptum unum.

Item, unius habitus scientifici est unum obiectum, quia ab eodem habet unum-
 quodque suam unitatem a quo habet suam distinctionem. Habitus autem distin-
 845 guuntur per obiecta, iuxta illi *De anima*: ‘Scientiae secantur quemadmodum et res de quibus sunt.’ Igitur scientia habet suam unitatem ex obiecto. Sed ens in quantum ens est obiectum unius scientiae, scilicet metaphysicae, prout nota reduplicationis spectat formalem rationem entis in se, non in comparatione ad substantiam vel ad aliquid inferius, dicente Avicenna, i *Metaphysicae* sua, cap.<1>: ‘Ens, in quantum
 850 ens est commune omnibus, debet poni subiectum huius magisterii.’ Igitur ens dicit conceptum unum. Et hoc est sic arguere: quidquid est obiectum unius habitus scientialis est unum obiectum potentiae intellectivae, quia non maior unitas
 33va requiritur ad unitatem / obiecti potentiae cognitivae quam ad unitatem alicuius scientiae. Cum igitur potentia cognitiva intellectiva se extendat ad plures habitus
 855 scientiales, cum ens sit obiectum unius scientiae, ipsum erit obiectum unum intellectus. Sed quidquid est obiectum unum intellectus ei obicitur secundum unum conceptum. Igitur ens dicit conceptum unum. Haec videtur ratio Avicennae, cap.

825 *De an.* 1.1 t.11 (402b21-22); cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.139 (Vat. 3.87). 837-842 Scotus,
QQ Metaph. 4.1 n.5 (Vivès 7.148a). 845 *De an.* 3.8 t.38 (431b24-25). 849 *Prima philosophia* 1.2 (AvL 1.12:31-32). 857-858 *Prima philosophia* 1.5 (AvL 1.40:50-51).

826 est *om.* *B* 830 igitur] enim *B* 831-832 scilicet . . . primitas *om.* *per hom.* *B*
 843 unius] unus *A* 844 suam unitatem] communitatem *B* 855 unius *om.* *B*

5, dicentis: 'Postquam una intentio est ens in quam sequuntur accidentia quae sunt ei propria, egebit una scientia in qua tractatur.'

- 860 Ad istam rationem dicitur sic: quod sicut significata entis sunt simpliciter plura, unum tamen secundum quid, sic proportionaliter metaphysica est plures scientiae simpliciter, una tamen secundum quid, scilicet secundum unitatem ordinis et proportionis: quot enim demonstrationes sunt in aliqua scientia totali tot sunt habitus scientiae partiales.
- 865 Contra: non obstante ista responsione, adhuc ratio habet efficaciam, quod deduco: posito quod metaphysica includat virtualiter plures habitus, quia quot sunt demonstrationes in metaphysica tot sunt habitus scientiae formaliter, accipiatur tamen prima demonstratio in metaphysica: in illa demonstratione concludetur aliqua passio una de uno subiecto quod est ens, puta unum vel actus vel aliqua alia 870 passio entis. Tunc arguatur sic: unius scientiae formaliter est subiectum simpliciter unum. Sed scientia generata per istam demonstrationem unam in qua concluditur aliqua passio una de ente est scientia formaliter una, quia una species qualitatis. Igitur eius subiectum est simpliciter unum. Eiusmodi autem subiectum ponitur ens, de quo concluditur passio una. Igitur ens dicit unum conceptum. Quod autem 875 scientiae unius formaliter subiectum debeat dicere conceptum unum declaratur ex hoc, quia [in] essentialiter ordinatis status est ad unum simpliciter. Illa autem quae traduntur in una scientia habent ordinem essentiale ad invicem: conclusio enim virtualiter continetur in principio. Terminus autem praedicati virtualiter continetur in termino subiecti, quia, ut communiter, principium est propositio una vera 880 secundo modo per se. In omni autem propositione vera secundo modo per se semper praedicatum, cum sit passio, virtualiter continetur in subiecto. Cum igitur status sit ad subiectum, oportet quod subiectum dicat simpliciter unum conceptum.

Item, quod ens dicat conceptum unum communissimum arguitur sic: illud quod est primum intelligibile a nobis dicit conceptum unum communissimum et 885 confusissimum. Ista habetur ex intentione <Philosophi>, i *Physicorum*, dicentis quod communiora quae sunt magis confusa sunt primo nobis nota et sunt a nobis primo intelligibilia. Sed ens – non Deus, nec substantia, nec aliquod accidens – est a nobis primum intelligibile, dicente Avicenna, i *Metaphysicae*, cap. 5, quod ens et alia transcendentia ‘prima impressione imprimuntur in anima et non fiunt 890 cognita ex aliis notioribus sed alia ex istis.’ Igitur ens dicit conceptum confusissi-

860-864 Hic opinionem Cowton (ed. Brown², 34) auctor allegat. 883-892 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.5 (Vivès 7.147b-48a); cf. Cowton (ed. Brown², 21). 885 *Ph.* 1.1 t.1 (184a22-25). 888 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.31:2-32:4).

859 tractetur *A* 862 tamen] tantum *AB* 863, 866 quot] quod *A* 867 habitus *om. A*
870 arguitur *B* 875 debet *B* 876-877 quae traduntur] contradicuntur *B* 878 in] alio
add. B 879 est *om. B* 882, 883 dicit *B*

mum et communissimum et communiorem quam sit conceptus substantiae vel conceptus cuiuscumque accidentis.

Confirmatur ista ratio in via cognoscendi quae competit nobis pro statu isto: procedendo a confuso ad determinatum semper illud quod primo occurrit intellectui nostro debet esse confusum respectu cuiuscumque secundo occurrentis. Sed

895 nullum genus generalissimum est confusum respectu alterius generalissimi. Nullum igitur generalissimum potest esse illud quod primo occurrit intellectui nostro. Cum igitur, per Avicennam, ens sit illud quod primo occurrit intellectui nostro, ens dicet conceptum unum confusum et communiorem quam sit conceptus alicuius generalissimi.

Item, si conceptus entis non sit conceptus unus communis substantiae et accidenti, igitur nullum conceptum quidditativum possumus habere de substantia.

33vb Consequens est falsum, igitur antecedens. / Consequentia probatur sic: omnis conceptus quidditativus substantiae aut est sibi proprius aut communis sibi et accidenti. Sed pro statu isto nullum conceptum simplicem possumus habere de substantia proprium ipsi substantiae. Quod probatur ex hoc, nam conceptus simplex et proprius alicui obiecto non potest causari in intellectu nostro nisi immediate causetur ab illo obiecto cui correspondet talis conceptus. Intellectus autem noster pro statu isto non potest immediate immutari a substantia.

905 910 Quod probatur ex hoc: quando aliquod obiectum praesens intellectui nostro immediate immutat ipsum, eius absentia percipitur et apprehenditur quando non est praesens et quando non immutat, sicut patet <per> Philosophum II *De anima*, de luce et tenebra respectu visus. Quia enim lux praesens visui immutat ipsum, ideo eius absentia quae est tenebra cognoscitur quando non immutat visum. Si igitur substantia praesens intellectui immediate immutaret intellectum, eius absentia naturaliter cognosceretur quando non immutaret intellectum. Et ita naturaliter posset cognosci substantiam non esse in sacramento Altaris, quod est falsum, quia est mere creditum.

915 Non igitur possumus habere de substantia aliquem conceptum simplicem proprium ipsi substantiae. Si igitur accidens non movet intellectum nostrum ad conceptum aliquem quidditativum communem substantiae et accidenti, sequitur quod nullum conceptum quidditativum poterimus habere de substantia, et per consequens nullam notitiam habebimus de substantia.

898 ibid. 901-922 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.139-40, 145* (Vat. 3.87-88, 90); cf. *QQ De an. q.21 n.3* (Vivès 3.613b). 912 *De An. 2.2 t.138* (425b21).

894 occurrit] de modo cognoscendi substantiam habetur diffuse in quaestionibus de anima *in marg. A* 898 dicit *B* 901 unius *A* communis *om. B* 906 ipsae *A* 907 obiecto] cui correspondent talis conceptus intellectus *add. et del. A* 908 illo] alio *B* 909 non potest *om. B* mutari *B* 914 quando] quoniam *B* 919 igitur] possumus habere *add. et del. A* 922 haberemus *B*

Item, si ens sit multiplex et aequivocum, igitur ista veritas complexa ‘Impossibile est idem esse et non esse’ est multiplex. Consequens est falsum, ergo et antecedens.

925 Consequentia probatur, quia illa complexio est multiplex cuius extrema sunt multiplicita. Falsitas consequentis probatur, quia istud principium, cum sit principium principiorum, est notissimum et firmissimum, ex iv *Metaphysicae*. Quod non esset verum, si tale principium esset multiplex; immo eius veritas esset incerta et dubia. Probatur etiam ex alio, quia ad illud principium stat reductio omnium

930 posteriorum. Illud autem in quod tamquam in principium reducuntur omnia posteriora debet esse simpliciter unum et non multiplex.

Item, intellectus habens conceptum alicuius obiecti potest illo conceptu distinguere obiectum conceptum ab omni alio obiecto. Sed per conceptum entis intellectus sive mens, concipiendo ens, non distinguit Deum ab omni alio obiecto.

935 Igitur conceptus entis non dicit conceptum proprium ipsi Deo. Nec etiam proprium creaturae. Igitur dicit conceptum communem utriusque. Maior probatur, quia conceptus proprius alicuius obiecti est repugnans alteri obiecto. Igitur concipiens aliquod obiectum secundum conceptum sibi proprium concipit ipsum secundum conceptum repugnantem cuilibet alteri obiecto. Sed concipiens aliquod

940 obiectum secundum conceptum repugnantem cuilibet alteri obiecto concipit ipsum ut distinctum a quolibet alio. Igitur habens conceptum proprium alicuius obiecti potest illo conceptu distinguere tale obiectum ab omni alio. Minor est manifesta et concessa ab adversario.

Confirmatur ratio sub alia forma sic: duo obiecta primo diversa secundum proprias rationes intellecta possunt ab invicem distingui. Unde quod duo obiecta secundum proprias rationes quarum una est primo diversa ab altera sint a me intellecta, et tamen quod non possum distinguere illa, est im/possibile. Sed 34ra intellectus, concipiendo ens, nullum eorum quae sunt sub ente per rationem entis potest distinguere. ‘Certitudo enim cuiuscumque rei quae propria est ei est propter esse,’ secundum Avicennam, i *Metaphysicae*, circa principium. Igitur, concipiendo ens non concipiatur aliiquid contentum sub ente secundum propriam rationem eius. Oportet igitur dicere quod concipiendo ens vel nihil concipiatur vel quod aliquod commune concipiatur indifferens ad omnia contenta sub eo.

Item, intellectus concipiendo ens in aliquo sistit et ad aliiquid obiective terminatur, aliter nihil intelligeret intellectus intelligendo ens. Aut igitur sistit intellectus

923-931 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 37.67-75). 927 *Metaph.* 4.3 t.8 (1005b11-23). 932-1013 Haec argumenta contra Conington ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 39.114-42.188) verbatim et ordinatum auctor accipit. 932-943 Scotus, *Add. magn.* d.3 q.1 n.6 (Vives 22.94b-95a). 944-953 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.65 (Vat. 4.183); Conington (ed. Brown¹, p. 304.3-6). 950 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.35:64-65).

925 probatur] sic *add. B* 930 principium] primum *A* 954-955 determinatur *B*

in aliquo conceptu simpliciter uno, et hoc est intentum, quod ens dicat conceptum unum. Aut non sistit in conceptu simpliciter uno sed in uno tantum unitate attributionis sive analogiae. Si dicas quod sistit in conceptu uno unitate analogiae, pluribus tamen simpliciter; contra: quando aliqua duo habent unitatem analogiae,

960 impossibile est concipere illa sub tali unitate nisi praecognoscantur sub propria dualitate et ut distincta sunt: oportet enim fundamentum praecognoscendi relationi vel saltem simul natura intelligi cum relatione. Talia autem duo habentia unitatem analogiae secundum proprias rationes suas sunt fundamenta talis unitatis ordinis: non enim potest intelligi aliqua duo habere ordinem nec realem nec in conceptu
 965 nisi praecognoscatur in re vel in conceptu. Prius enim est aliquid in se quam alteri comparetur sive in re sive in conceptu. Si igitur conceptus entis esset communis Deo et creature tantum communitate analogiae, prius intelligerentur Deus et creature sub propriis rationibus quam sub conceptu entis vel saltem simul. Et ita prima cognitio de Deo non esset quod Deus est ens, quod falsum est.

970 Et ultra potest deduci ratio quod Deus prius in via generationis intelligatur quam creatura sic: sicut habentium ordinem essentiale in re unum realiter praesupponit aliud, ita habentium ordinem essentiale sive attributionem in conceptu: conceptus qui attribuitur alteri praesupponit notitiam illius conceptus cui attribuitur. Si igitur concipiendo ens non concipio aliquem unum conceptum communem Deo
 975 et creature sed duos conceptus habentes attributionem ad invicem, cum conceptus creature attribuatur conceptui Dei, non e converso — quia semper imperfectius attribuitur perfectioni, — sequitur quod prius cognoscam Deum quam creaturam. Quod tamen falsum est, licet hoc aliqui concedant et irrationaliter, ut declaratur distinctione tertia primi libri.

980 Item, apprehensio entis naturaliter praecedit apprehensionem cuiuslibet dividentium ipsum ens, ut entis a se et entis ab alio, et entis per se et entis in alio. Sed apprehensio cuiuslibet dividentium ipsum ens praecedit naturaliter apprehensionem totius disiuncti dividentium ens ut apprehensio entis a se praecedit apprehensionem a se vel ab alio. Sequitur igitur a primo quod apprehensio entis
 985 praecedit naturaliter apprehensionem totius disiuncti dividentium ens, et per consequens possum concipere ens non concipiendo ens a se vel ab alio vel ens per
 34rb se vel in alio, et ita ens dicet conceptum unum communem enti a se / et ab alio et enti per se et in alio.

971-973 Scotus, *Add. magn.* d.3 q.1 n.5 (Vivès 22.94b). 980-999 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.69 (Vat. 4.184).

956 hoc est] habetur *B* 957 unitate] univocitate *A* 966 re corr. ex se *A* 967 tantum]
 tamen *A*: in *B* intelligeretur *A* 971-972 in . . . essentiale om. per hom. *B* 977 im-
 perfectiori *A* 979 libri om. *B* 980 ens *B* 981 entis⁴ om. *A* 987 in interl. *A*

Prima propositio huius rationis probatur, nam in prima apprehensione qua
 990 scitur quod potentia animae est ens nescitur quod sit substantia, alioquin qui sciret
 potentiam animae esse ens sciret eam esse substantiam, quod est falsum. Similiter,
 per eandem rationem, apprehendendo potentiam animae esse ens, non oportet
 quod apprehendat eam esse accidens. Patet igitur quod apprehensio entis praecedit
 naturaliter apprehensionem cuiuslibet dividentis ens.

995 Secunda etiam propositio probatur, quia apprehensio extremi simplicis praecedit
 naturaliter apprehensionem extremi compositi: cognitio enim incomplexi
 praecedit cognitionem complexi. Prius igitur apprehenditur ens a se quam ens a
 se vel ab alio. Apprehensio igitur cuiuslibet dividentium ens praecedit appre-
 hensionem totius disiuncti dividentium ens.

1000 Item, si conceptus entis non sit unus sed duo, aut illi duo videntur esse duo
 intellectui nostro aut videntur unus propter propinquitatem eorum. Si videntur esse
 duo, igitur intellectus noster, intelligendo ens distincte, intelligit duo ut duo sunt,
 quod tamen est falsum. Si sunt duo, tamen propter propinquitatem eorum in
 analogia videntur unus, ut dicunt adversarii, adhuc sequitur propositum, quia si
 1005 sunt duo conceptus, aliquid patet de utroque; si videntur unus, aliquid latet de
 utroque. Igitur illorum duorum conceptuum aliquid patet vel aliquid latet. Igitur
 neuter eorum est simpliciter simplex. Conceptus enim cuius aliquid latet et aliquid
 patet non est simpliciter simplex, nam conceptus simpliciter simplex aut totaliter
 scitur aut totaliter ignoratur, secundum Philosophum in IX *Metaphysicae*. Et ultra
 1010 sequitur, si non sunt simpliciter simplices, igitur non sunt primo diversi. Et per
 consequens non sunt abstractissimi, immo poterit ab eis aliquis unus conceptus
 abstrahi qui erit conceptus entis. Conceptus igitur entis est communis univoce Deo
 et creaturae.

Item, omne determinabile alicuius comparativi est commune utriusque extremo
 1015 comparationis: non enim dicimus quod homo sit perfectior homo quam asinus sed
 perfectius animal. Sed ens est determinabile comparativi Dei ad creaturam: Deus
 enim est perfectius ens quam creatura; ergo etc. Maior videtur satis plana: cum
 enim dicitur hoc est perfectius illo, et quaeritur quid perfectius, oportet assignare
 aliquid commune utriusque extremo comparationis. Si igitur Deus sit perfectius ens
 1020 quam creatura, ens erit commune utriusque extremo.

1000-13 1 *Ord. d.8 nn.59, 64* (Vat. 4.179, 182); cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.30-31* (Vat. 3.20).
 1009 *Metaph. 9.10 t.22* (1051b31-32). 1014-35 Has rationes ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹,
 pp. 74.1113-75.1137) verbatim et ordinatum auctor accipit; cf. 1 *Ord. d.8 nn.83-84* (Vat. 4.191-92).

990 noscitur B 991 sciret corr. ex nescitur A: nesciret B substantiam] alioquin add. et del.
 A 996 compositi] componendi A 997 igitur om. B 999 disiuncti] distincti B 1000 duo
 corr. ex deo A 1003 esse] duo ut duo sunt quod tamen est falsum si sunt duo tamen propter
 propinquitatem add. et del. A 1007 eorum] illorum B latet] latus A 1009 Metaphysicae
 om. A

Confirmatur ratio: sicut comparatio simpliciter est in simpliciter unico, ex vii *Physicorum*, ita omnis comparatio est in aequaliter unico. Igitur quaecumque comparantur ad invicem, ut mensuratum ad mensuram vel ut excessum ad excedens, oportet convenire in aliquo unico.

1025 Eodem modo potest argui de numero vel de distinctione, quoniam secundum Augustinum, vii *De Trinitate*: determinabile termini numeralis semper est commune numeratis, ut si dicantur tres personae, commune est eis illud quod est persona. Sed Deus et creatura sunt duo entia; igitur ens est commune eis. Et si dicas quod non est proprius numerus Dei et creaturae, arguam de distincto vel alio diverso, nam determinabile distinctionis est commune / utrique extremo. Patet in omnibus exemplis, quia homo non est aliud homo ab asino sed aliud animal. Et probatur etiam ratione, quia in relationibus aequiparantiae extrema sunt eiusdem rationis. Alietas autem est talis relatio. Igitur in quibuscumque aliis est alietas unius rationis mutua, et per consequens determinabile alietatis est unius rationis. Cum 1030 igitur Deus est aliud a creatura in entitate, ens erit Deo et creature commune.

Ad eandem conclusionem adducuntur aliquae auctoritates. Prima est Philosophi, ii *Metaphysicae*: ibi enim probans principia sempiternorum esse verissima arguit sic: ‘Unumquodque est maxime tale quod est causa univoce aliis ut sint talia.’ Et exemplificat de igne qui est maxime calidus eo quod est causa caloris in aliis.

1040 Sed principia sempiternorum sunt causa veritatis in aliis, puta in principiatis, sicut sunt causa entitatis; igitur principia sempiternorum sunt verissima. Haec ratio non valeret, immo argueretur in quattuor terminis, nisi principia sempiternorum haberent veritatem univoce cum aliis. Unde illa propositio ‘Propter quod unumquodque et ipsum magis’ solum videtur vera respectu proprietatis quae univoce 1045 convenit causae et causato sive principio et principiato. Et ideo licet sol sit causa caloris in aliis, non tamen ex hoc potest argui nec concludi quod sol sit maxime calidus primo. Veritas igitur univoce reperitur in principio primo et principiato, et per consequens entitas, quia unumquodque sicut se habet ad entitatem ita ad veritatem, et e converso.

1050 Item, Commentator, iv *Metaphysicae* commento 2: ‘Manifestum est quod una scientia considerat de ente.’ Et subdit rationem: ‘quia dispositio in hoc genere est sicut dispositio in genere quod dicitur univoce, quia praedicabilia essentialia inveniuntur in hoc genere quod dicitur univoce.’ Sed hoc non invenitur in genere

1021-22 *Ph. 7.4* t.24 (248b6-7). 1026 *De Trin. 7.4* (PL 42.940; CCL 50.257:65-66).
 1036-79 Omnes auctoritates ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 59.671-60.716) auctor accipit.
 1036-43 1 *Ord. d.8* n.79 (Vat. 4.188). 1036-37 *Metaph. 2.1* t.4 (993b23-31).
 1043-44 *APo. 1.2* (72a29-30). 1050 *In Metaph. 4* t.2 (Iunt. 8.66A-B).

1021 comparatio <i>om. B</i>	1022 in <i>om. B</i>	1023 <i>ut² om. B</i>	1024 unico] <i>unio A</i>
1040 principiatis] <i>principiis B</i>	1045 principiato] <i>praedicamento AB</i>		licet sol <i>corr. ex solet</i>
<i>A</i>	1052-53 <i>quia . . . univoce om. per hom. B</i>		

quod dicitur aequivoce. Ex quo apparet quod ens praedicatur univoce, non
1055 aequivoce.

Item, quod ens dicat conceptum unum videtur expresse Avicenna sensisse. Sicut enim dicit i *Metaphysicae* sua, cap. 5: 'Substantia, quantitas et alia praedicamenta non possunt habere communem intentionem qua certificantur, nisi intentionem essendi.' Ens igitur in quantum est ens est commune omnibus, quorum quaedam
1060 sunt ei quasi species, ut substantia, quantitas et qualitas; quaedam sunt ei quasi accidentia propria, sicut unum et multum, actus et potentia etc.

Item, idem, ibidem, cap. 6: 'Quamvis ens, sicut scisti, non sit genus respectu eorum quae sub ipso sunt, tamen est intentio in qua convenient secundum prius et posterius. Postquam autem una intentio est ens, sequuntur illa accidentia quae
1065 sunt ei propria' etc. Ex his omnibus apparet manifeste quod ens et alia transcendentia quae dicunt perfectiones simpliciter dicunt conceptum unum communem Deo et creaturae, substantiae et accidenti. Et hoc potest quilibet ad se conversus intelligibiliter experiri: experimur enim quia scimus aliquid esse ens lumen, et tamen ignoramus utrum sit forma substantialis per se subsistens vel accidentalis
1070 alteri inhaerens. Sic etiam est de potentiis animae, cum sint variae opiniones an sint substantiae vel accidentia. Concipiendo igitur ens, concipio aliquid indifferens ad substantiam et accidens, ad ens creatum et increatum. Et haec est expresse ratio Avicennae, i *Metaphysicae*, capp. 5 et 6, ubi dicit quod 'proniora sunt ad imaginandum per se ea quae sunt communia omnibus rebus, sicut res, ens et unum, et
1075 non potest manifestari aliquod horum per propositionem quae non sit circularis. Unde si quis voluerit discutere de illis, incidet in volu/crum, sicut iste qui dixit 34vb quod ens est agens vel patiens. Quamvis haec divisio sit entis, tamen ens notius est quam agens vel patiens. Omnes enim homines imaginantur certitudinem entis, sed ignorant an debet esse agens vel patiens' etc.

1080

<III. DUBIA ET MOTIVA CONTRA CONCLUSIONEM AUCTORIS>

Declarata conclusione et roborata quam teneo de quaestione, scilicet quod ens dicit conceptum unum simpliciter simplicem communem univoce Deo et creaturae, nunc tertio tangenda sunt quaedam dubia occurrentia contra conclusionem quam teneo, et solvenda. Primo igitur tangam duo dubia quae faciunt magnam difficultatem in quaestione ista; secundo, inducam motiva fundamentalia aliquorum
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1057 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.12:15-18, 13:38-44). 1063 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.40:46-52). 1067-72 *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.6 (Vivès 7.148b). 1073 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.33:25-33). 1085-86 'aliquorum modernorum', sc. Conington et Cowton. Vide infra, ll. 1134-1212.

1057 substantiae A 1061 et²] in A 1062 idem om. B 1066 dicunt²] dicere A
1072 est] cum B 1074 se] sunt add. A

modernorum quibus nituntur infringere conclusionem quam teneo et inferre oppositum.

<Quinque dubia>

Primum igitur dubium quod occurrit contra conclusionem est: cum Deus et
 1090 creatura sint primo diversa in re, quomodo potest esse eis aliquis conceptus realis
 communis univoce. Ista enim videntur incompossibilia: quod aliqua duo sint primo
 diversa in re et tamen quod convenienter in aliquo conceptu reali communi utriusque.
 Cum enim conceptus realis ideo dicatur realis, quia causatus a re, dicere aliqua duo
 primo diversa in re convenire in aliquo conceptu reali videtur includere repug-
 1095 nantiam intellectui.

Secundum dubium, quod etiam maxime auget quaestionis difficultatem, est:
 quomodo potest salvari quod ens dicat conceptum unum communem Deo et
 creaturae, et substantiae et accidenti, quin ens sit genus? Cum enim commune
 1100 pluribus contentis sub eo non descendat se ipso formaliter in illa plura, oportet
 quod descendat per aliqua contrahentia quae sint extra conceptum illius communis.
 Talis autem conceptus communis sic descendens in contenta sub eo per aliqua
 contrahentia quae sint extra rationem talis conceptus communis videtur esse
 conceptus generis. Cum igitur conceptus entis sit communis substantiae et acci-
 denti, nec possit se ipso formaliter descendere in substantiam et accidens, oportet
 1105 quod descendat per aliqua contrahentia quae sint extra conceptum entis, et per
 consequens, conceptus entis erit conceptus generis.

Tertium dubium est, quia secundum istam conclusionem videtur quod proposi-
 tio in qua unum generalissimum removetur ab alio non sit immediata, quia nulla
 propositio cuius termini aliquid habent superius commune est immediata. Unde
 1110 ista non est immediata ‘Albedo non est nigredo,’ sicut patet intuenti doctrinam
 Philosophi, i *Posteriorum*. Dicit autem Philosophus in eodem i <*Posteriorum*,>
 quod ista propositio ‘Substantia non est quantitas’ est immediata. Igitur videtur
 quod conceptus entis non sit communis eis univoce.

Quartum dubium, quod facit etiam difficultatem, est modus arguendi Philosophi,
 1115 i *Physicorum*, contra Parmenidem et Melissum. Sic enim arguit: si tantum est unum

1089-95 Cf. Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.112 (Vat. 4.205:16-17), n.136 (Vat. 4.221:19-21), n.82 (Vat. 4.190); 1 *Lect.* d.8 n.84 (Vat. 17.29). 1096-1106 Cowton (ed. Brown², 18); cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 35.13-17) et 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.39 (Vat. 4.169). 1107-1113 Cowton (ed. Brown², 21); cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 36.42-43, 47-49); Scotum, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vives 7.152b); 5.6 n.7 (Vives 7.218b). 1111 *APo.* 1.15 (79a34-b24). 1114-24 Conington (ed. Brown¹, p. 303.4-10); cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 38.96-102); 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.156 (Vat. 3.95). 1114-15 *Ph.* 1.2 t.13 (185a20-24).

1091 impossibilia B 1094-95 repugnantia B 1102 talis] tantum add. B 1108 alio] eo B

ens, igitur est substantia vel accidens. Iste modus arguendi non valeret si ens diceret conceptum unum praeter substantiam et accidens; immo esset fallacia consequentis, quia sub termino communi univoce stante confuse tantum non potest descendere ad unum contentorum sub, nec absolute nec sub disiunctione. Unde non sequitur:

1120 'Omnis homo est animal, ergo hoc animal vel illud.' Et ratio huius est quia terminus univocus significat intentionem unam quae non est actu aliquod participantium sed potentia tantum. Non igitur conceptus entis est conceptus unus natus stare confuse tantum.

Quintum / dubium est quia ponendo conceptum entis esse conceptum unum 35ra

1125 videtur quod sit necessarium ponere genera generalissima esse proprie definibilia, nam omne illud quod includit conceptum quidditativum et qualitativum est proprie definibile. Sed si conceptus entis sit conceptus unus dictus in quid de decem generibus, quodlibet generalissimum includet conceptum quidditativum et conceptum qualitativum, illum scilicet quo unum generalissimum distinguitur ab alio, et

1130 ita quodlibet generalissimum erit proprie definibile, quod repugnat rationi generis generalissimi. Non igitur ens dicitur univoce de generibus, nec per consequens de Deo et creatura.

<Motiva Richardi de Conington et Roberti Cowton>

Propter ista dubia probant aliqui multipliciter quod impossibile est quod 1135 conceptus entis sit unus communis univoce Deo et creaturae. Primo sic: aequivocatio est communitas vocis cum diversitate simpliciter intentionis significatae aequivocatis. Unde aequivoca sunt quorum solum nomen commune est, ratio vero substantiae est diversa, secundum Aristotelem, in *Praedicamentis*. Cum igitur intentio vocis communis Deo et creaturae, substantiae et accidenti, sit diversae 1140 rationis simpliciter in eis, sequitur quod vox dicta de eis sit simpliciter aequivoca.

Item, illis quae distinguuntur per contradictoria vel per formas convertibles cum extremis contradictionis sive quae sunt totaliter sub extremis contradictionis non potest esse aliquis conceptus realis communis univoce. Ista probatur: si enim talibus quae sic distinguuntur per contradictionem vel continentur totaliter vel 1145 immediate sub extremis contradictionis esset aliquis conceptus univoce, talis conceptus, cum esset neuter illorum, <esset> medius per abnegationem inter illa

1124-32 Cowton (ed. Brown², 21); cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 35.10, 35.21-36.28); *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.9 (Vives 7.150b). 1135-58 Cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 38.87-95).

1135-40 Conington (ed. Brown¹, pp. 300.13-18, 301.20-23).

1138 *Cat.* 1 (la1-2).

1141-58 Conington (ed. Brown¹, p. 306.13-22).

1120 vel] igitur hoc animal vel *add. A* 1125 proprie] definibile sed si conceptus entis sit conceptus entis *add. et del. A* 1127-28 decem generibus] *praedicamentis B* 1139 sint *B*
1140 rationes *B* 1144 contradictoria *A* 1146 neuterque *B*

duo. Sed extremis contradictionis repugnat habere medium, cum contradictio sit oppositio cuius secundum se non est medium, ex i *Posteriorum*. Igitur repugnat eis habere conceptum unum communem univocum. Idem iudicium est de his quae
 1150 distinguuntur per formas convertibles cum extremis contradictionis sicut de extremis contradictionis, scilicet quod non habent medium quod sit neutrum istorum. Sed Deus et creatura distinguuntur per contradictionem sive per formas sic convertibles cum extremis contradictionis, nam quidquid habet esse, et non ab alio, est Deus, et e converso quidquid habet esse ab alio et intelligatur in diversitate
 1155 essentiae est creatura, et e converso. Similiter, dependere et non dependere sunt extrema contradictionis quibus distinguuntur Deus et creatura. Nullus igitur conceptus est neuter respectu istorum duorum, et per consequens Deo et creature non est aliquis conceptus unus communis univoce.

Item, ubi est unitas attributionis non potest esse unitas univocationis. Sed
 1160 oportet ponere unitatem attributionis creature ad Deum in ratione entis. Igitur non dicitur ens univoce de Deo et creatura.

Item, quaecumque in aliquo communi conveniunt per praedicationem nominis, et rationem rei significatae per nomen aequaliter recipiunt. Si igitur ens esset univocum Deo et creature, substantiae et accidenti, Deus et creatura essent
 1165 aequaliter entia, quod falsum est, cum Deus sit ens per essentiam, creatura ens per participationem. Similiter, substantia et accidentis non sunt aequaliter entia secundum Philosophum, vii *Metaphysicae*, quia accidentia non sunt entia nisi quia entis, scilicet substantiae.

Item, si ens diceret conceptum univocum ad contenta sub eo, igitur omnis
 1170 definitio erit nugatoria. Consequens est falsum; igitur et antecedens. Probatur consequentia sic: nam, si ens dicat conceptum unum, ille conceptus includetur in
 35rb conceptu generis et differentiae, / et ita idem conceptus bis includetur in conceptu generis et differentiae, et ita ponetur in definitione qualibet et ita quaelibet definitio erit nugatoria.

1175 Item, absolutum et respectivum dividunt omne ens extra animam. Unde, secundum beatum Augustinum, non solum in creatura, verum etiam in Deo inter dici ad se et dici ad aliud non est medium. Igitur eodem modo absolutum et respectivum sufficienter dividunt omnem conceptum. Omnis igitur conceptus vel

1159-61 1 *Ord. d.8* n.48 (Vat. 4.172); cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 67.922-924). 1162-
 81 Cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 36.29-40, 37.50-55). 1162-68 Cowton (ed. Brown²,
 17). 1167 *Metaph. 7.1 t.2* (1928a18-20). 1169-74 Cowton (ed. Brown², 19).
 1175-81 Cowton (ed. Brown², 9, 11).

1152 contradictoria A 1153 sic] ut B 1154 converso] et add. B 1170 et om. B
 1171 nam corr. ex anima A includeretur B 1172 bis] ille conceptus add. AB 1176 non
 corr. ex A: et non B solum om. B 1177 et¹] inter om. B 1178 igitur om. B

est ad se, et tunc erit conceptus substantiae, vel ad aliud, et tunc erit conceptus
 1180 accidentis. Non igitur est dare conceptum entis esse unum indifferentem ad
 substantiam et accidentem.

Adducuntur autem aliquae auctoritates quae videntur expresse negare unitatem
 conceptus entis. Primo ostenditur hoc ex intentione Dionysii, *De divinis nominibus*, qui ponit tres gradus sive tres modos quibus cognoscitur Deus: primus est per
 1185 eminentiam, secundus per causalitatem, tertius per remotionem, removendo
 scilicet a Deo omnia quae dicuntur de creatura formaliter. Et iste est ultimus modus
 cognoscendi Deum pro statu isto. Videtur igitur duo velle: quod nihil repertum in
 creatura possit dici de Deo formaliter, et quod nullus conceptus est communis
 univoce Deo et creature.

1190 Item, beatus Augustinus, viii *De Trinitate*, cap. 5: ‘Cum audis “bonum hoc” et
 “bonum illud”, quae possunt alias dici non bona, si potueris sine illis quae
 participatione bona sunt perspicere bonum ipsum cuius participatione bona sunt,
 simul enim et ipsum intelligis cum audis “hoc bonum”; si autem potueris illis
 1195 detractis, perspicere per se bonum, perspexeris Deum, et si amore inhaeseris
 continuo beatificaberis.’ Ex hac auctoritate videtur expresse Augustinus velle quod
 intelligendo ‘bonum hoc’ et ‘bonum illud’ concipio ipsum bonum cuius partici-
 patione sunt alia bona. Tale autem est infinitum. Non igitur secundum intentionem
 Augustini concipio hoc bonum in communi ut dicit conceptum communem Deo
 et creature, sed habeo conceptum proprium ipsius Dei, quia concipio bonum
 1200 cuius participatione sunt alia bona, quod est concipere Deum. Bonum igitur non
 dicit conceptum communem Deo at creature.

Item, Philosophus, i *Physicorum*, arguendo contra Parmenidem et Melissum,
 dicit quod principium primum, scilicet arguendi contra eos, est quod ens dicatur
 multipliciter.

1205 Item, iv *Metaphysicae*, ‘ens’ dicitur multipliciter, sed omnia dicuntur ad unum.
 Item, vii *Metaphysicae*, ‘ens’ dicitur multis modis.

Item, Porphyrius, ‘Si quis omnia entia vocet aequivoce nuncupabit.’

Item, Lincolniensis, *Super De divinis nominibus*, cap. 5 parte 5: ‘Ens est prius
 prae ente Deo et ente particulato prioritate non convertendi consequentiam; non
 1210 quod ens sit genus, quia de diversis dictum non univoce sed homonyme dicatur.’

1182-1201 1 *Ord. d.8 nn. 49-50* (Vat. 4.172-73). 1183-84 *De div. nom. cc.2, 7* (PG 3.646,
 870-71; *Dionysiaca* 1.94-97, 402-404). 1190 *De Trin. 8.3* (PL 42.950; CCL 50.273:46-52).
 1202-12 Has auctoritates ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 39.103-111) auctor accipit; cf. Conington
 (ed. Brown¹, pp. 302.25-303.21); 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.153, 155, 156* (Vat. 3.94-95). 1202 *Ph. 1.2 t.13*
 (185a20). 1205 *Metaph. 4.2 t.2* (1003a33). 1206 *Metaph. 7.1 t.1* (1028a10). 1207 *Isa-
 goge*, De specie (ArL 1 pt.6-7 12.2-3). 1208, 1211 Vide fontes citatos supra, ll. 622, 624.

1180 esse <i>om. B</i>	1183 <i>divinis] dei A</i>	1191 <i>si] sive B</i>	1196 <i>illud] aliud B</i>	1205 II
<i>B</i>	<i>1208 divinis] dei A</i>			

Item, cap. 5 parte 7 dicit sic: 'Non coordinatur Deus cum aliquibus sub eodem et in eodem univoco ut ab omnibus alterum seu diversum.'

<Opinio Roberti Cowton>

His motis, dicunt aliqui quod nullus conceptus realis est communis univoce Deo et creaturae. Dicit tamen unus novus sic: In aequivocatione est reperire duo: unum materiale et aliud formale. Formale in conceptu aequivoco est significare plura. Materiale autem est significare aequo primo illa plura. Ens igitur secundum illud quod est formale in conceptu aequivoco dicitur aequivoce de Deo et creatura; non secundum illud quod est materiale in aequivoco.

1220 **<Contra opinionem Roberti Cowton>**

Quantum ad istud dictum hoc secure assero: quod potius videtur dictum dormientis quam vigilantis, quod declaro sic: quando in aliquo uno est considerare aliqua duo per quorum unum convenit cum alio et per aliud distinguitur / ab omni alio, cuilibet vigilanti deberet esse notum quod illud quo convenit cum alio *<est>* 35va formale: actus enim *<non>* distinguit. Sed aequivocum, etsi per hoc quod significat plura distinguatur ab univoco, tamen in hoc convenit cum analogo. Per hoc autem quod significat plura aequo primo distinguitur ab omni alio. Dicere ergo quod formale in aequivoco est significare illa plura primo est dictum dormientis non vigilantis. Illud sufficiat contra dictum opinionis quoad illud quod voluit ponere 1225 1230 speciale ab aliis.

<Ad motiva et quinque dubia contra conclusionem auctoris>

Tamen non obstantibus istis teneo conclusionem quam primo declaravi et 1235 roboravi. In excludendo autem ista omnia primo excludam *<rationes>* adductas contra conclusionem; secundo excludam illa quinque dubia quae faciunt difficultatem in quaestione.

<Ad motiva Richardi de Conington et Roberti Cowton>

Ad primum igitur argumentum: cum probatur quod intentio entis non est intentio una communis Deo et creaturae univoce sed aequivoce, quia aequivocatio

1214 'aliqui' sc. Conington et Henricus. 1215 'novus' sc. Cowton (ed. Brown², 28).
1237 supra, ll. 1135-40. 1237-1287 Cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 62.764-63.790); Conington (ed. Brown¹, p. 305.10-23).

1212 in <i>om. B</i>	1217 est <i>om. B</i>	secundum] competit <i>AB</i>	1229 quoad] quod ad <i>AB</i>
1232 teneo <i>om. B</i>	conclusionem <i>corr. ex quoque et quam A</i>		1232-33 et roboravi <i>om. B</i>
1234-35 difficultatem] diversitatem <i>B</i>			

est communitas vocis cum diversitate simpliciter intentionis aequivocatis, dico
 1240 quod ad hoc quod sit aequivocatio alicuius termini non sufficit quod intentio significata per illum terminum sit simpliciter diversa in diversis, considerando illa diversa secundum esse eorum extra animam — et accipio esse extra animam pro esse in effectu, non ut distinguitur contra esse in anima obiective per actum intellectus comparativum, quod esse in anima est ens rationis tantum, ut patet
 1245 diffuse in *Quaestione de unitate reali minore unitate numerali*. Dico igitur quod diversitas intentionis alicuius termini accepta in diversis secundum esse quod habent extra in effectu non facit terminum aequivocum, nam si diversitas intentionis alicuius termini in diversis secundum esse quod habent extra animam ficeret terminum aequivocum, genus respectu specierum esset terminus aequivocus. Quod
 1250 ego declaro sic: constat quod animalitas ut habet esse in homine non sit realiter nisi humanitas et simpliciter diversa ab animalitate in asino, quia <animalitas ut habet esse in asino> non est nisi asinitas realiter. Sicut igitur humanitas et asinitas sunt simpliciter realiter diversa ut habent esse in re extra, ita et animalitas posita in effectu in asino. Non enim est imaginandum in homine et in asino ut sunt in
 1255 effectu esse quandam realitatem communem indifferentem ad humanitatem et asinitatem. Immo, quidquid est in homine ut est in effectu est realiter diversum ab omni eo quod realiter est in asino ut habet esse in effectu. Et ideo philosophus naturalis considerans naturam generis ut habet esse in speciebus multum convenienter dixit in vii *Physicorum* quod aequivocationes latent in generibus, et posuit
 1260 intentionem generis aequivocam: nihil enim est genus in rebus praeter generis species, ut habetur ex vii *Metaphysicae*. Ad hoc igitur ut aliquis terminus sit

1245 'Ad evidentiam primi, accipio divisionem Philosophi quam ponit 5 *Metaphysicae* de ipso ente quae talis est: ens aliud in anima, aliud extra animam. Hanc divisionem entis intelligo sic, quantum ad illud membrum quod est esse in anima, ut dividitur contra ens extra animam. Cum enim esse in anima possit intelligi vel "esse in" subiective vel "esse in" obiective, et "esse in" obiective (in marg.) possit intelligi dupliciter, vel quod habeat ibi esse obiective praevium actui secundo intellectus ipsius, quomodo dicitur obiectum praesens intellectui quando potest movere intellectum ad intellectu[m] suu[m], sicut quando obiectum est praesens intellectui in aliquo repraesentativo praevio actui secundo non praesens per existentiam suam. Alio modo dicitur aliquid esse in intellectu[i] obiective, non quod tale esse sit praevium actui secundo ipsius intellectus, sed quod tale esse accipiat per actualem intellectu[m]. Nec illud esse maneat nisi dum manet actualis intellectio. Et hoc modo habent intentiones secundae esse in anima. Eis enim convenit tale esse obiectivum per actum intellectus, non quemcumque, sed comparativum, quo statim desinente tali actu, desinit tale esse. Ens autem in anima, ut dividitur a Philosopho contra ens extra animam, non potest intelligi de ente subiective (in anima existente, quia tale <est> ens reale realiter informans animam, nec de ente obiective existente in anima primo modo, sed tantum in marg.) de ente in anima obiective secundo modo... ' (*Quaestiones in De anima* q. 8 'Utrum circumscripto omni actu intellectus sit alia unitas in rebus minor unitate numerali', [A foliis. 66ra-b]).

1259 Ph. 7.4 t.31 (249a22-23).

1261 *Metaph.* 7.12 t.43 (1035a5-6).

1240 quod^{1]} autem B 1246 accepta om. B 1251 et] est A 1258 considerans corr. ex consistens A: corr. in determinans B

aequivocus non sufficit diversitas intentionis in diversis secundum esse quod habent extra animam sive in effectu, sed requiritur ut talis intentio significata per vocem sit diversa et multiplex in intellectu, qui est virtus abstractiva et separans ea quae

1265 sunt inseparabilia in esse. Non inveniat in eis aliquam intentionem communem quam abstrahat <de> conceptibus propriis eorum; sed quidquid invenit in uno sit diversum ab omni eo quod invenit in alio obiecto. Sicut patet in terminis aequivocis: intellectus enim considerans animal verum et animal pictum non invenit in eis aliquam intentionem communem quam abstrahat ab utroque. Immo, intentio

35vb 1270 / animalitatis non solum secundum esse quod habent ista duo in effectu est diversa simpliciter in eis, sed etiam secundum esse quod habent apud intellectum. Et ideo iste terminus ‘animal’ est aequivocus terminus et aequivoce dictus de utroque. Intellectus autem considerans hominem et asinum invenit in eis quandam intentionem communem contrahibilem per differentias proprias utriusque quam abstrahit

1275 a propriis differentiis eorum; et ideo haec vox ‘animal’ dicta de homine et asino non dicitur aequivoce. Applicando ista ad propositum dico quod licet intentio entis sit simpliciter diversa in eis secundum esse quod habent in <effectu, tamen est simpliciter eadem in eis secundum esse quod habent in> intellectu. Unde intellectus istam intentionem entis potest ab utroque abstrahere considerando eam praecise,

1280 non considerando aliquod contentorum, sicut declaratum est supra ad conclusio- nem principalem. Et hoc expresse videtur dicere Avicenna, I *Metaphysicae* sua, cap. 2, ubi dicit quod substantia, quantitas, et qualitas, et alia praedicamenta non possunt communem intentionem habere qua certificantur nisi certitudine intentionis esse. Iste igitur terminus esse sive ens, etsi sit simpliciter diversum in Deo

1285 et creatura, substantia et accidenti, secundum quod habent esse extra animam, quia tamen intellectus qui est virtus abstractiva abstrahit modo dicto istam intentionem ab eis, ideo ens non est vox aequivoce dicta de eis sed univoce.

Quia tamen ista subtilius investiganti non videntur plene quietare intellectum, ad planiorem intellectum dictorum et etiam ad declarationem dubiorum positorum supra, volo amplius ista duo declarare, scilicet unde est quod aliqua duo non habent tantam diversitatem in conceptu quantam habent in effectu, et quomodo primo diversa in effectu possunt convenire in conceptu reali.

Quantum ad praesens dico quod tota causa et praecisa quare hoc est, scilicet aliqua plus differunt in effectu quam in conceptu, est quia quidquid est in effectu 1295 est determinatum et contractum et unum numero. Unde tota entitas Sortis, ut posita in effectu, est una numero, et ideo a quocumque distinguitur, tota realitate

1281 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.12:15-18). 1289-90 supra, II. 1098-1132.

1264 multipliciter <i>B</i>	qui] quod <i>B</i>	1271 Et <i>om. B</i>	1272 terminus ² <i>om. B</i>	1279 entis <i>om. B</i>
1283 qual] quae <i>AB</i>	1285 creatura] et <i>add. B</i>			esse] in substantia <i>add. B</i>
1292 primo <i>om. B</i>	1294 est ¹ <i>om. B</i>	1295 est <i>om. B</i>		

sua distinguitur. Unde in re ut posita in effectu non est alia res determinabilis et alia determinans, sed tota est determinata. Licet enim in Sorte sit aliqua realitas quae ut concepta prior natura proprietate contrahente ipsam sit formaliter ex se 1300 determinabilis et indifferens ad hanc proprietatem et illam, tamen quia talis natura ut sic indifferens non potest ponit in effectu ut habeat esse in re praecise secundum illud esse quod competit sibi ex se formaliter, sed necessario talis natura ut habet esse in effectu est determinata et contracta, ideo Sortes, ut habet esse in effectu, a quocumque distinguitur, tota sua realitate distinguitur. Et quia realitas illa in Sorte 1305 quae ut concepta naturaliter prior illa proprietate est de se formaliter indifferens, et secundum tale esse praecise quod competit sibi formaliter ex se offertur intellectui et nata est in intellectu causare <conceptum> sibi correspondentem secundum tale esse, hinc est quod aliqua ut habent esse in effectu et extra animam plus distinguuntur quam ut habent esse in intellectu et in conceptu.

1310 Potest hoc idem declarari sic: planum est quod in me et in te est alia materia, quia contracta per aliam et aliam formam; tamen, / accipiendo materiam ut 36ra praeintelligitur naturaliter ipsi formae, est indifferens et communis ad hanc formam et illam. Eodem modo in proposito: licet Sortes ut habet esse in effectu tota sua realitate distinguitur ab omni alio, tamen non sic est de entitate Sortis oblata 1315 intellectui. Intellectus enim, cum sit virtus abstractiva et separans inseparabilia in esse, invenit in entitate Sortis aliquid cui ex intrinseca et formali ratione sua non convenit esse determinatum hac determinatione vel illa, sed ex illa formali et intrinseca ratione est indifferens. Et istam entitatem considerans, causat in se ipso unum conceptum communem praeter conceptum determinatum qui competit rei 1320 secundum esse suum in effectu. Non igitur differunt tantum aliqua in conceptu quantum differunt in effectu.

Sed dicet aliquis: si tota res extra est una numero, cum conceptus causetur a re extra, videtur etiam quod conceptus causatus a re extra sit unus numero; et si des alium conceptum, ille non videtur realis, quia non est causatus a re. Dico quod ista 1325 praedicatio ‘tota res extra sive posita in effectu est una numero’ est praedicatio denominativa. Omnis autem praedicatio denominativa apud intellectum habet duplum conceptum – unum correspondentem ei quod denominat, alium correspondentem ei quod denominatur. Ista requirunt magnam prolixitatem.

Quantum ad secundum est sciendum quod aliquid est simpliciter simplex in 1330 effectu quod tamen est multiplex in conceptu. Isto declarato, manifestum erit quomodo primo diversum ab alio in re potest convenire cum eo in intentione. Cum enim simpliciter simplex est distinctum ab eo sicut primo diversum, si simpliciter

1329 Cf. supra, II. 1290-92.

1299 quae] quam *B* concepta ut *A* 1306 offertur] confertur *A*: fertur *B* 1317 formaliter
om. B 1322 causaretur *B* 1324 ille *om. B* 1328 istam *A* 1331 in re *om. B*

simplici in re correspondet multiplex conceptus, primo diversa in re convenire poterunt in conceptu reali.

- 1335 Est sciendum igitur quod natura et gradus perfectionis vel naturae nullam compositionem faciunt in re: natura enim creata et limitatio per quam intelligo gradum perfectionis intrinsecum naturae creatae tanta identitate sunt idem quod impossibile est concipere naturam creatam perfecte nisi concipiatur limitatio. Unde limitatio includitur in conceptu perfecto naturae. Natura igitur creata accepta cum suo gradu perfectionali sibi intrinseco est simpliciter simplex in re, quia non est resolubilis in plura quorum unum possit perfecte concipi non concipiendo aliud. Licet autem natura cum tali gradu sit simpliciter simplex in re, tamen apud intellectum correspondet ei conceptus multiplex, nec est simpliciter simplex in intellectu. Licet enim, ut dictum est, incompossibile sit perfecte concipere naturam 1345 non concipiando gradum substantialem naturae intrinsecum, tamen quia intellectus potest idem simplex concipere perfecte et imperfecte et abstrahere perfectionem intrinsecam rei ab ipsa re, hinc est quod impossibile est dare aliquam naturam quantumcumque simpliciter simplicem in re cui non correspondeat conceptus multiplex in intellectu, concipiando scilicet eandem naturam simplicissimam primo 1350 imperfecte, sicut concipitur quando concipitur conceptu abstrahente a gradu intrinseco ipsi naturae; et in tali conceptu quo concipitur aliquid imperfecte convenit illud cum alio. Concipiando autem naturam perfecte, sicut concipitur quando concipitur conceptu includente naturam et gradum intrinsecum naturae, concipitur conceptu proprio et tali conceptu distinguitur ab omni alio. Unde 1355 gradus intrinsecus naturae est magis idem ipsi naturae quam sit quaecumque 36rb proprietas naturae, et etiam quam / sit differentia idem generi. Cuius ratio est, quia genus sive natura generis potest conceptu perfectissimo concipi quantum ad quidquid est intrinsecum naturae generis, omnino nihil accipiendo de differentiis. Quantumcumque enim conceptu perfectissimo concipias animal in quocumque 1360 gradu intrinseco animali nihil concopies de rationali. Sed semper conceptus animalis erit potentialis et perfectibilis per conceptum rationalis, sed non potest sic esse de natura et gradu intrinseco naturae. Impossibile est enim conceptu perfecto concipere naturam non concipiando gradum intrinsecum naturae tamquam aliquid eius. Et ideo realitas aliqua cum gradu sibi intrinseco est simpliciter simplex in re, 1365 et tamen, ut declaratum est, est multiplex in intellectu.

Ista amplius declaro in exemplo. Accipio albedinem aliquam determinatam. Impossibile est dare aliquam determinatam nisi in aliquo certo gradu. Ponatur ille gradus. Et licet ista albedo determinata sit simpliciter simplex in re, quia non est in re resolubilis in plures realitates quarum una sit potentialis vel determinabilis

1338 perfectiorem *B* 1344 sit impossibile *B* 1347 dare *om. B* 1360 concipiens *A*
1361 rationalem *B* 1362 esse] est *A* 1366 amplius] autem *B* 1369 solubilis *A*

1370 respectu alterius, non enim gradus naturae est alia realitas a natura sed eadem. Idem autem non componit cum se ipso. Gradus igitur intrinsecus naturae nullam compositionem facit cum natura. Tamen intellectus potest concipere istam albedinem conceptu imperfecto praecise concipiendo naturam albedinis. Et in isto conceptu convenit haec albedo cum alia. Potest etiam intellectus concipere hanc 1375 albedinem perfecte, et tunc concipitur conceptu proprio et adaequato sibi quo distinguitur ab omni alia, sicut dictum est de albedine gratia exempli. Ista dico de quacumque entitate quantumcumque simplici. Non igitur primo diversis in re repugnat convenire in conceptu reali. Talis enim conceptus quo concipitur natura aliqua conceptu imperfecto realis est, quia causatus a re, quae tamen ut habet esse 1380 extra animam est simpliciter simplex. Nec talis multiplicitas conceptuum arguit aliquam compositionem in re, sed tantum in intellectu in quo habent esse subiective. Et ideo non obstante quod Deus et creatura convenient in conceptu reali, Deus tamen est simpliciter simplex in se et primo diversus in re ab omni creatura. Oportet igitur intellectum elevare ad intelligendum ista. Patet igitur ex dictis istis 1385 quomodo diversitas intentionis in diversis secundum esse quod habent extra animam stat cum unitate conceptus realis communis illis diversis, et per consequens talis diversitas intentionis in diversis non ponit terminum dictum de eis aequivocum, loquendo, dico, metaphysice. Loquendo autem physice, qui considerat res ut habent esse in effectu, dico quod bene talis diversitas intentionis in 1390 diversis secundum esse quod habent extra bene ponit terminum aequivocum. Sed sermo noster hic metaphysicus est; ideo argumentum non concludit. Per ista eadem dicta solventur ad plura alia applicando.

Ad secundum, quando arguitur sic: 'illis quae distinguuntur per contradictoria vel per formas convertibles cum extremis contradictionis sive quae totaliter et 1395 immediate continentur sub extremis contradictionis non potest esse aliquis communis conceptus realis communis univoce,' respondeo primo quantum ad primam partem illius disjunctionis: aut enim intelligit in maiori de his quae praecise distinguuntur per contradictoria. Et si sic, constat quod minor est falsa: Deus enim et creatura non praecise distinguuntur per contradictoria, nec aliqua duo positiva, 1400 quia illa quae praecise ponuntur contradictorie / sic se habent quod alterum est 36va pura negatio. Nullo igitur modo quaecumque positiva possunt distingui praecise per contradictoria, et ita nec Deus et creatura: patet enim <quod> Deus non est

1392 supra, II. 1141-58. 1396-1452 Hanc respositionem ad Conington ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 64.815-65.863) auctor accipit. 1396-1414 Scotus, I Ord. d.8 n.80-81 (Vat. 4.189-90).

1375 sibi] solo B 1376 Ista] ita A 1381-82 subjective] objective B 1384 intelligendum] includendum B 1386 unitate] communitate B 1389 effectu corr. ex infinitum A 1397 disjunctionis] distinctionis AB 1401 praecise om. B 1402 contradictionem B

- praecise ista negatio quae est ‘non esse ab alio’: haec enim negatio competit chimaerae, et ita chimaera esset Deus. Similiter, creatura non est praecise ista negatio ‘non necesse esse’, quia etiam haec negatio dicitur de chimaera. Deus 1405 igitur et creatura non distinguuntur praecise per ista contradictionia, scilicet ‘non esse ab alio’ et ‘esse ab alio’, tamen bene verum est quod Deus et creatura sunt talia entia quibus conveniunt ista extrema: Deus enim est ens non ab alio, creatura ens ab alio. Intelligendo igitur maiorem quantum ad primam partem disiunctionis, quod illa 1410 quae distinguuntur per contradictionia praecise non habent conceptum communem univocum, patet. Minor sumpta sub est falsa, quia Deus et creatura non sunt huiusmodi. Si autem intelligat illam maiorem non cum praectione sed sic quod de quibuscumque dicuntur extrema contradictionis, illis non potest esse aliquis conceptus communis realis univoce. Tunc si sic accipitur copulata, propositio est 1415 falsa, nam omnia per se dividentia aliquod commune sunt talia quod de ipsis dicuntur extrema contradictionis et tamen univocantur in diviso, nam de homine dicitur ista negatio quae est ‘non esse irrationale’ et affirmatio dicitur de asino, et tamen hoc non obstante, ista duo univocantur in aliquo conceptu communi utriusque univoce, scilicet in animali.
- 1420 Quantum ad aliam partem illius maioris, quando dicitur quod ab illis quae distinguuntur per formas convertibles cum extremis contradictionis non potest abstrahi aliquis conceptus communis univoce, ista propositio implicat contradictionia. Implicat enim quod aliqua positive distincta convertantur cum extremis contradictionis. Cum enim alterum contradictiorum sit pure negativum, tale 1425 extremum nullo modo potest esse convertibile cum positivo. Non-ens enim non convertitur cum ente. Similiter minor subsumpta est falsa: Deus enim et creatura non distinguuntur per formas convertibles cum extremis contradictionis. Deus enim non convertitur cum isto negativo ‘non ab alio’, quia si omne non ens ab alio esset Deus, chimaera esset Deus. Similiter etiam creatura non convertitur cum isto 1430 negativo, scilicet ‘non necesse esse’, quia sic etiam cum chimaera non sit necesse esse, esset creatura. Concedo tamen quod quidquid habet esse et non ab alio est Deus, et e converso. Sed ‘ens non ab alio’ non contradicit huic ‘ens ab alio’ sed huic ‘non ens ab alio’: non enim contradicunt ‘ens non ab alio’ et ‘ens ab alio’ sed ‘ens ab alio’ et ‘non ens ab alio’.
- 1435 Ad probationem maioris: quando dicitur ‘omnis conceptus communis est neuter respectu istorum quibus est communis; sed nullus est conceptus communis respectu contradictiorum, quia sic esset medium inter contradictionia, igitur

1420 supra, ll. 1141-43. 1435 supra, ll. 1143-48.

1404 ita *om. B* 1406 istam contradictionem *B* 1408 *ens²* *om. B* 1413 quocumque *B*
 1414 sic *om. A* 1416 univocantur] in aliquo conceptu communi *add. et del. A* 1419 in
om. B 1428 negativa *A*

1440 nullus est conceptus communis respectu contradictiorum, et per consequens a
contradictoriis non potest abstrahi conceptus communis'; respondeo quod concep-
tus communis duobus est neuter eorum praecise et formaliter, et sic bene concedo
quod aliquis conceptus est neuter contradictiorum. Unde conceptus animalis
1445 praecise et formaliter non est conceptus hominis, nec etiam formaliter conceptus
non-hominis. Hoc etiam modo, scilicet formaliter, conceptus animalis non est
conceptus rationalis nec conceptus irrationalis. Hoc etiam modo conceptus entis
1450 non est formaliter conceptus entis finiti nec conceptus entis infiniti. Si tamen
intelligatur quod omnis conceptus communis aliquibus est neuter absolute, ita quod
/ neutrum contradictiorum absolute dicatur de eo, falsum est. Impossibile enim 36vb
est dare aliquem conceptum quin alterum contradictiorum dicatur de eo. Licet
enim conceptus animalis formaliter non sit homo nec non-homo, necessario tamen
1455 vel omne animal est homo vel non omne animal est homo. Concedo igitur quod
conceptus entis est neuter formaliter, quia nec est conceptus creati nec increati;
absolute tamen de quolibet conceptu dicitur alterum contradictiorum.

Ad tertium, quando arguitur 'ubi est unitas attributionis non est unitas univo-
cationis' etc.; respondeo quod ubi est praecise unitas attributionis non est unitas
1455 univocationis: cum enim unitas attributionis sit minor quam unitas univocationis,
unitas attributionis non infert unitatem univocationis. Minor enim unitas non infert
maiorem, sicut patet quod unitas generis non infert unitatem speciei: non enim
oportet si aliqua sunt unum genere quod sint unum specie. Licet autem unitas
1460 attributionis non inferat unitatem univocationis quae est maior, tamen unitas
attributionis bene est compossibilis cum unitate univocationis, licet una non sit
formaliter alia.

Declaratur sic: Philosophus, x *Metaphysicae*, vult quod species eiusdem generis
habent essentialem ordinem et attributionem ad primum illius generis; et tamen
constat quod omnes species eiusdem generis univocantur in illo genere. Ita dicam
1465 in proposito: licet in ratione entis sit unitas attributionis, tamen attributa cum eo
cui attribuuntur possunt habere unitatem univocationis.

Hoc idem, scilicet quod cum unitate attributionis in ratione entis stet unitas
univocationis, declaratur ex alio sic: numquam enim aliqua comparantur ut
mensurata ad mensuram vel excessa ad excedens nisi conveniant in aliquo uno
1470 respectu cuius fiat comparatio. Sicut enim comparatio simpliciter est in simpliciter

1453 supra, ll. 1158-61. 1453-1477 1 *Ord. d.8* n.83 (Vat. 4.191-92); cf. Alnwick (ed.
Dumont¹, pp. 67.925-68.936). 1462 *Metaph. 10.1 t.2* (1052b18).

1447, 1448 eo] deo B	1447 enim] et A	1450 omne ^{1,2}] esse B	homo ¹] esse A
1454 attributionis] sit minor quam add. et del. A: si add. B	non est interl. A	1456 unitas ¹ . . .	
univocationis om. per hom. B	1458 sint om. B	1469 excessa ad om. B	unio A
1470 cuius corr. ex totius A			

univoco, sicut in specie specialissima, ut habetur vii *Physicorum*, ita omnis comparatio fit in aliqualiter univoco. Quando enim dicitur ‘hoc est perfectius illo,’ oportet assignare aliquod tertium <respectu> cuius fiat ista comparatio, quod sit commune utriusque extremo comparationis. Non enim dicitur homo perfectior homo quam asinus sed perfectius animal. Cum ergo Deus et creatura comparentur in ente – dicitur enim Deus perfectius ens quam creatura, – oportet conceptum entis esse aliquo modo communem univoce utriusque extremo.

Ad quartum, quando arguitur ‘quaecumque in aliquo communi univocantur praedicatione nominis et <rationem> rei significatae per nomen aequaliter recipiunt’; dico quod haec propositio universaliter sumpta est falsa quando cum unitate univocationis concurrit unitas analogiae sive attributionis, sicut patet de speciebus eiusdem generis quae mensurantur a prima specie illius generis ad quam habent ordinem essentiale. Et per consequens non aequaliter participant naturam illius generis, et tamen in illo genere univocantur. Sic in proposito: licet Deus et creatura, substantia et accidens, non aequaliter participant naturam entis, tamen ab eis sic participantibus potest abstrahi conceptus univocus qui per prius et perfectius convenit Deo quam creaturae. Propter quod dicit Avicenna, i *Metaphysicae* sua cap. 5: ens est intentio in qua convenient secundum prius et perfectius substantia et quae sunt post eam. Quamvis enim ex parte intentionis entis omnia sint aequaliter entia, quia secundum se est indifferens ad omnia – nullum eorum sibi determinans ex se formaliter, – tamen illa / quibus inest intentio entis aliquem ordinem habent in entitate, nec aequa perfecte recipiunt praedicationem entis, licet formaliter includatur in eis.

Aliter potest dici quod licet comparando entia inter se non sunt aequaliter entia sed ordinem habeant inter se, tamen comparando Deum et creaturam ad intentionem prout abstrahitur ab eis aequaliter recipiunt praedicationem eius: ita enim in quid et per se praedicatur ens de qualitate sicut de substantia. Exemplum de speciebus animalis: licet enim non ita perfectum animal sit asinus sicut homo, tamen praedicationem animalis aequa perfecte recipit asinus sicut homo. Sic in proposito, licet enim non ita perfectum ens sit creatura sicut Deus, tamen aequa perfecte recipit creatura praedicationem entis sicut Deus.

Sed forte dicet aliquis: quando sic est quod aliquid attribuitur alteri secundum aliquam perfectionem, illa perfectio non convenit univoce attributo et ei cui attribuitur. Exemplum: sanum in dieta secundum rationem sanitatis attribuitur sano in animali, et ideo sanum non univoce convenit eis. Et ratio huius est quia

1471 *Ph.* 7.4 t.29 (249a3-4). 1478 supra, II. 1162-68. 1478-1559 Has responsiones ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 71.1028-73.1092, 74.1103-1111) verbatim et ordinatim auctor accipit.
1487 *Philosophia prima* 1.5 (AvL 1.40:46-49).

1492 nec] ut *B*

praedicatum univocum praedicatur in quid de univoco, et per consequens praedicatur de eo secundum se. Igitur non secundum *<se>* attribuitur alteri creatura in quantum ens attribuitur Deo, et similiter accidentia in quantum entia attribuuntur substantiae. Igitur intentio entis non univoce convenit Deo et creaturae, accidenti 1510 et substantiae.

Respondeo: quando dicitur quod omnia in quantum entia attribuuntur Deo, ly 'in quantum' potest teneri specificative, sicut ista 'Est scientia quae speculatur ens in quantum ens.' Et sic est vera propositio, quia creatura secundum suam entitatem attribuitur Deo, et accidentia secundum se tota attribuuntur ad substantiam. Vel 1515 potest teneri reduplicative, ita quod creatura in quantum ens praedicatur de ea attribuitur Deo. Et sic falsa est tam de creatura respectu Dei quam de accidentibus respectu substantiae, quia, ut dictum est, ita in quid praedicatur ens de uno sicut de alio.

Ad quintum, quando arguitur 'si ens dicat conceptum unum, quaelibet definitio 1520 erit nugatoria,' dicendum quod nugatio est in definitione quando idem conceptus intrans definitionem alicuius vel pertinens ad definitionem alicuius naturae bis actualiter ponitur. Ens autem, cum sit conceptus transcendens, proprie non intrat 1525 definitionem alicuius naturae nec pertinet ad definitionem. Et ideo propter multiplicem inclusionem entis in definitione, definitio non est nugatoria. Si enim propter replicationem entis fieret nugatio, nugatio esset dicere 'homo albus', et ubicumque ubi unus conceptus determinatur per alium, quia ens est de intellectu cuiuslibet.

Aliter – et pulchrius – potest *<dici>* quod tunc proprie est nugatio in definitione quando idem conceptus ponitur bis in ea secundum eundem modum, 1530 ut quando idem conceptus bis poneretur per modum quidditativum vel bis per modum qualificativum. Sed quando idem conceptus bis ponitur, semel per modum quidditativum et alias per modum qualificativum sive denominativum, non est nugatio. Exemplum, hic non est nugatio 'color albus', quamvis color bis ponatur, quia in se habetur per modum quidditativum et in albo qualificativum sive 1535 denominativum. Hic tamen est nugatio 'coloratum album' vel 'color albedo', quia in his 'color' praedicatur bis secundum eundem modum: in prima secundum modum denominativum bis, et in secunda secundum modum quidditativum bis; et ideo est nugatio. Modo in proposito: in definitione sic est quod conceptus entis

1519 supra, ll. 1169-74. 1524-27 *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vives 7.152a). 1528-35 *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.10 (Vives 7.151b).

1506-7 praedicatur] quod *B* 1509 accidente *A* 1515 potest] de multiplici analogia quaere in quolibet de anima, quaestione utrum materia dicat aliquam entitatem positivam *in marg.* *A* tenere reduplicationem *B* 1519 arguitur] dicitur *B* 1521 *intrans]* intelligens *B* 1522 *intrat]* materiali *B* 1531 *qualificativum]* sed quando idem conceptus bis ponitur *add. et del.* *A*: ponitur *add. B* 1534 habet *B*

includitur in conceptu generis per modum quidditativum sicut et genus generalis-

37rb 1540 simum includitur per modum quidditativum in conceptu / generis subalterni. In conceptu autem differentiae includitur per modum qualificativum et denominativum. Ratio autem huius est ista: quando duo inferiora sic se habent ad tertium quod unum denominat alterum, illud tertium commune particulariter denominatur ab eodem. Exemplum: albedo, quae est inferius ad ens, denominat album quod est 1545 inferiorius ad ens; et ideo ens particulariter denominatur ab albedine dicendo 'ens album'. Sic in ista definitione, dicendo 'animal rationale', includitur ens bis, in animali quidditative, in rationali denominative, licet per se praedicetur de utroque. Ideo non est nugatio dicendo 'animal rationale', licet conceptus entis bis habeatur, quia non eodem modo bis replicatur; tamen bene est hic nugatio 'animal rationa- 1550 litas', quia bis secundum eundem modum, scilicet quidditativum, inutiliter repli- catur.

Ad sextum et ultimum dico quod sicut omne ens extra animam vel est finitum vel infinitum et tamen conceptus entis non est de se formaliter finitus, quia sic non conveniret <infinito>, nec de se est formaliter infinitus, quia sic non conveniret 1555 creaturae, sic dico de absoluto et relativo, quod licet omne ens extra animam sit absolutum vel relativum, tamen conceptus entis secundum se est indifferens ad conceptum absolutum substantiae et ad conceptum relativum accidentis. Et loquor hic de conceptu ut se tenet ex parte obiecti, non ex parte actus, quia actus est absolutus formaliter.

1560 Ad auctoritates:

Ad illam auctoritatem Dionysii de gradibus cognoscendi Deum etc., dico quod auctoritas Dionysii potest esse ad oppositum. Cognoscendo enim Deum secundum istum tertium modum, scilicet per remotionem eorum quae reperiuntur in creatura a Deo, quaero in quo sistit intellectus ultimate et in quali cognitione? Vel enim sistit 1565 in pura negatione, scilicet quod Deus <nec est> hoc nec illud. Vel sistit in aliquo conceptu positivo cui attribuitur talis negatio. Si primo modo, cum talis negatio conveniat etiam chimaerae, non plus cognosceretur Deus quam chimaera. Si dicas quod intellectus sistit in aliquo conceptu positivo, cum talis conceptus non sit habitus per viam causalitatis et eminentiae, nec possit esse conceptus simplex 1570 proprius ipsi Deo, quia non potest talis conceptus haberi nec causari ex conceptu creaturae, oportet quod aliquis sit conceptus compositus proprius Deo compositus ex pluribus communibus sibi et creaturae, quod est principale propositum.

1542-51 1 *Ord. d.3 n.161* (Vat. 3.99-100). 1552 supra, ll. 1175-81. 1561 supra,
ll. 1183-89. 1561-72 Cf. 1 *Ord. d.8 nn.73, 85* (Vat. 4.186, 193).

1539 sicut <i>om. B</i>	1552 sicut] sint <i>A</i> : si <i>B</i>	extra animam <i>om. B</i>	vel <i>om. A</i>
1553 vel infinitum <i>bis A</i>	1554 infinito . . . conveniret <i>om. per hom. B</i>	1555 dico . . . relati- tivo] de albedine et relato <i>B</i>	1557 loquitur <i>B</i>
1564 quali] tali <i>AB</i>	1562 esse] duo <i>A</i>	cognoscendum <i>B</i>	

Ad auctoritatem Augustini, quando arguitur quod Augustinus <videtur> velle quod ex conceptu proprio creaturae habeatur conceptus proprius de Deo et non 1575 tantum communis, quia intelligendo ‘hoc bonum’ intelligitur ipsum bonum cuius participatione alia sunt etc., dico quod illud bonum cuius participatione alia sunt bona, quod dicit Augustinus nos intelligere intelligendo ‘hoc bonum’ et ‘illud bonum’ vel potest poni universale ad omnia bona, et tunc eius participatione sunt 1580 alia bona sicut ponitur species participare genus vel sicut aliquod inferius ponitur participare suum superius. Vel potest etiam <poni> quod illud bonum cuius participatione sunt alia bona sit bonum per essentiam. Sed tunc debet intelligi quod tale bonum per essentiam intelligis intelligendo ‘hoc bonum’, quia intelligendo ‘hoc bonum’ intelligis bonum in communi. Intelligendo autem bonum in communi 1585 intelligo aliquo modo, quasi confuse et in universalis, bonum per essentiam, sicut intelligendo ‘hoc ens’ intelligo ens. Cum autem conceptus entis sit conceptus partialis cuiuslibet conceptus, particulariter intelligendo ens / intelligo confuse et 37va in universalis contenta sub ente.

Ad illud quod subditur in auctoritate ‘si potes illud per se noscere’ etc., dico quod si ista determinatio ‘per se’ referatur ad obiectum ut sit sensus quod illud 1590 bonum quod cognoscebam in universalis cognoscendo ‘hoc bonum’, cognoscam cum ista determinatione ‘per se’, ita quod ‘per se’ sit determinatio boni in communi, cum bonum in communi cum ista determinatione ‘per se’ sit bonum infinitum et non dependens et bonum per essentiam, sic intelligendo ‘bonum per se’ intelligo Deum non tamen in conceptu communi sed in conceptu proprio: per 1595 hanc enim determinationem additam conceptus boni qui secundum se est communis Deo et creaturee fit proprius ipsi Deo, et isti inhaerendo per fruitionem continue beatificaberis beatitudine viae, quia talis conceptus est conceptus perfectissimus possibilis haberi de Deo. Quod autem ista sit intentio Augustini, scilicet quod sic habeatur conceptus proprius Deo, scilicet bonum in communi cum tali 1600 determinatione, et aliter non possit haberi conceptus proprius Deo, probatur sic: nam secundum Augustinum, eodem libro, tertio cap. ubi loquitur de veritate, dicit sic: ‘Noli quaerere quid est veritas, quia statim obiciunt se phantasmata’ etc. Istud autem dictum Augustini non esset verum si veritas diceret omnino aliud conceptum in Deo et in creatura; cum enim conceptui proprio ipsi Deo non correspon- 1605 deat aliquod phantasma, bene esset quaerendum quid est veritas? Nec obicerent se

1573 supra, II. 1190-1201.
II. 1193-95.

1573-1611 1 Ord. d.8 nn.86-87 (4.193-94).

1588 supra,

1574 proprio] -prie A 1577 et] vel B 1581 bonum . . . essentiam om. B essentiam]
participationem cuius ut esse sunt alia bona add. A 1588 illud¹] aliud B nosce A
1590 cognoscebam] -batur B 1591 ita . . . per se² in marg. A 1593 et¹ om. A 1594 in² con-
ceptu² om. B 1595 boni] communis B 1596 fit] sit A 1598 intentio] ista add. A
1600 proprius] ipsi add. B 1602 obiciunt B

phantasmata perturbantia conceptum veritatis ut est proprius Deo, quia talis conceptus proprius Deo non habet phantasma sibi correspondens. In hoc igitur quod Augustinus dicit quod inquirendo quid est veritas obiciunt se phantasmata, innuit Augustinus quod ille conceptus veritatis causatus in intellectu nostro est
 1610 communis Deo et creaturae cui correspondet phantasma conceptus proprii creaturae. Magis videtur Augustinus sensisse pro univocatione quam oppositum.

Ad illud quod dicit Philosophus, i *Physicorum*, quod principium maxime proprium arguendi contra Parmenidem et Melissum est quod 'ens' dicitur multipliciter; dico quod ad destruendam opinionem Parmenidis et Melissi est quod
 1615 'ens' dicatur multipliciter, non quidem multiplicitate aequivocationis sed multiplicitate suppositorum; hoc est quod cum 'ens' dicatur de multis in quibus est, quomodo dicunt dicentes 'omnia esse unum' aut 'substantiam omnino' etc., sicut si aliqui dicerent 'omnia esse unum animal'; contra eos esset accipiendum quod 'animal' dicitur multipliciter, id est de multis; et querendum est de quo animali
 1620 intelligant, an scilicet dicant 'omnia esse unum hominem' aut 'unum equum'? Hoc videtur intentio sua ibi.

Ad illud de iv *Metaphysicae*, quod 'ens' dicitur multipliciter, et tamen est metaphysica una scientia, quia omnia de quibus considerat dicuntur ad unum, licet non secundum unum, sicut est una scientia de omnibus sanis, licet sanum non
 1625 dicatur de omnibus sanis secundum unam intentionem, quia omnia sana dicuntur ad primum sanum quod est in animali. Igitur secundum Philosophum 'ens' sic dicitur multipliciter quod non secundum unum. Nullum autem tale est univocum. Respondeo quod 'ens' dicitur aequivoce non quantum ad logicum secundum diversitatem conceptuum sed quantum ad realem philosophum propter diversitatem naturarum in quibus reperitur. Sic enim dicit Philosophus, vii *Physicorum*,
 quod aequivocationes latent in generibus. Et ideo, secundum eum, non est comparatio in genere, et tamen constat quod genus habet unum conceptum.
 Dicitur igitur genus aequivoce apud realem philosophum, quia non dicit <unam>
 1630 naturam in suis speciebus. Sic dico quod apud metaphysicum propter diversitatem realem entium in quibus est attributio, 'ens' non dicitur univoce sed multipliciter,
 37vb cum qua tamen attributione entium inter se stat unitas / conceptus abstrahibilis ab eis. Quod igitur dicit Philosophus, quod 'ens' dicitur 'non secundum unum' debet intelligi <ita> quod dicitur non secundum <unam> naturam; cum quo tamen stat

1612 supra, ll. 1202-4. 1612-79 Has responsiones ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 66.888-67.920, 68.937-69.962) auctor accipit. 1614-21 Scotus, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.166 (Vat. 3.103). 1622 supra, l. 1205. 1628-37 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.163 (Vat. 3.100-101). 1630 *Ph.* 7.4 t.31 (249a22-23).

1607 propria A 1611 pro unione A: per unitatem B 1621 ibi *om.* B 1623 dicunt aliquod B 1624 secundum] scilicet B 1628 logicam A 1629 philosophiam B
 1638 non *om.* B quo] quibus B

quod dicitur secundum unum conceptum reale, ut patet de genere respectu
 1640 suarum specierum. Et quod haec sit intentio Philosophi satis innuit littera sua.
 Dicit enim sic: ‘ens dicitur multis modis, non secundum unum, sed ad unum et ad
 unam naturam aliquam.’ Et cum non sit nugatio in dicto Philosophi ly ‘et’ non
 debet teneri copulative sed expositive sic: ‘ens’ dicitur ad unum et (pro ‘id est’) ad
 1645 unam naturam, sicut etiam dicit postea quod ‘non solum eorum quae dicuntur
 unum est unius scientiae speculari sed etiam dictorum ad unam naturam hoc modo
 quodam secundum unum dicuntur.’ Intelligit igitur quod omnia entia cum dicantur
 ad unam scientiam et non secundum unam naturam dicuntur, tamen quodammodo
 secundum unum dicuntur, quia secundum unum conceptum reale abstrahibilem
 ab omnibus entibus; quod est propositum.

1650 Ad Porphyrium, quando dicit ‘si quis omnia entia’ etc.; dico quod Porphyrius
 in littera sua allegat Philosophum: ‘si quis omnia entia vocet, aequivoce,’ inquit,
 scilicet Aristoteles, ‘nuncupabit.’ Non invenitur tamen ubi Aristoteles hoc dicat in
 logica, sed hoc dicit in metaphysica, sicut positum est supra. Et tunc eodem modo
 exponendum est dictum Porphyrii sicut dictum Aristotelis, quod aequivoce,
 1655 scilicet, nuncupabit apud realem philosophum. Et adhuc magis aequivocantur entia
 in ente quam specierum in genere, quia minor est unitas omnium entium in ente
 quam specierum in genere.

Si quis autem, proterviendo, dicat quod hoc ibi dixit Porphyrius ut logicus, quia
 in logica est hoc dictum, et ita logice loquendo videtur quod ‘ens’ non dicat
 1660 conceptum unum; dico quod multa dicuntur in logica non logice sicut in
 metaphysica dicuntur etiam aliqua non metaphysice, sicut II *Metaphysicae* dicitur
 ‘in omni re mota est materia,’ et tamen ad metaphysicum non pertinet considerare
 de motu, sicut fere omnia quae dicuntur in III et V libro *Physicorum* repetuntur in
 XI et XII *Metaphysicae*.

1665 Ad auctoritates Lincolniensis: ad primam dico quod ex ipsa magis potest
 concludi oppositum quam propositum. Dicit enim sic: ‘ens est prius prioritate non
 convertendi consequentiam: est ipsum ens secundum se consideratum prae ente
 Deo,’ et consequenter est ipsum ens particulatum aliqua differentia, utpote eo
 ‘quod non est in altero ens vel in altero ens,’ non quod ens sit genus, cum sit de
 1670 diversis dictum non omnino univoce sed homonyme.’ Ecce quod primo dicit quod

1641 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.2 (1003a33). 1644 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.2 (1003b12-14). 1650 supra, I.
 1207. 1650-54 I *Ord.* d.3 n.165 (Vat. 3.102-3). 1653 *Metaph.* 7.4 t.15 (1030a32-34).
 1658-63 *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.3 (Vivès 7.146b). 1661 *Metaph.* 2.2 t.12 (994b23-26).
 1665 supra, II. 1208-10.

1647-48 unam . . . secundum² *om. per hom.* B 1648 unum²] communem B 1650 dicit bis
 A 1652 in *om. B* 1653 sicut] supra A 1655 ad hoc B 1656 quam] scilicet B
 1662 re mota] removetur B 1666 prius] non ipsae add. A 1667 ens] esse A considera-
 tum] a add. A 1668 eo] ea AB

1675 ‘ens est prius Deo prioritate non convertendi consequentiam’; prius autem a quo non convertitur consequentia est univocum et non aequivocum. Secundo dicit quod ‘ens est particulatum et divisum sive contractum differentiis’; tale est univocum. Ait autem ‘ens est dictum non omnino univoce sed homonyme,’ quia, ut supra dictum est, sua univocatio compatitur secum maximam analogiam, maiorem quam sit in aliquo genere.

Ad aliam auctoritatem Lincolniensis dico quod Deus non ordinatur cum aliquo sub eodem et in eodem univoce in linea praedicamentali, sed est extra omne praedicamentum, solam unitatem transcendentis habens cum aliis.

1680 <Ad quinque dubia>

Exclusis his motivis, restat excludere quinque dubia supra posita. Primum dubium erat quomodo primo diversis in re potest esse aliquis conceptus realis communis univoce. Quaeritur enim de tali conceptu communi: / aut ei correspontebit aliquid in re aut *nihil*? Si *nihil*, igitur est fictitius et pure conceptus rationis. 1685 Si aliquid correspondet ei in re, igitur illa duo quibus talis conceptus est communis univoce <non> sunt primo diversa in re.

Ad exclusionem istius dubii dico quod primo diversis in re potest esse aliquis conceptus communis univoce, tamen non nisi apud intellectum natum concipere eandem realitatem imperfecte et perfecte. Ad cuius evidentiam est sciendum quod 1690 impossibile est aliquid obiectum esse ita simplex secundum esse quod habet in re extra quin ei apud talem intellectum correspondeat conceptus non simpliciter simplex. Quod declaratur sic: impossibile est enim imaginari quod aliquid habeat esse in re extra nisi habeat esse in determinato gradu entis. Accipias enim quidquid vis — etiam quantumcumque simplex — semper in eo est reperire tamquam 1695 perfectionem sibi intrinsecam determinatum gradum entis. Nec talis gradus intrinsecus rei potest circumscribi a re ut habet esse extra: quantumcumque enim circumscribas a re aliqua ut habet esse extra omnem aliam realitatem distinctam ab ea, numquam tamen potes circumscribere gradum substantialem eiusdem rei sibi intrinsecum.

1700 Et ex hoc potest inferri per modum corollarii quod gradus perfectionalis intrinsecus rei non dicit aliam realitatem ab ipsa re cuius est gradus. Aliud etiam potest inferri: quod conceptus correspondens gradui intrinseco rei est intimior ipsi

1674 supra, ll. 1453-61. 1677 supra, ll. 1211-12. 1681-82 supra, ll. 1089-95. 1692-99 Scotus, *Quod* q.6 n.10 (Vivès 25.247a-b).

1673-74 Ait . . . univoce *om. per hom.* *B* 1675 maximam] illam *B* 1685 quibus] conceptus *B* 1688 univoce *om. B* natum] est add. *B* 1694 etiam *om. B* 1697 ut] ultra *B* 1698 tamen potes] enim potest *B* 1701 dicit corr. ex potest *A:* dici aliquam *B* re *om. B*

rei quam conceptus quicumque correspondens passioni vel quasi passioni ipsius
 rei. Et ideo cum infinitum, ut diffuse declaratum fuit in quaestione: ‘Utrum
 1705 infinitum dicat aliquid additum rei?’, infinitum scilicet, dicat gradum intrinsecum
 essentiae divinae, conceptus infiniti est magis de <conceptu> essentiae divinae
 quam conceptus quicumque correspondens proprietati vel quasi passioni ipsius
 essentiae. Et quod dico de infinito respectu essentiae divinae dicendum est de finito
 respectu naturae creatae: circumscripta enim a re creata omni realitate distincta ab
 1710 ea ut habet esse in re extra numquam poterit ab ea circumscribi finitas et limitatio
 nis determinatus gradus entis. Licet autem res et gradus intrinsecus rei dicant
 eandem realitatem, nec apud intellectum natum concipere rem ita perfecte sicut
 conceptibilis est in se, quantum ad ea quae sunt sibi intrinseca, correspondeat rei
 et gradui sibi intrinseco nisi unus conceptus realis adaequatus tali realitati. Tamen
 1715 ista realitas apud intellectum natum concipere rem conceptu deficiente a perfec-
 tione rei intrinseca, etiam eiusdem rei quantumcumque ista res et gradus sibi
 intrinsecus sint una realitas simplex, tamen ista una realitas apud intellectum talem
 nata est causare duplum conceptum: unum deficientem a perfectione intrinseca
 sive a gradu intrinseco sibi—et iste erit communis sibi et aliis—et alium proprium
 1720 et perfectum adaequate correspondentem illi realitati, qui erit sibi proprius, et per
 istum distingueretur ab omni alio. Exempli gratia, accipiamus aliquam albedinem
 quae ut habet esse in re extra de necessitate includit aliquem determinatum gradum;
 vocetur ille gradus *a*. Apud intellectum concipientem istam albedinem, sicut est
 conceptibilis in se conceptu perfecto, non corresponderet ei nisi unus conceptus
 1725 perfectus realis. Tamen, quia non obstante quod ista realitas et suus gradus sibi / 38rb
 intrinsecus sit una realitas simplex, quia tamen intellectus noster natus est conci-
 pere istam realitatem simplicem conceptu deficiente a perfectione istius realitatis,
 ideo haec simplex realitas apud intellectum nostrum nata est de se ipsa causare
 duos conceptus: unum quo concipitur imperfecte, et hoc modo concipitur realitas
 1730 albedinis conceptu non includente gradum intrinsecum albedini, et talis est
 communis huic albedini et aliis; alium autem adaequate correspondentem isti
 realitati quo concipiatur ista realitas cum gradu sibi intrinseco, nullam compositio-
 nem faciente in re cum realitate cuius est gradus. Et isto conceptu perfecto

1704-1705 Haec quaestio est fortasse eadem isti: ‘Utrum perfectissimus conceptus possibilis haberi
 de Deo a viatore ex puris naturalibus sit conceptus entis infiniti’ (= *Misc.* q.5 [Vives 5.384-403]);
 cf. ‘Igitur conceptus entis infiniti est perfectior quocumque conceptu correspondente cuicunque
 perfectioni attributali...’ (*ibid.* n.5 [Vives 5.397a]). 1708-1753 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.138-40, 142 (Vat.
 4.222-24).

1703 quasi] quia *B* ipsius] ipsi *B* 1707 quasi passioni *om. B* 1708 finito] infinito *A*
 1709 creatae] -turae *B* 1711 determinato *B* 1713 conceptibilis] -cepti *A* rei] ei *B*
 1714 gradu *B* 1719 alii *B* 1722 concludit *B* 1726 natus *om. B*

distinguetur ista realitas ab omni alia realitate. Quod dixi de albedine et gradu
 1735 intrinseco albedinis, dico de infinito et finito respectu entis: finitum enim et infinitum sunt tantum gradus intrinseci ipsi enti. Unde intellectus natus concipere rem conceptu perfecto, intelligendo naturam aliquam, si illa esset finita de necessitate, intelligendo naturam intelligeret finitatem, cum finitas non sit nisi gradus intrinsecus naturae dicens unam realitatem simplicem cum ipsa natura. Si
 1740 esset natura infinita, infinitati et naturae non corresponderet nisi unus simplex conceptus realis. Et ideo apud talem intellectum non est dare aliquem conceptum realem univocum enti finito et infinito. Sed tales conceptus in tali intellectu sunt primo diversi, sicut et obiecta in re a quibus causantur sunt primo diversa, quia intellectus noster non semper concipit rem conceptu perfecto sed concipit primo
 1745 conceptu imperfecto deficiente a perfectione intrinseca rei, ideo concipiendo aliquod obiectum quod in re est finitum non concipiet finitatem. Similiter, concipiendo obiectum quod secundum se est infinitum non concipiet infinitatem, et talis conceptus sic indifferens ad finitum et infinitum est univocus enti finito et infinito et est realis, quia causatus a re et praevius omni actui intellectus. Hoc modo
 1750 intelligo ego univocationem entis et puto quod conformiter intellectui Scoti. Ex his apparet clare quomodo aliqua primo diversa in re non sunt tamen primo diversa in conceptu; immo apud intellectum natum concipere idem perfecte et imperfecte primo diversis in re potest correspondere unus conceptus realis univoce utriusque.

Ad evidentiam secundi dubii, quomodo scilicet conceptus entis sit conceptus
 1755 univocus Deo et creature sive enti finito et infinito, et tamen quod ens non sit genus; ad quod est sciendum quod quandcumque conceptus communis sive contrahibilis et conceptus contrahens sic se habent quod eadem realitas simplex in re correspondet conceptui communi et proprio sive contrahenti, licet conceptui contrahenti correspondeat gradus intrinsecus realitatis a qua causatur conceptus
 1760 communis, numquam talis conceptus communis est conceptus generis, nec conceptus contrahens est conceptus differentiae. Quia in ista propositione est tota vis, declaro eam dupliciter: primo, ostendendo quod conceptus sumptus a gradu intrinseco eiusdem realitatis non facit conceptum differentiae et conceptus sumptus a realitate non facit conceptum generis; secundo, ostendendo quod conceptus

1749-53 Cf. 'Nota quomodo aliqua intentio prima de *a* et *b*, indifferenter, et nihil unius rationis in re correspondet, sed intelliguntur obiecta formalia primo diversa, in una intentione prima, licet utrumque imperfecte' (1 *Ord.* d.8 n.136 Adnotatio Duns Scoti [Vat. 4.221:19-21]). 1754 supra, II. 1096-1106. 1756 Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.103-109, 136-40 (Vat. 4.200-203, 221-23).

1751 tamen *om. B* 1752 *et] vel B* 1756 sive *om. B* 1761 in *interl. A: om. B*
 propositio *B* 1762-63 *a . . . sumptus om. per hom. B* 1764 *generis]* Nota quod stat in hoc, quia conceptus contrahens ens est magis intrinsecus conceptui entis quam conceptus contrahens genus possit esse intrinsecus generi; ideo conceptus entis non est conceptus generis nec contrahens est conceptus differentiae *in inf. marg. A²* ostendo *B*

- 1765 generis sumitur ab alia realitate quam conceptus differentiae, nam si hoc verum est, manifestum erit quod conceptus sumptus a realitate non est conceptus generis respectu conceptus sumptui a gradu intrinseco realitatis.
- Primum declaro sic: nam si conceptus sump/tus a realitate esset conceptus 38va generis et conceptus sumptus a gradu intrinseco realitatis esset conceptus differentiae, conceptus albedinis esset conceptus generis et conceptus sumptus a gradu intrinseco esset conceptus differentiae; quod tamen est falsum. Non obstante igitur quod albedo dicat realitatem et gradum intrinsecum albedinis, quia, ut dictum est, impossibile est dare albedinem nisi in determinato gradu, nihilominus tamen conceptus communis albedinis non est conceptus generis, et conceptus correspon-
1770 dens gradui intrinseco non est conceptus differentiae. Sic igitur patet quod quando conceptus contrahens sumitur praecise a gradu intrinseco alicuius realitatis, et conceptus communis ab illa realitate, talis conceptus communis non est conceptus generis, nec conceptus contrahens est conceptus differentiae. Cum igitur conceptus entis sic se habeat ad conceptus finiti et infiniti quod ab eadem realitate sumitur
1775 conceptus entis et finiti in creatura et entis et infiniti in Deo, licet conceptus finiti sumatur a gradu intrinseco entis, et etiam conceptus infiniti, ens descendens in Deum et creaturam per istos modos non erit genus, ita quod in plus se habet conceptus communis pluribus in quid et diversis plus quam numero quam conceptus generis. Finiti conceptus igitur non sumitur ab alia realitate quam
1780 conceptus entis, licet sumatur a gradu intrinseco entis. Et quia ens infinitum non dicit duas realitates quarum una sit perfectibilis per aliam, quod necessario requiritur ad hoc quod in aliquo sit compositio, hinc est quod conceptus entis qui est communis et conceptus infiniti nullam compositionem ponunt in re, quia tanta identitate sunt idem res et gradus sibi intrinsecus quanta identitate est idem sibi ipsi
1785 posita in effectu sive habens esse extra animam: sicut enim idem non potest circumscribi a se ipso, ita res habens extra animam esse non potest circumscribi a gradu intrinseco. Impossibile enim esset concipere rem aliquam perfecte nisi conciperetur gradus sibi intrinsecus. Sed non sic est de genere et differentia: non enim differentia dicit gradum intrinsecum generi, nam quantumcumque conceptu
1790 perfectissimo concipiatur realitas animalis, etiam in quocumque gradu, non tamen conciperetur rationalitas nec aliquid rationalitatis. Constat igitur quod maior distinctio requiritur in re ad hoc quod causet in intellectu conceptum generis et differentiae quam sit distinctio realitatis et gradus intrinseci ipsi realitati, nam nullam compositionem facit gradus cum re cuius est gradus in re, immo, quod
1795 1800 aliiquid sic simpliciter simplex in re stat, immo necessario requiritur quod habeat

1768-71 1 *Ord. d.8 n.108* (Vat. 4.202:12-15). 1793-97 1 *Ord. d.8 n.136* (Vat 4.221:10-15).

1765 quam] quod <i>B</i>	1781 a . . . entis <i>bis A</i>	1782 habeat <i>B</i>	1793 conciperet <i>B</i>
1798 quam] quod <i>A</i>	1799 immo] omnino <i>B</i>		

gradum perfectionis sibi intrinsecum. Non enim realitas est perfectibilis per gradum sibi intrinsecum, nec potentialis respectu eius; immo sunt omnino idem in re. Ideo nulla est compositio in re; in intellectu tamen causat aliquam compositionem. Sed genus et differentia, cum genus sumatur a realitate perfectibili et potentiali respectu 1805 realitatis a qua sumitur differentia, de necessitate in quocumque est distinguere conceptum generis et differentiae, in eo necessario est aliqua compositio vel rei et rei, sicut compositio ex materia et forma, vel realitatis et realitatis, sicut in istis speciebus accidentium, supposito quod non sit in eis materia.

Declaro secundo quod ab alia realitate sumitur conceptus generis et ab alia 1810 conceptus differentiae, quarum una sit potentialis et perfectibilis respectu alterius. Primo, per Avicennam, viii *Metaphysicae*, cap 4, ubi dicit Avicenna quod Deus non est in genere, quia genus est pars: Deus autem est simplex, non habens partem et 38vb partem. Genus autem non / diceret partem si diceret totam realitatem speciei, ita quod ab eadem realitate sumeretur conceptus generis et differentiae.

1815 Item, arguitur hoc idem auctoritate Aristotelis, viii *Metaphysicae*, ubi dicit quod oportet dispositionem sive terminum esse propositionem longam, quia significat aliquid de aliquo.

Item, per rationem sic: si realitas a qua sumitur genus esset vere tota quidditas rei, per solum genus posset complete dari definitio de re: quod est falsum. In 1820 quocumque igitur est reperire genus et differentiam, necessario vel est compositio rei et rei, sicut in compositis ex materia et forma, vel realitatis et realitatis, sicut in accidentibus, ita quod non est dare aliquod accidens in quo non sit distinguere duas realitates quarum una est perfectibilis per aliam, et realitas perfectibilis esset imperfecta si non perficeretur per eam quae est perfectiva eius. Ista autem 1825 compositio realitatum quarum una potentialis, alia actualis, est minima compositio quae sufficit ad rationem generis et differentiae. Sic igitur patet quomodo non obstante quod conceptus entis sit communis finito et infinito et indifferens modo dicto, conceptus tamen entis non est conceptus generis, nec conceptus finiti et infiniti sunt conceptus differentiarum. Quod dictum de conceptu entis respectu 1830 finiti et infiniti debet intelligi de conceptu entis respectu modorum quibus descendit in decem genera.

Ad tertium dubium quod tangebatur, quia intelligendo istam opinionem illa propositio in qua removetur unum generalissimum ab alio non est immediata, cuius contrarium dicit Aristoteles in i *Posteriorum*; nec prima genera essent primo

1809-1814 Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.109 (Vat. 4.203). 1811 *Philosophia prima* 8.4 (AvL 2.402:61-64). 1815-17 Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.104 (Vat. 4.200). 1815 *Metaph.* 8.3 t.9 (1043b25-26). 1818-31 1 *Ord.* d.8 nn.105-107 (Vat. 4.200-202). 1832 supra, ll. 1107-1113. 1834 *APo.* 1.15 (79b12-13).

1805 ad quam B 1807 realitatis et] realitas vel B 1811 prima A ubi] ibi A 1813 si] nisi B 1824 imperfecta] perfecta B 1830 et] nec B

1835 diversa. Quantum ad hoc quod dicit quod prima genera non essent primo diversa, dico quod sunt primo diversa in re, licet non in conceptu, sicut declaratum est de Deo et creatura. Quantum ad hoc quod dicitur, quod ista non esset immediata ‘substantia non est qualitas’, dico quod illa propositio negativa est immediata, secundum Philosophum ibi, quando praedicatum et subiectum sic se habent quod
 1840 non est dare aliquod medium notius removendi unum ab alio. Unde ista non est immediata: ‘color non est substantia,’ quia est dare medium quod immediatus inest isti subiecto per quod removetur hoc praedicatum ab hoc subiecto, nam inter colorem et substantiam est medium, ipsa qualitas, ratione cuius removetur a colore esse substantiam. Sed dato quod conceptus entis sit communis decem generibus,
 1845 ipsum tamen ens non est medium quod notius sit inesse subiecto per quod praedicatum removeatur a subiecto. Et ideo ista negativa ‘substantia non est quantitas’ bene est immediata, non obstante quod conceptus entis sit communis eis univoce.

Ad evidentiam quarti dubii, quod erat de modo arguendi Philosophi contra
 1850 Parmenidem et Melissum, ‘si est tantum unum ens, igitur hoc ens vel illud,’ est sciendum quod Philosophus aliquando arguit ostensive et secundum veritatem. Quantum esset ex forma arguendi ibi, esset fallacia figurae dictionis, descendendo sub praedicato stante confuse tantum. Et etiam esset fallacia consequentis a superiori ad inferius arguendo. Sed Philosophus ibi arguit contra eos ex hypothesi:
 1855 imponit enim eis Philosophus quod omnia sint unum non confuse sed loquendo de uno determinate; et tunc bene tenet consequentia. Unde si omne currens sit determinatus unus homo, bene tenet consequentia: aut igitur hic homo aut ille. Unde sub singulari vago bene contingere sic descendere. Unde si omnia sint unum aliquod individuum, sequitur quod omnia sint una individua / substantia vel unum 39ra
 1860 individuum accidens. Quod autem ens in conclusione Parmenidis et Melissi stet pro aliquo singulari vago, cum dicunt quod omnia sint unum ens, patet per Philosophum, ibidem, quaerentem ab eis ‘Quomodo dicunt dicentes unum omnia: aut quantitatem omnia, aut qualitatem omnia, ut hoc album dicit hoc calidum aut aliquod aliorum talium?’ Haec Aristoteles.
 1865 Ecce quod Philosophus arguit quod si omnia sunt qualitas, aut ergo hoc album aut hoc calidum. Haec autem consequentia non valeret si qualitas stet confuse tantum. Oportet igitur ut qualitas stet pro singulari vago, et ideo cum Philosophus

1836 supra, ll. 1681-1753. 1838-48 *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vivès 7.152a); cf. Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 73.1099-74.1102). 1849 supra, ll. 1114-24. 1851-74 Hanc respositionem ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 65.864-66.885) auctor accipit. 1851-57 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.166 (Vat. 3.103). 1862 *Ph.* 1.2 t.13 (185a22-26).

1853 praedicamento <i>B</i>	etiam <i>om. B</i>	1855 loquendo <i>om. B</i>	1856 teneret <i>B</i>
1859 sint] sicut <i>add. B</i>	substantia] unum <i>A</i>	1862 quaerentem] contrarietatem <i>B</i>	

arguit: 'Quomodo dicunt dicentes unum omnia, utrum substantiam omnia aut quantitatem omnia' non dividit Philosophus ens vel unum in substantiam vel 1870 accidens in communi, sed ens et unum accipiuntur ibi pro aliquo singulari vago, alioquin non valeret argumentum Philosophi ulterius, cum arguit quod 'si omnia sint qualitas, aut igitur hoc album aut hoc calidum.' Sic igitur patet quod ex modo illo Philosophi arguendi contra Parmenidem et Melissum non concluditur ens esse aequivocum.

1875 Ad evidentiam quinti dubii quod tangebatur, quod secundum istam opinionem videtur quod genera generalissima essent species definibiles, quia conceptus includens conceptum quidditativum et qualitativum est conceptus proprie definibilis. Si autem conceptus entis esset univocus decem generibus, conceptus generis generalissimi includeret conceptum quidditativum, scilicet conceptum entis, et qualita- 1880 tivum, illum scilicet quo distinguitur unum genus ab alio. Dico ad hoc quod aliquis conceptus sic proprie definibilis necessario includet conceptum quidditativum sumptum a realitate actuali et perfectiva realitatis potentialis a qua sumitur genus, et quia, ut declaratum est, non obstante quod conceptus entis sit communis univoce decem generibus, quia tamen conceptus entis et conceptus per quem contrahitur 1885 conceptus entis ad aliquod generalissimum non sumitur ab alia et alia realitate, nec illud a quo sumitur conceptus entis est potentiale et perfectibile respectu illius per quod ens descendit in aliquod generalissimum. Sed conceptus entis sumitur a realitate. Conceptus ille qualitativus inclusus in conceptu generalissimi sumitur tantum a gradu intrinseco realitatis qui ut sic nullam compositionem realem ponit 1890 in generalissimo. Hinc est quod non obstante tali univocatione, genera generalis- sima non sunt proprie definibilia. Et sic patet ad omnia dubia.

〈RESPONSIO AD ARGUMENTUM PRINCIPALE〉

Ad argumentum principale: solutum est ex declaratione primi dubii. Contra eandem conclusionem possunt forte multa adduci; tamen puto quod ex his quae 1895 tacta sunt hic, sive sint auctoritates quae adducantur sive rationes, possunt faciliter solvi. Unum tamen occurrit quod aliqui ponderant. Arguunt sic: ab eo quod est ex se formaliter hoc, non potest abstrahi aliquis conceptus realis sumptus ab alia realitate determinabili respectu realitatis a qua sumi debet conceptus contrahens istum communem quin tamen ab aliquo quod est ex se hoc possit causari in 1900 intellectu aliquis conceptus communis quo imperfecte concipiatur res correspon-

1875 supra, ll. 1124-32. 1883 supra, ll. 1754-1831. 1893 supra, ll. 7-19.

1876 definibiles] quia conceptus includens <i>add. et del. A</i> : dissimiles <i>B</i>	1877 definibilis]
dissimilis <i>B</i>	1878 esset] conceptus <i>add. B</i> 1879 et] conceptum <i>add. B</i>
AB 1883 ut <i>om. B</i> non] tamen <i>B</i> 1884 conceptus ²] est <i>add. A</i>	1880 illum] illo
1897 sumptus] in obiecto <i>add. A</i>	quem] quod <i>A</i>

dens rei imperfecte conceptae. Non est impossibile, quia, ut declaratum / est supra, 39rb hoc stat cum omnimoda simplicitate rei et cum summa actualitate, sicut est illud quod est formaliter ex se hoc.

Si occurrant plura, solvas per ista.

<QUAESTIO 2>

UTRUM SIT ALIQUIS CONCEPTUS SIMPLICITER SIMPLEX PRAETER CONCEPTUM ENTIS

Quod sic:

Omnis conceptus irresolutibilis in plures conceptus partiales est simpliciter simplex. Sed praeter conceptum entis est dare aliquos conceptus partiales. Igitur 5 praeter conceptum entis est dare aliquos conceptus simpliciter simplices. Maior est evidens ex declaratione huius termini qui est conceptus simpliciter simplex posita in primo articulo praecedentis quaestionis. Minor probatur: conceptus aequem transcendens, sicut est conceptus entis, non includens conceptum entis in quid est 10 irresolutibilis, sicut conceptus entis. Sed conceptus passionum entis sunt aequem transcendentibus sicut conceptus entis; nec includunt conceptum entis quidditative. Igitur conceptus passionum entis sunt conceptus irresolutibiles in plures conceptus partiales.

Maior est manifesta. Minor habet duas <partes>: prima est quod conceptus 15 passionum entis sunt aequem transcendentibus sicut conceptus entis. Ista patet: subiectum enim et sua propria passio sunt aequem transcendentibus quia sunt aequalis ambitus. Secunda pars minoris est quod conceptus passionum entis non includunt in quid conceptum entis. Ista probatur, quia si sic, praedicatio entis de suis passionibus esset vera per se primo modo, quod est contra Philosophum, 20 *Posteriorum*, quia quando aliqua propositio est vera per se secundo modo, eius conversa non esset vera per se primo modo. Cum enim risibile praedicatur per se secundo modo de homine, praedicatio hominis per se de risibili non est vera per se primo modo. Cum igitur praedicatio passionis entis de ente sit vera secundo modo per se, quia semper passio est extra rationem subiecti, praedicatio entis de 25 suis passionibus non erit vera primo modo, et ita conceptus entis non includitur in quid in conceptu passionum entis. Conceptus igitur passionum entis sunt simpliciter simplices.

19-20 *APo.* 1.4 (73a37-b5).

7 posito *A* 11 includitur *A* 22 non] nam *A*

Contra:

Nullus conceptus resolubilis in plures conceptus est simpliciter simplex. Sed 30 omnis conceptus alias ab ente est resolubilis in plures conceptus partiales. Igitur nullus conceptus alias ab ente est conceptus simpliciter simplex. Maior est evidens ex praedictis. Minor probatur: quilibet conceptus positivus includit conceptum entis; igitur quilibet conceptus est resolubilis in plures conceptus. Consequentia manifesta. Antecedens probatur: conceptus enim qui non includit conceptum entis 35 videtur esse nihil. Si igitur esset aliquis conceptus positivus qui non includeret conceptum entis, aliquis conceptus positivus esset conceptus nihili, quod includit contradictionem. Nullus igitur est conceptus positivus qui non includat conceptum entis, et per consequens non est conceptus simpliciter simplex.

〈DIVISIO QUAESTIONIS〉

- 40 Quoniam, ut satis clarum est ex forma quaestione, in ista quaestione aliquid supponitur et aliquid quaeritur. Supponitur enim quod conceptus entis sit conceptus simpliciter simplex. Quaeritur autem an aliquis alias conceptus a conceptu entis sit simpliciter simplex.
 Circa istam quaestionem sic procedam. Primo, declarabo conceptum entis esse 45 conceptum simpliciter simplicem, quod est in quaestione suppositum. Secundo, investigabo an aliquis alias conceptus a conceptu entis sit simpliciter simplex, quod est principale quaesitum.

〈I. CONCEPTUS ENTIS EST CONCEPTUS SIMPLICITER SIMPLEX〉

- Primum probo supponendo ex determinatione praecedenti quod conceptus entis
 39va 50 sit conceptus unus univoce Deo et creaturae sic: / ille conceptus qui est primo contrahibilis et primo determinabilis est conceptus simpliciter simplex. Sed conceptus <entis> est huiusmodi: ergo etc. Minor est manifesta: quanto enim aliquis conceptus est communior et magis confusus tanto per plura contrahentia est magis contrahibilis. Conceptus igitur communissimus, cuiusmodi est conceptus
 55 entis, ille est simpliciter contrahibilis, ita quod nullo modo contractus. Maior probatur: si enim conceptus primo contrahibilis non sit conceptus simpliciter simplex, sed resolubilis, cum illi conceptus in quos resolvetur sic se habeant quod unus diceret quid et aliis quale, sive unus esset per se potentialis et aliis per se actualis, conceptus entis non esset simpliciter simplex et primo contrahibilis, sed
 60 alias prius eo qui includeretur in eo.

32 conceptum] communem *A* 57 sed] si *A* illi] ille *A* resolvet *A* 58 et² *om. A*

Item, conceptus entis aut est conceptus simpliciter simplex aut resolubilis in plures. Si est simpliciter simplex, habetur intentum. Si non, quaero de illis in quos resolvitur: aut aliquis eorum in quos resolvitur est simpliciter simplex aut non. Si sic, eadem ratione standum fuit in primo, scilicet in conceptu entis. Si non,
65 quaeram de illis in quos resolvitur uterque eorum, et ita vel erit processus in infinitum, quod est impossibile in conceptibus realibus, vel erit status in conceptu entis ad quem tamquam ad simpliciter primum erit resolutio omnium.

Item, et est confirmatio prioris rationis, processus in infinitum in conceptibus realibus est impossibilis; igitur est status ad aliquem simpliciter simplicem primum.
70 Nullus autem ponitur prior conceptu entis; igitur conceptus <entis> est simpliciter simplex. Prima consequentia videtur manifesta, quia si quilibet conceptus possibilis dari sit resolubilis procedetur in infinitum in conceptibus realibus. Antecedens primae consequentiae probatur: impossibile est intellectum nostrum nec simul nec successive intelligere infinita. Sed si essent processus in infinitum in conceptibus
75 realibus, cognitio cuiuslibet conceptus dependeret ab infinitis; igitur esset impossibile cognoscere aliquid.

Sed forte dicetur, non obstante quod sit processus in infinitum in conceptibus realibus, nihilominus poterit aliquid cognosci, quia ad hoc quod intellectus noster aliquid cognoscat, non oportet quod distincte cognoscat conceptus partiales qui
80 includuntur in eo: potest enim cognosci homo, non tamen oportet quod distincte cognoscatur animal et rationale a quibus dependet conceptus hominis.

Ista solutio sic excluditur, quia saltem nihil continget cognosci distincte secundum istam solutionem.

Item, cum nihil cognoscat intellectus noster confuse quin possit illud cognoscere
85 distincte, si potest infinita cognoscere confuse, poterit et distincte; quod tamen sibi repugnat.

Item, sicut se habet distincta cognitio alicuius conceptus resolubilis ad distinctam notitiam conceptuum in quos est resolubilis, ita confusa cognitio conceptus resolubilis ad confusam cognitionem conceptuum in quos resolvitur. Sed impossibile <est> distincte cognoscere aliquem conceptum resolubilem nisi distincte habeatur notitia conceptuum in quos talis conceptus est resolubilis. Igitur nec aliquid poterit confuse cognosci quod sit resolubile in plures conceptus nisi confuse cognoscantur omnes conceptus a quibus dependet. Sed intellectui nostro quocumque genere cognitionis sive confuse sive distincte repugnat cognoscere infinita.
95 Igitur impossibilis est processus in in/finitum in conceptibus realibus.

39vb

Item, omnis multitudo reducitur ad aliquid simpliciter unum; igitur multitudo conceptuum reducitur ad unum conceptum simpliciter simplicem. Cum igitur

68-76 supra, Q.1 (ll. 110-129). 77-81 *Theor. 13* (Vivès 5.32a).

84 quin] non A

resolutio conceptuum stet ad conceptum entis, conceptus entis erit simpliciter unus nullam habens pluralitatem conceptum.

- 100 Item, si non sit status ad aliquem conceptum realem simpliciter simplicem sed sit in talibus possibilis processus in infinitum, cum cuilibet conceptui reali correspondeat aliquis gradus entitatis, sequitur quod in specie specialissima erunt infiniti gradus entitatis. Hoc autem est impossibile. Igitur est dare aliquem conceptum realem simpliciter simplicem. Nullus autem ponitur simplicior conceptu entis; igitur conceptus entis est simpliciter simplex.

Item, ei quod est primum cognoscibile distinete correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex. Sed ens est primum cognoscibile distinete. Igitur ei correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex. Maior declaratur sic: contrario modo se habet illud quod est primum cognoscibile a nobis cognitione confusa et illud quod est primum cognoscibile a nobis cognitione distincta. Nam illud quod plures conceptus includit est illud quod primo cognoscitur cognitione confusa, sicut evidenter apparet distinctione tertia libri I, ita quod quanto conceptus est magis resolubilis tanto <est> prius cognoscibile cognitione confusa. Igitur quanto aliquid est minus resolubile tanto est prius cognoscibile cognitione distincta; igitur simpliciter primum cognoscibile cognitione distincta erit simpliciter irresolubile. Sed ens est primum cognoscibile cognitione distincta. Ista probatur: illud quod est primum obiectum primae cognitionis distinctae est primum cognoscibile distinete. Sed metaphysica est prima scientia in ordine distinctarum cognitionum, ut patet per Avicennam, i *Metaphysicae*, et eius primum obiectum est ens in quantum ens, ut 120 habetur ab eo ibidem. Igitur ens est primum obiectum intellectus nostri cognitione distincta. Igitur ei correspondet aliquis conceptus simpliciter simplex.

<II. AN ALIQUIS ALIUS CONCEPTUS EST SIMPLICITER SIMPLEX>

Circa secundum articulum, scilicet quod praeter conceptum entis qui est simpliciter simplex sit dare alium conceptum simpliciter simplicem formaliter et 125 intrinsece sic procedam: primo, ut nota sit omnibus conclusio quam teneo, inducam rationes alias mihi satis efficaces quibus ostendam quod praeter conceptum entis est dare plures alios conceptus simpliciter simplices sive quod

100-105 *Theor. 5* (Vivès 5.14b). 112 Cf. 1 *Ord. d.3 nn.71-79* (Vat. 3.49-54). 115-121 1 *Ord. d.3 n.81* (Vat. 3.55-56). 119 *Philosophia prima* 1.3 (AvL 1.20:67-70). 120 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.12:31-32).

102 entitatis] entis A 110 distincta] nam illud quod est primum cognoscibile a nobis cognitione confusa et illud quod est primum cognoscibile a nobis cognitione distincta add. et del. A 115 distincta] ista probatur add. et del. A 116 illud . . . primum² bis A 117 est] et A 121 aliquis] ad A 126 inducam corr. ex in conceptum A

aliquem unum conceptum praedicare quid de omni conceptu est impossible. Et istud probatur ostendendo quod conceptus entis non includitur quidditative in 130 quolibet alio conceptu positivo, licet denominative dicatur conceptus entis de quolibet conceptu positivo. Secundo, excludam solutiones datas ad illas rationes. Tertio, inducam motiva aliquorum modernorum satis apparentia quibus ostenditur quod praeter conceptum entis non est dare aliud conceptum simpliciter simpli- cem. Quarto, respondebo ad motiva eorum et ad rationem principalem. / 40ra

135 <Impossibile est dare unum conceptum in quid communem omnibus>

Quantum ad primum arguo primo sic: omnis conceptus ad quemcumque aliud non eundem sibi comparatus vel est primo diversus ab eo vel est tantum differens ab eo. Si est primo diversus, igitur isti duo conceptus in nullo uno communi 140 convenient conceptu in quid, et ita uterque eorum erit simpliciter simplex, quod est intentum. Si tamen sunt differentes, cum illa quae sunt differentia differant differentiis, sint illa quibus differant isti duo conceptus *a* et *b*. Et tunc quaero de *a* et *b*, cum sint distincti conceptus: aut igitur sunt primo diversi aut tantum 145 differentes. Si sunt primo diversi, igitur <sunt> simpliciter simplices. Si sunt tantum differentes, sint illa quibus differunt *c* et *g*. Quaeram de istis sicut de primis. Aut 150 igitur erit processus in infinitum et idem conceptus infinities includeretur in infinitis, aut erit status ad aliquos conceptus primo diversos non includentes aliquem conceptum unum in quid. Sed processus <in> infinitum est impossibilis. Igitur est status ad aliquos primo diversos, et per consequens impossibile est dare unum conceptum in quid communem omnibus.

150 Confirmatur ista ratio: semper enim resolutio eorum quae distinguuntur stat ad aliqua primo diversa, cuiusmodi sunt materia et forma. Materia enim nihil includit ipsius formae, nec e converso. Distinctio igitur conceptuum stabit ad aliquos conceptus primo diversos.

Item, sive in rebus sive in conceptibus est ista propositio vera: impossibile est 155 ex pluribus fieri aliquod per se unum nisi alterum eorum sit per se potentiale et aliud per se actuale, sive aliud per se determinabile et aliud per se determinans. Nullam enim aliam causam assignat Philosophus quare aliquid compositum ex pluribus est per se unum nisi quia ponit quod sic se habent quod unum est per se actus et aliud per se potentia. Et sic est in rebus quod eorum quae faciunt per se 160 unum alterum est potentia per se, alterum actus per se, ut ponit VIII *Metaphysicae*,

136-149 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.132 (Vat. 3.81-82); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 45.282-289). 144-
147 *Theor.* 9 (Vivès 5.22b). 135-180 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.133 (Vat. 3.82-83); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 45.290-46.305). 160 *Metaph.* 8.6 t.15-16 (1045a20-25, b17-18).

144 sint] si *A* Quaeram] quaedam *A* 145 includeretur] -dere *A* 146 conceptus]
processus *A* includentes] ad add. *A*

cap. 3. Idem videtur ponere in vii de conceptibus: nam si conceptus definitionis debet esse per se unus, illi conceptus ex quibus componitur sic se habebunt quod alter erit actus per se, alter per se potentia, sive, ut proprius loquar, unus per se determinabilis, alter per se determinans. Accipio igitur conceptus partiales alicuius unius totalis; sint *f* et *g*. *F* erit per se determinabilis, qui est conceptus quidditativus; *g* erit per se determinans, qui est qualitativus. Et quaero de istis duobus: aut conceptus *f* et conceptus *g* includunt aliquem unum conceptum communem in quid aut nullum. Si nullum, habetur intentum. Si aliquem, cum conceptus *f* et conceptus *g* non dicant praecise illum communem sed aliquid aliud, quaero de illo conceptu quem addit conceptus *f* supra conceptum communem et de alio quem addit conceptus *g* supra istum communem. Aut isti duo conceptus includunt aliquem communem aut nullum. Si nullum, habetur intentum, quod est dare duos conceptus, per se determinantem et per se determinabilem, qui sic se habent quod per se determinabilis nihil includit ipsius per se determinantis. Si aliquem includunt communem, cum illi duo superadditi non sint praecise ille conceptus entis communis in quid, sed dicant aliquos conceptus quibus distinguuntur, quaeram de illis sicut de primis: vel oportet quod conceptus per se unus dependeat a conceptibus infinitis / ex quibus componitur, quod est impossibile, vel erit status ad aliquos duos quorum unus, cum sit per se determinabilis, nihil includit ipsius conceptus per se determinantis, nec e converso. Cum igitur conceptus primo determinabilis sit conceptus entis, conceptus autem per se determinans et primo sit conceptus sumptus ab ultimo gradu formae specificae, non a tota forma, quia toti formae correspondet conceptus resolubilis, sed tantum ab ultimato gradu formae, quem alii minus proprie vocant conceptum ultimae differentiae, sequitur quod conceptus entis non includitur quidditatively in omni conceptu, quod est intentum.

Confirmatur ista ratio, quia sicut dictum est, sicut res per se una componitur ex duobus principiis, scilicet per se potentiali et per se actuali, et eius resolutio stat ad aliqua duo principia quae sic se habent quod per se potentiale nihil est eius quod est per se actuale, quia materia prima nihil includit ipsius formae, sic etiam erit ex parte conceptus per se unius quod erit eius resolutio ad aliquos duos conceptus, per se scilicet determinabilem et per se determinantem, sic quod per se determinabilis nihil includet eius qui est primo determinans, nec e converso. Impossibile est igitur aliquem conceptum unum includi in quid in omni alio conceptu. Conceptus igitur entis non est communis omnibus in quid.

161 *Metaph.* 7.4 t.16 (1030b7-14); cf. *Scotum*, 4 *Ord.* d.1 q.2 n.2 (Vivès 16.100b). 183 ‘alii’, sc. Alnwick: ‘... ultima differentia sumitur ab ultima forma sive ab ultimo gradu formae ...’ (ed. Dumont¹, p. 50.426-427); cf. autem *Scotum*: ‘... et “determinans tantum” est conceptus ultimae differentiae’ (1 *Ord.* d.3 n.133 [Vat. 3.82:21-83:1]).

161 Idem] ita *A* conceptibus] scilicet add. *A* 165 quidditatis *A* 168 nullum¹] aut add. *A* 170, 171 supra] super *A* 176 quaeram] quae iam *A* 177 vel] si add. *A*

195 Item, ab ultimo constitutivis aliquorum duorum impossibile est abstrahi aliquem unum conceptum realem positivum dictum de eis in quid. Sed conceptus sumptu ab ultimo gradu in forma specifica sunt ultimo constitutiva eorum quibus conveniunt in esse <formae> specificae; igitur ab eis non potest abstrahi conceptus realis communis eis in quid. Minor est manifesta. Maior probatur sic: illa quae sunt
 200 ultimo constitutiva aliquorum in esse sunt illa quibus constituta in esse primo differunt. Sed illa quibus aliqua primo differunt non possunt in aliquo communi convenire. Aliqua enim primo differre est se totis differre; sed quae se totis differunt in nullo sui convenient. Igitur illis quibus aliqua primo differunt, cuiusmodi sunt ultimo constitutiva aliquorum in esse non potest esse conceptus communis dictus
 205 de eis in quid.

Item, ad hoc idem adducunt aliqui talem rationem: 'Si conceptus entis includetur quidditative in conceptu generis et ultimae differentiae, sequitur quod omnis definitio esset nugatoria: addendo enim differentiam generi adderetur idem conceptus eidem conceptui bis, quia posito quod in conceptu generis includatur conceptus
 210 entis in quid, et similiter in conceptu differentiae, igitur addendo differentiam generi adderetur conceptus entis conceptui entis. Et illud evidentius apparet, si loco nominum, scilicet generis et differentiae, ponerentur eorum rationes. Sed inconveniens est dicere quamlibet definitionem esse nugatoriam. Igitur conceptus entis non includetur quidditative in conceptu differentiae.'

215 Sed ista aequa est contra me sicut contra illos qui dicunt conceptum entis includi in quid in omni conceptu posteriori, licet ego non ponam conceptum entis includi quidditative in conceptu sumpto ab ultimato gradu in forma quem voco conceptum ultimae differentiae. In hoc discordo ab eis. Tamen pono conceptum entis includi quidditative in conceptu differentiarum intermediarum. Cum igitur definitio possit
 220 dari non tantum per genus proximum et ultimam differentiam, sed per genus remotum et per plures differentias intermedias, et <tam> in genere / remoto quam 40va etiam in differentiis intermedii includatur conceptus entis, addendo differentiam intermedium generi remoto fieret nugatio. Et ideo difficultas de nugatione aequa est contra me sicut contra eos, licet non ita universaliter in omni definitione fieret
 225 nugatio secundum positionem meam sicut secundum positionem eorum. Dico igitur quod ista ratio non concludit, quia ex replicatione conceptus entis non committitur nugatio, alioquin quandocumque unus conceptus positivus simplex adderetur alteri, ut dicendo 'homo albus', et huiusmodi, semper fieret nugatio;

195-205 Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.23 n.20 (Vat. 5.360). 206-214 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.161 (Vat. 3.99); *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vives 7.152a); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 36.36-40); Cowton (ed. Brown², 19).
 215 'illos', sc. Alnwick; cf. infra, ll. 547-550.

198, 204 potest corr. in possunt A 209 posito] -tivo A 211 si] scilicet A 217 sumpto ab] sumpta A quem] quam A 220 non] nam A

quod tamen falsum est. Dico quod in definitione proprie non est nugatio nisi
 quando conceptus <qui> proprie pertinet ad definitionem, cuiusmodi est conceptus
 generis vel differentiae, bis replicaretur. Conceptus autem entis, cum sit transcen-
 dens, proprie non pertinet ad definitionem. Et ideo, si includatur in conceptu
 generis et differentiae, addendo tantum differentiam generi non committitur
 nugatio.

235 Item, quod conceptus entis non includatur quidditative in omni alio conceptu,
 probo sic: suppono quod ens in quantum ens habet alias passiones convertibiles
 cum eo et demonstrabiles de eo, tamen, quia adversarius nollet hoc supponere,
 probo ita esse auctoritate et ratione.

Auctoritas <est illa> Philosophi, IV *Metaphysicae*, ubi dicit quod sicut linea in
 240 quantum linea et numerus in quantum numerus habent passiones, ita entis in
 quantum ens sunt passiones.

Ratione probo idem sic: illud quod est primum subiectum alicuius primi habitus
 scientifici habet passiones de ipso demonstrabiles. Ista est manifesta, nam, secun-
 dum Philosophum I *Posteriorum*, de ratione eius quod debet poni subiectum in
 245 scientia est habere passiones per se demonstrabiles, et primo de ipso. Sed ens in
 quantum ens est obiectum primi habitus scientifici, scilicet metaphysici. Igitur entis
 in quantum ens sunt passiones cum eo convertibiles.

Ex hac suppositione formo duas rationes: prima, quod conceptus entis non
 includitur quidditative in quolibet conceptu positivo, et hoc sic: accipio unam
 250 passionem entis, puta unum, gratia exempli. Quaero an conceptus unius includat
 praecise et adaequate conceptum entis aut aliud aliud quam conceptum entis
 tantum. Si praecise et adaequate dicit conceptum entis, igitur idem erit passio sui
 ipsius, et <cum> passio sit naturaliter posterior suo subiecto, idem ratione sui ipius
 erit prius et posterius naturaliter, quod est inconveniens et manifeste falsum. Immo
 255 cum non repugnaret priori naturaliter separari a posteriori non repugnaret idem
 separari a se ipso, quod est oppositum primi principii. Ergo non praecise
 conceptus unius dicit conceptum entis sed includit aliud aliud a conceptu entis.
 Sit illud *d*. Quaero de *d*, si includit praecise conceptum entis. Cum illud sit passio
 entis, deducatur, sicut prius, quod illud sit passio sui ipsius. Si dicat aliud aliud,
 260 quaeram de illo. Vel ergo oportet dicere quod conceptus entis non includatur

229-234 Haec responsio ex Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 72.1068-73.1074) habetur; cf. Scotum, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.11 (Vivès 7.152a). 237 'adversarius', sc. Alnwick: 'Et ideo non est vera passio entis tanquam causatum ex principiis entis . . .' (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.540-541). 239 *Metaph.* 4.12 t.5 (1004b10-17). 244 *APo.* 1.7 (75b1-2); 1.28 (87a37-39). 248-263 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.136 (Vat. 3.84-85); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 46.318-326).

239 sic *A* 240 habet *A* 249 quodlibet *A* 252 conceptum dicit *A* 253 posterior] -riori
A ratio *A* 257 aliud aliud includit *A*

quidditative in conceptu unius, ut est passio entis, vel idem erit passio sui ipsius, vel <erit> procedere in infinitum in conceptibus subiecti et per se passionum eius. Sed duo ultima sunt impossibilia; ergo primum est necessarium.

Item, termini propositionis per se verae secundo modo sic se habent quod
 265 terminus praedicati est extra conceptum quidditativum subiecti. Per hoc enim
 distinguitur praedicatio per se vera primo modo a praedicatione per se secundo
 modo, quod in praedicatione per se vera primo modo termini / sic se habent quod 40vb
 semper terminus praedicati includitur quidditative in termino subiecti; in praedi-
 catione vera secundo modo non. Sed praedicatio in qua praedicatur passio de
 270 subiecto est praedicatio vera secundo modo per se. Ergo passio est extra
 conceptum quidditativum subiecti. Ens enim quod habet rationem subiecti non
 includitur quidditative in conceptu suarum passionum.

Confirmatur ista ratio sic: nihil quod ponitur in definitione alicuius sicut
 additamentum includitur in quid in formali conceptu eius. Sed subiectum in
 275 definitione passionis ponitur sicut additamentum. Ergo subiectum non includitur
 in formali conceptu passionis. Ens ergo, cum habeat rationem subiecti, non
 includeretur in formali conceptu passionis suea.

Confirmatur eadem ratio sic: Philosophus, I *Posteriorum*, cap. ‘De statu prin-
 cipiorum’ dicit quod propositiones per se non convertuntur, ut si praedicatum
 280 dicitur per se de subiecto secundo modo, non e converso erit praedicatio per se,
 sed per accidens. Sic, si ista est per se secundo modo ‘ens est unum’, haec ‘unum
 est ens’ non est per se primo modo sed per accidens, sicut ista ‘risibile est homo’.
 Ens ergo non includitur in formali conceptu suarum passionum.

Item, ens videtur sufficienter dividi quidditative in ens increatum et in decem
 285 genera et in principia essentialia illorum generum. Si ergo unum includat quiddi-
 tative ens, vel ipsum unum vel verum, quae est alia passio, erit ens increatum vel
 contentum sub aliquo decem generum vel erit aliquod principium essentiale
 generum. Sed ipsum verum non est aliquod decem generum, nec species, nec
 individuum, nec principium essentiale alicuius decem generum. Cuius ratio est,
 290 quia species, et individuum et etiam principium essentiale alicuius decem generum,
 includunt limitationem; verum autem nullam limitationem includit, alioquin non
 posset Deo attribui. Verum ergo non est aliquod decem generum, nec species, nec
 individuum alicuius decem generum, nec principium essentiale eorum, nec est ens
 increatum, quia tunc non posset dici de ente creato. Igitur verum non includit ens
 295 quidditative.

264-283 1 *Ord. d.3* n.134 (Vat. 3.83-84); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 46.306-318). 278 APo.
 1.22 (83a1-25). 284-295 1 *Ord. d.3* n.135 (Vat. 3.84); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp.
 46.327-47.355).

266 vere A 267 in praedicatione] praedicatio A vere A 269 vero A

Confirmatur ista ratio sic: si verum includeret quidditative ipsum ens, cum non includat praecise ens quod est alius conceptus ab eo, illud quod adderet ad conceptum entis de necessitate intelligeretur contrahere conceptum entis ad speciale conceptum sub ente. Sed prima contrahentia ens sunt ‘finitas’ et 300 ‘infinitas’, quae sunt quasi modi quibus primo descendit *<ens>* in ens creatum et increatum. Ergo conceptus veri de necessitate contineretur vel sub ente finito vel infinito. Sub neutro autem continetur, ut probatum est. Ergo conceptus veri non est conceptus includens conceptum entis in quid.

Sic ergo probata est conclusio quam teneo, scilicet quod impossibile est 305 conceptum entis, nec per consequens aliquem alium conceptum, praedicare quid de omni conceptu positivo. Planum est enim quod conceptus passionum entis sunt positivi, quia non-ens non potest esse passio entis. Similiter, conceptus sumpti in diversis speciebus ab ultimato gradu suarum formarum sunt conceptus positivi. Et cum conceptus entis quidditative non includatur in eis quidditative, ut probatum 310 est multipliciter, ergo nec conceptus unus est communis in quid omnibus conceptibus positivis. Et per consequens praeter conceptum entis est dare alios conceptus 41ra simpliciter / simplices.

<Solutiones Guillelmi de Alnwick ad rationes auctoris responsionesque ad eas>

Nunc excludendae sunt quaedam solutiones datae ad rationes praedictas. Ad 315 primam, quando dicebatur ‘si ultimae differentiae includant conceptum entis quidditative non erunt primo diversae sed differentes, et ita aliis differentiis *<different>*, vel erit processus in infinitum vel erit dare alias differentias quae non includunt ens quidditative,’ dicunt quod ‘non sequitur si ultimae differentiae includant ens quidditative quod sint differentes; immo poterunt esse primo 320 diversae.’ Et hoc potest probari ex dictis in quaestione praecedenti. Ibi dicebatur quod etsi conceptus entis includatur quidditative in decem generibus, tamen decem genera sint primo diversa. Ergo eodem modo in proposito: etsi ens includatur quidditative in conceptu ultimarum differentiarum, nihilominus ultimae differentiae erunt primo diversae et non erunt proprie differentes, sicut nec propria genera 325 dicuntur esse proprie differentia ad invicem, alioquin essent sicut species proprie definibiles. ‘Ad hoc ergo,’ dicunt isti, ‘quod aliqua sint proprie differentia requiritur quod includant actualitates quae sunt extra rationem illius in quibus sunt idem, quibus actualitatibus sunt primo diversa. Nihil autem est extra rationem entis. Et ideo propter identitatem in ente et diversitatem aliorum inter se, non dicerentur 330 aliqua proprie differentia.’

314-315 supra, II. 134-153.

320 supra, Q.1 (II. 1829-31, 1880-91).

318-320 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 52.499-53.507).

297 alius] alicuius *A*

310 omnibus in quid *A*

326 sint] sunt *A*

329 identitate *A*

Ista solutio non evacuat argumentum, quod ostendo sic: quando tu dicis ‘quod prima genera includunt ens quidditative, et tamen sunt primo diversa,’ nihil <est> ad me. Ibi enim dicebatur quod prima genera erant primo diversa in re, tamen non erant primo diversa in conceptu. Impossibile est enim imaginari quod aliqua
 335 convenient in conceptu, et tamen quod sint primo diversa in conceptu, quia sicut primo diversa in re sunt nihil idem <in> re, ita primo diversa in conceptu sunt nihil idem in conceptu. Sicut ergo <prima> genera non sunt primo diversa in conceptu, quia includunt conceptum entis quidditative, ita nec ultimae differentiae erunt primo diversae in conceptu, <quia> includunt conceptum entis quidditative. Si
 340 igitur non sunt primo diversae in conceptu et non totaliter idem conceptus, oportet distinguere conceptum in quo convenient a conceptu quo distinguuntur, et de conceptibus quibus distinguuntur quaerere an includant conceptum aliquem communem vel non, sicut procedebat argumentum. Et quando tu dicis ‘non obstante quod prima genera includant conceptum entis, sunt non proprie differentia,’ dico
 345 quod accipiendo conceptum propriae differentiae ut ei correspondet alia realitas ex parte obiecti a conceptu communi quem habet contrahere, concedo quod conceptus quibus prima genera contrahunt ipsum ens non sunt conceptus differentiarum proprie, quia conceptus entis et conceptus primi generis non distinguuntur nisi sicut conceptus imperfectus sumptus a realitate ut abstrahit a gradu sibi
 350 intrinseco, et conceptus perfectus adaequate correspondens rei ut concipitur cum gradu sibi intrinseco. Unde respectu intellectus perfecte cognoscentis rem esset tantum unus conceptus realis: conceptus entis et conceptus finiti, si conciperetur obiectum creatum; vel conceptus entis et <conceptus> infiniti, si conciperetur obiectum increatum. Concedo igitur quod ens nullam habet differentiam. Tamen
 355 cum hoc stat quod conceptus entis non includitur quidditative in conceptu ultimo determinativo, cuiusmodi conceptus est conceptus / sumptus ab ultimato gradu 41rb ipsius formae specificae. Et si dicas: ille conceptus contrahens conceptum entis, cum sit extra conceptum entis, videtur esse conceptus differentiae; dictum est enim supra, quod <hoc> non sufficit ad conceptum differentiae, sed maior distinctio
 360 requiritur inter conceptum generis et differentiae ex parte obiecti, quia distinctio realitatis, quae non correspondet enti et conceptui primo contrahenti ens. Non ergo imaginor quando dicitur ‘ens praedicari de ultima differentia in quid,’ quod accipiatur ibi ‘ultima differentia’ pro differentia entis sed pro differentia ultima specificans aliquod genus. Cum enim ultima differentia specifica accipiatur ab

333 supra, Q.1 (ll. 1836-37). 334-337 1 *Lect. d.8 n.84* (Vat. 17.29). 343 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 53.502-503). 358-359 supra, Q.1 (ll. 1796-98). 358-361 1 *Ord. d.8 n.139* (Vat. 4.222-23).

339 includant A 343 quando] quantum A 344 non] tamen A 346 a] quam A quod]
 nec add. A 349 sicut] sint A 356 determinativo] -natis A conceptus cuiusmodi A 364 spe-
 cificans] imperfecta A

365 ultima forma, conceptus differentiae, ut est causatus a forma specifica, est simpliciter simplex, <et> non includit conceptum entis. Et talis conceptus dicitur ultimo determinativus et conceptus entis est primo determinabilis.

Exclusio ergo solutionis in hoc stat, quod illud quod dicebatur ‘quod ista duo possunt includere conceptum entis, et tamen sunt primo diversa,’ est falsum: 370 ostensum est enim quod hoc est impossibile, accipiendo primo diversa in conceptu. Et quod additur de primis generibus, quae licet sint primo diversa in re, tamen quod includant conceptum entis et sint primo diversa in conceptu; hoc includit contradictionem, sicut patuit supra. Et ideo dicere ‘conceptus ultimarum differentiarum sunt primo diversi conceptus,’ et tamen dicere ‘quod includant 375 conceptum entis’ est dictum per se falsum, id est includens contradictoria. Patet ergo quod solutio primae rationis non evacuat difficultatem rationis.

Ad secundum, quando dicitur quod ‘quando duo conceptus sic se habent quod unus est per se et primo determinabilis et aliis primo determinans, conceptus primo determinans nihil includit eius quod est primo determinabile, sicut declarabitur in rebus: resolutio enim rerum stat ultimate ad duo principia primo diversa quorum unum est per se et primo potentiale et aliud primo actuale; et primo potentiale nihil est eius quod est primo actuale’; respondetur quod ‘non est simile de resolutione rei naturalis in principia naturalia et de resolutione conceptus compositi in plures partiales conceptus, quia ultimata resolutio rei compositae stat 380 ad aliqua simplicia distincta per disparationem, resolutio autem conceptus compositi stat ad conceptus simplices per abstractionem.’ Licet ergo principia componentia rem naturalem sic se habeant quod illud quod est primo potentiale nihil sit eius quod est primo actuale, et ita resolutio rei naturalis stet ad duo principia quorum unum nihil est alterius, tamen resolutio conceptus compositi non stabit ad 385 aliquos duos conceptus simplices quorum unum <non> sit aliquid alterius, immo conceptus per se determinans semper includet conceptum per se determinabilem quidditative. Et hoc est, quia talis conceptus per se determinabilis abstrahitur a conceptibus inferioribus, et ideo in omnibus inferioribus includitur et per indifferetiam se habet ad omnes. Conceptus igitur entis qui secundum communitatem 390 395 ab omnibus abstrahitur, secundum communitatem in omnibus includitur quidditative.

Ista solutio non evacuat difficultatem rationis. Quod primo patet, quia probatio illius similitudinis assumptae remanet insoluta. Dicebatur enim sic: quod ‘quando aliquid componitur ex pluribus quorum unum est primo determinans et aliud

377 supra, II. 154-185. 382-386 ‘respondetur’, sc. ab Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 53.512-517).
398 supra, II. 154-160, 171-174.

365 specifica] scilicet *A* 366 includit] ex- *A* ultima *A* 372 et] cum add. *A*

- 400 primo determinabile sive in rebus sive in conceptibus, primo determinabile nihil includit eius quod est primo determinans, nec e converso.⁴²¹ Ista est manifesta, assignando rationes nominum istorum quae sunt primo determinabile et primo determinans: quid enim est esse primo determinans nisi secundum se totum et secundum quodlibet sui esse determinans? Quis igitur intellectus nisi concipiens 405 contradictoria / simul ‘potest aliquid concipere secundum se totum et secundum 41va quodlibet sui esse primo determinans ultimatum et tamen secundum aliquid sui esse determinabile’? Quod oportet dicere ponendo conceptum entis includi quidditative in conceptu sumpto ab ultimato gradu in forma: talis enim conceptus primo et se toto est determinans. Igitur dicere quod includat quidditative 410 conceptum entis qui est determinabilis est dicere quod est se toto determinans et non se toto determinans. Ratio igitur illa fundatur super rationibus terminorum, scilicet primo determinans et primo determinabilis. Et si forte velles dicere quod conceptus <sumptus> ab ultimato gradu entitatis formae non esset primo determinans et determinabilis, tunc arguebatur de illo conceptu qui determinat determinabilem. Aut ille erit primo determinans et se toto determinans aut determinans 415 et determinabilis. Aut igitur proceditur in infinitum in conceptibus quidditativis, et nihil contingat scire. Aut ergo stare oportet ad duos primos, quorum unus sit per se et primo determinans et alius per se et primo determinabilis, quorum neuter includat aliquid alterius; quod erat principale intentum.
- 420 Item, solutio deficit ex alio: supponit enim quod conceptus entis est abstrahibilis ab omnibus conceptibus, cuius contrarium est supra probatum, quia ab ultimo constitutivis non potest aliquis conceptus communis positivus et realis abstrahi.
- Probo tamen idem alia ratione sic: conceptus illi a quibus abstrahitur aliquis conceptus communis non potest ita simplices nec ita paucos conceptus partiales 425 includere sicut conceptus qui abstrahitur ab eis. Constat enim quod conceptus hominis non est ita simplex sicut conceptus animalis: aliquid enim includit conceptus speciei quod non includit conceptus generis. Intellectus igitur abstrahens aliquem conceptum communem a pluribus aliquid relinquit in conceptu a quo abstrahit praeter illud quod abstrahit, et hoc etiam sonat verbum hoc ‘abstrahere’.
- 430 Intellectus igitur abstrahens ab homine et asino animal non abstrahit duas differentias constitutivas hominis et asini. Quaero igitur de istis conceptibus differentiarum: aut ab eis potest abstrahi conceptus communis, aut non? Si non, sunt primo diversi conceptus, et nullus est eis communis in quid. Si sic, cum conceptus abstractus simplicior sit quam conceptus a quo abstrahitur, aliquid relinquit

421 supra, II. 195-205.

409 et] per add. A determinans] -natus A 410 determinans] -natus A 411 determinans] -nato A illa] quod est se toto determinatus add. et del. A 412 determinans] -nati A 413-414 determinans] -natus A 417 ad] aliquid A 422 constitutus A

- 435 intellectus in conceptibus istarum differentiarum praeter conceptum quem abstrahit. Quaeram de illis quae relinquuntur ab intellectu in conceptibus differentiarum, facta abstractione talis conceptus communis. Aut ab illis potest abstrahi conceptus communis, aut non. Clarum cuilibet quod vel ibitur in infinitum in abstractione conceptuum, vel est dare aliquos sic primo diversos quod nec conceptus <entis>
- 440 nec aliquis alius conceptus communis poterit ab eis abstrahi. Et hos dico conceptus sumptos ab ultimatis gradibus entitatis formarum specificarum. Stat igitur secunda ratio.

Ad tertium, quando arguebatur quod 'ens sit extra conceptum quidditativum suarum passionum, quia passio praedicatur secundo modo per se de subiecto';

445 similiter 'subiectum ponitur in definitione passionis sicut additamentum,' dicitur ad maiorem quod 'ens nullam potest habere passionem a se realiter differentem.' Quod probant, quia si sic, cum 'omne illud quod realiter differt ab ente sit nihil, passio entis esset nihil.' Si dicatur habere passionem, 'illa passio entis ratione

41vb differt ab ente: sicut enim, secundum Damascenum, sapientia, / bonitas, et

450 huiusmodi in Deo non dicunt naturam sed quae circa naturam, quasi accidentia, cum tamen sint idem quod natura, sic unum, verum et huiusmodi sunt quasi passiones circumstantes conceptum entis, et tamen sunt idem quidditative cum ente. Propter quod dicit Avicenna, i *Metaphysicae* sua, quod sunt quasi passiones entis, sicut substantia, quantitas, etc. sunt quasi species eius.'

455 Et quando addebatur ad confirmationem quod 'praedicationes per se non convertuntur' dicunt quod 'verum <est> ubi subiectum et praedicatum non sunt praecise idem. Quando enim sic est, tunc si praedicatum per se praedicatur de subiecto, e converso subiectum per se non praedicatur de praedicato, quia tunc non subicitur quod natum est subici, nec praedicatur quod natum est praedicari. Sed

460 quando subiectum et praedicatum sunt praecise idem, ibi praedicatio per se convertitur, nam definitio per se praedicatur de definito, et e converso. In proposito autem ens et unum unam naturam significant, secundum Philosophum, in iv *Metaphysicae*, qui dicit "ens homo et unus homo unam naturam significant," ideo utrumque de altero praedicatur per se, licet magis proprie unum praedicetur

465 de ente quam e converso, quia est quasi passio eius.'

Licet ad sequentem quaestionem specialiter spectet principaliter de hoc inves-

443 supra, ll. 264-272. 445 supra, ll. 273-277. 445-446 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 53.518-527). 449 *De fide orthodoxa* cc.4, 9 (*Versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus*, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert [St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1955], pp. 21.41-45, 50.34-36). 453 *Philosophia prima* 1.2 (AvL 1.13:38-39). 455 supra, ll. 278-283. 456-465 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 53.528-537). 463 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.3 (1003b26-27). 466, 468 Allegatam tertiam quaestionem ordinariam de conceptibus transcendentibus, sc. 'Utrum ens et unum dicant eandem naturam', non invenimus.

447 nihil] vel add. A 451 natura] et substantiae demonstratio add. A 461 definito] infinito A

tigare, tamen videtur solutio data ad istam inquisitionem, supposito quod conceptus entis et unius dicant eandem naturam. Erit enim sequens quaestio de hoc, et ibi diffuse tractabitur quid sit de hoc sentiendum. Arguo sic: quando aliqua
 470 duo omnino dicunt eandem naturam, si utrumque significetur secundum debitum modum praedicandi, non obstante quod differant in modo concipiendi, unum tamen vere primo modo et per se primo modo praedicatur de alio. Addidi autem in maiori propositione ‘quando utrumque significatur secundum debitum modum praedicandi,’ quia si conceptus animalis sumeretur etiam in abstracto et conceptus
 475 hominis in concreto non praedicarentur de se invicem proprie. Unde ista non est bona praedicatio ‘homo est animalitas,’ non propter distinctionem subiecti et praedicati in natura, sed quia significantur secundum indebitum modum praedicandi. Cum ergo per te ‘ens et unum dicant eandem naturam’ et utrumque significetur secundum debitum modum praedicandi, quia utrumque accipitur in
 480 concreto, praedicatio unius de ente non erit per se secundo modo sed primo modo. Quod tamen non concedis. Oportet ergo concedere quod plus differant quam <secundum> diversos modos concipiendi; et hoc est differre ex parte rei. Similiter, cum dicis quod ‘unum magis proprie praedicatur de ente quam e converso,’ ex hoc deduco quod unum quidditative non includit ens. Si enim unum includeret ens
 485 quidditative, cum conceptus entis sicut conceptus communissimus intelligatur includi in uno, et in omnibus aliis, et verius et proprius praedicetur communis de minus communi quam e converso, debes dicere quod magis proprie dicatur ens de uno quam e converso. Et dico quod ens non includitur quidditative in conceptu unius sed excluditur, sicut subiectum non includitur formaliter in conceptu
 490 propriae passionis sed tantum sicut additamentum. Et quando probas quod ‘ens non possit habere passionem a se / realiter differentem, quia passio illa esset nihil,’ 41^{bis}^{ra} quia istam difficultatem tangit argumentum principale dimittatur usque ibi. Et quando tu probas quod ‘ens et unum secundum Philosophum dicant eandem naturam,’ qualiter hoc debeat intelligi declarabitur in quaestione sequenti. Sic ergo
 495 patet quod solutio illa non evacuat argumentum, immo potius videtur confirmare illud.

Etiam quod dicebatur ad confirmationem de non convertibilitate propositionum per se videtur continere et concludere propositum meum. Nam quando subiectum et praedicatum non sunt idem praecise, tunc non convertuntur. Cum ergo ‘erior

478 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.534-535). 483 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.536-537).
 490-491 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 53.519-520). 492 infra, ll. 706-722, 1081-88.
 493-494 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.534-535). 494 supra, l. 466. 499-500 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.536-537).

476 distinctionem] definitionem A 488 dico] compositum unius add. A 490 ens interl. A

500 sit praedicatio,' ut tu dicis, unius de ente, 'quam e converso,' — quia est praedicatio per modum passionis — quam quando praedicatur ens de passione, oportet dicere quod ens et unum non dicant praecise eandem naturam. Igitur aliquid includitur in uno quod distinguitur ab ente. Illud ergo non includet formaliter conceptum entis. Et quidquid sit illud, voco illud passionem entis. Ens igitur quidditative non 505 includitur in conceptu suarum passionum.

Ad aliud, quando arguitur 'si unum includit quidditative ens, vel praecise includit ens vel non. Si non, quaeram de illo quod addit unum supra ens: vel includit ens formaliter vel non? Si non, habetur propositum. Si sic, unum includet bis ipsum ens, quod est inconveniens dicere, <quia> tunc esset nugatio dicere unum ens, quia 510 dicendo unum <ens> diceretur ens bis. Si praecise includit ens, idem erit passio sui ipsius, et cum passio sit posterior subiecto et <non> repugnet priori naturaliter separari a posteriori, idem naturaliter erit prius se ipso et idem poterit separari a se ipso.' Dicitur quod 'unum praecise includit ens, nihil positivum addendo super ens, et ideo unum non est proprie passio entis.'

515 Licet ista responsio sit exclusa, excludendo priorem rationem, tamen contra eam arguo sic: quando aliqua duo sunt una passio convertibilis cum subiecto, neutrum includit praecise totam naturam subiecti, sicut patet de pari et impari respectu numeri. Cum ergo unum et multa sunt una passio entis, unum per se sumptum non dicit praecise, id est adaequate, illud quod dicit ens. Immo de aliquo 520 dicitur ens de quo repugnat dici unum, sicut de multo dicitur ens de quo repugnat dici unum; non ergo unum praecise includit ens.

Quantum ad aliud quod dicit quod 'unum non differt ab ente nisi sola ratione,' relinquitur investigandum sequenti quaestione.

Ad aliud, quando <dicitur quod> 'ens quidditative videtur sufficienter dividi per 525 ens increatum et decem genera; si ergo ens includitur quidditative in uno, continebitur sub aliquo dividentium.' Dicitur quod 'ens non dividitur in unum, immo unum dividitur eadem divisione qua dividitur ens, quia, secundum Philosophum, iv *Metaphysicae*, quot sunt species entis tot et eaedem unius.'

Ista solutio videtur simpliciter concedere propositum. Impossibile <est> imaginari quod ens includatur quidditative in uno, cum conceptus unius non dicat praecise conceptum entis, ut probatum est, quia ens sit conceptus communior 41^{bis}rb quam conceptus unius. Et per consequens non poterit conceptus / entis et conceptus unius dividi eadem differentia. Immo conceptus entis dividitur aliqua <differentia> qua non dividitur conceptus unius. Semper enim quanto conceptus est

506 supra, ll. 248-263. 513-514 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.539-540). 522-523 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.531). 523 supra, l. 466. 524 supra, ll. 284-295. 526-528 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 54.543-547). 528 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.3 (1003b34-35).

506 argui A 507 quaeram] quaedam A 528 quot] quod A

535 communior tanto pluribus differentiis <dividitur>. Dicendo ergo conceptum unius tot differentiis dividi quot conceptus entis, dicis conceptum entis non includi quidditative in conceptu unius, licet voce dicas contrarium: quando enim conceptus aequalis est ambitus, non potest unus in alio includi in quid, licet in quale sic.

Item, divisum numquam includitur per se in conceptu dividentium, nec alterum 540 dividentium dicit adaequate eandem naturam cum diviso. Ergo si unum dicit ens, ut tu ponis, nec quidditative includet ens, nec adaequate dicet eandem naturam quod ipsum ens.

Non obstantibus istis solutionibus videntur priores rationes in suo robore permanere.

545 <Rationes Guillelmi de Alnwick ostendentes quod praeter conceptum entis non est dare alium conceptum simpliciter simplicem>

Restat igitur nunc tertio quantum ad secundum articulum principalem adducere motiva aliquorum modernorum qui nituntur probare conceptum entis includi quidditative in omnibus, et specialiter in ultimis differentiis, cuius contrarium tenui 550 in conclusione mea. Probatur autem hoc primo quibusdam rationibus factis ad conclusionem praecedentis quaestionis, quod si concludunt conceptum entis esse univocum, concludunt et quod dicatur in quid de ultimis differentiis sic arguendo: omnis intellectus certus de uno conceptu et dubius de duobus habet conceptum de quo est certus alium et neutrum ab illis de quibus est certus. Ista probatur in 555 praecedenti quaestione. Sed philosophi erant certi quod ultimae differentiae erant ens et non nihil; tamen non erant certi an ultima differentia esset substantia vel accidens. Quod patet, quia aliqui posuerunt materiam esse totam substantiam rei, et secundum istos formae earum rerum a quibus sumuntur ultimae differentiae forent accidentia. Platonici etiam posuerunt numeros esse substantias rerum. Ergo 560 si per istam rationem concluditur ens esse univocum Deo et creaturis per eandem rationem poterit concludi esse univocum ultimis differentiis.

Et si forte aliquis dicet ad istam rationem sic: quod per rationem istam bene sequitur conceptum entis esse alium a conceptibus ultimarum differentiarum, et etiam esse univocum respectu illarum, sed tamen per illam rationem non concludi- 565 tur quod sit in quid dictum de eis, quia nullus potest esse certus quod ultima differentia sit ens quidditative, licet sit certus quod sit ens absolute, quia non est

548 ‘aliquorum modernorum’, sc. Alnwick, cuius rationes contra Scotum verbatim et ordinatim habentur infra ll. 550-722. Vide Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 47.340-52.497). 551 supra, Q.1 (ll. 223-244, 391-419, 754-766). 555 supra, Q.1 (ll. 223-244), cf. 1 *Lect. d.3* n.22 (Vat. 16.232); 1 *Ord. d.3* n.138 (Vat. 3.86); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 42.208-214). 562 ‘aliquis’, sc. Scotus: 1 *Ord. d.3* n.149 (Vat. 3.92).

536 quot] quod *A* 554 certus^{1]}] -tum *A*

nihil. Contra hoc potest sic argui: si per illam rationem non habetur nisi quod conceptus entis sit conceptus univocus, dicam quod ille conceptus non dicitur in quid de Deo et creatura, sed tantum denominative, sicut tu dicis de differentiis.

- 570 Tamen per illam rationem videbaris velle concludere quod ens dicatur univoce et in quid de Deo et creatura. Si concludit ibi conceptum communem univoce in quid, concludet hic eodem modo. Et si non concludit hic, nec ibi.

Item, rationalitas quae est ultima differentia hominis est quaedam entitas, alioquin rationalitas esset quaedam nihiletas. Tunc ultra: omnis praedicatio in abstracto est essentialis, quia est secundum ultimam abstractionem a conditionibus accidentalibus. Entitas <ergo> praedicatur univoce et quidditative de ultimis differentiis. Et sic habetur propositum quod aliquid univoce et in quid praedicabitur de ultimis differentiis.

Confirmatur ratio: quidquid essentialiter praedicatur de praedicato, praedicatur 580 et de subiecto essentialiter. Sed entitas essentialiter et non per accidens est ens, 41^{bis} va quia non per aliud, et rationalitas per / essentiam suam est entitas. Ergo rationalitas essentialiter est ens.

Item, omne univocum secundum se praedicatur de univocato, licet secundum tenentes aliam opinionem non semper praedicetur per se; secundum se ergo 585 praedicatur, quia praedicatur quod natum est praedicari et subicitur quod natum est subici; et hoc praedicatur secundum se, ut habetur i *Posteriorum*. Ergo haec est secundum se ‘rationalitas est ens’. Sed denominabile non praedicatur secundum se <de> denominante sed secundum accidens, <ut> ‘album est lignum’ ex i *Posteriorum*. Nec etiam praedicatur secundum se determinabile <de> determinante, ut 590 ‘rationale est animal,’ quia non subicitur quod natum est subici. Ergo sic dicendo ‘rationalitas est ens’ est praedicatio univoca, non sicut determinabile <de> determinante nec sicut denominabile <de> denominante, sed sicut superius de inferiori.

Item, ad eandem conclusionem adducunt secundam rationem factam ad conclusionem praecedentis quaestioneis sic arguendo: nullum obiectum praeter conceptum proprium facit conceptum simplicem proprium alteri obiecto nisi contineat ipsum virtualiter, sicut subiectum continet passionem, vel formaliter, sicut species includit genus, et quodlibet inferius suum per se superius. Sed accipiendo ultimam differentiam non solum sequitur conceptus proprius, sed etiam causatur in intellectu nostro conceptus entis, si aliquem conceptum proprium dicat,

569 ‘tu’, sc. Scotus. 574-578 Cf. *Scotum*, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.159 (Vat. 3.97-98); d.8 n.127 (Vat. 8.216.20-21). 584 ‘tenentes’, sc. Scotus. 586, 588-589 *APo.* 1.22 (83a1-25). 593 supra, Q.1 (ll. 391-419); 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.35 (Vat. 3.25-26); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 44.259-265).

568 univocus] unius A 572 hic¹] hoc A hic²] communi (?) A 583 univocato] unitate et A 585 praedicatur²] probatur A 586, 587 praedicatur] probatur A 591-592 determinante] -minative A 592 denominante] -minative A

600 sicut supponit opinans. Ergo ultima differentia continet ens aut virtualiter aut formaliter. Non virtualiter, quia ens nullius est passio; ergo ultima differentia continet ens essentialiter et formaliter.

Item, arguo ad idem per eandem rationem factam ad conclusionem praecedentis quaestionei, sicut arguo ibi: attribuens Deo aliquam perfectionem ex creatura, 605 abstrahendo eam ab omni imperfectione, capit aliquid quod est unius rationis in eo cui attribuitur et in eo a quo abstrahitur. Sed ultima differentia includit aliquam perfectionem simpliciter. Ergo intellectus noster, abstrahendo huiusmodi perfectionem ultimae differentiae ab omni imperfectione ultimae differentiae et attribuens eam Deo, capit aliquid unius rationis in Deo et in ultima differentia. Et sic illa ratio 610 aequaliter probat quod ens sit univocum Deo et ultimis differentiis sicut Deo et aliis.

Praeter istas rationes quae fuerunt adductae ad conclusionem praecedentis quaestionei adducuntur aliae magis proprie contra conclusionem quam teneo in quaestione ista. Et arguitur sic: unumquodque per eandem rationem formalem qua 615 distinguitur a non-ente includit ens non-enti oppositum. Sed unaquaeque res positiva, sive sit res sive habens quidditatem, sive ultima differentia, sive transcendentis habens rationem passionis respectu entis, per suam formalem rationem distinguitur a non-ente. Ergo unaquaeque res ex sua formali ratione includit ens, et per consequens ens includitur per se primo modo in conceptu ultimae differencei 620 rentiae, et in conceptu unius et veri, sicut in conceptibus specierum et generum.

Item, quidquid est primum obiectum et adaequatum alicuius potentiae vel includit alia per se obiecta eiusdem potentiae virtualiter vel praedicatur de eis essentialiter vel formaliter: sic enim ego pono primum <obiectum>. Dicitur enim tunc aliquid esse primum obiectum alicuius potentiae primitate adaequationis vel 625 secundum virtutem, ut quando illud quod ponitur primum obiectum includit virtualiter notitiam aliorum obiectorum illius potentiae, — secundum quem modum pono essentiam divinam esse primum obiectum intellectus / divini, — vel <quando> 41^{bis}vb illud quod ponitur primum obiectum potentiae est primum secundum communitatem, sicut sonus dicitur esse primum obiectum auditus. Sed ens est primum et 630 adaequatum obiectum intellectus. Et non potest poni primum obiectum secundum primitatem virtutis, quia non includit virtualiter genera et species nec differentias ultimas. Ergo oportet quod si ens debet poni primum obiectum intellectus nostri quod sit primum primitate communitatis, et per consequens includitur formaliter

600 'opinans', sc. Scotus. 603-604 supra, Q.1 (Il. 754-766); 1 *Lect. d.3* n.30 (Vat. 16.235); Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, p. 44.266-276). 623-625 De duplice primitate adaequationis, vide 1 *Ord. d.3* nn.137, 151 (Vat. 3.85, 93); *QQ De an. q.21* n.2 (Vives 3.612b-13a.)

603 factam] quae A 604 quaestionei corr. ex ens A sicut] sic A 616 positiva] composita A 617 passionis corr. ex quaestionei A 625 ut] inde A 629 esse] est A

in omnibus per se intelligibilibus, et ita in ultimis differentiis et passionibus
635 includetur ens essentialiter et formaliter.

Item, quod ens includatur essentialiter in quid *<in>* conceptu ultimae differentiae arguitur specialiter sic: si aliquid inest alicui subiecto per aliqua duo quibus illud inest, magis inest illi per quod magis inest illi subiecto. Ista declaratur per exemplum sic: esse distinctum a non-sensato *<inest>* homini per animal et rationale, quibus etiam convenit esse distinctum a non-sensato; sed potius inest homini per rationale quam per animal. Et ideo esse distinctum a non-sensato magis *<convenit>* rationali quam animali. Sed species componitur ex genere et differentia, et est ens tam ratione generis quam ratione differentiae, quibus etiam contingit esse ens. Sed species est magis ens per ultimam differentiam, quae est complementum 645 rei, quam per genus, ex vii *Metaphysicae*. Ergo magis essentialiter erit differentia ultima ens quam genus.

Item, differentia sumitur a forma sicut genus a materia sive a potentia, et ultima forma sumitur ab ultimo actu. Sed forma est magis ens et natura quam materia, ex ii *Physicorum* et vii *Metaphysicae*. Forma etiam secundum ultimum gradum suum 650 est magis ens quam secundum gradum priorem. Ergo ultima differentia sumpta ab ultima forma sive ab ultimo gradu formae est magis ens quam differentia media. Sed per te differentia media essentialiter et formaliter est ens. Ergo ultima differentia essentialiter et formaliter est ens.

Item, illud est per accidens cognoscibile ab aliqua potentia cui accedit primum 655 et per se obiectum illius potentiae. Sed quantumcumque ens esset idem differentiae ultimae, si non includeretur in eius conceptu quidditativo, esset quantum ad formalem rationem obiectivam ac si ens accideret ei. Ergo cum ens sit primum obiectum intellectus, differentia ultima erit per accidens intelligibilis, quod falsum est.

660 Item, unumquodque quanto plus participat de actualitate tanto plus participat de entitate, quia actus est prior potentia perfectione. Sed ultima differentia plus participat de actualitate quam genus vel differentia media, aliter non esset ultima. Ergo ens verius et essentialius praedicatur de differentia *<ultima>* quam de genere vel differentia media.

665 Item, Commentator, iv *Metaphysicae*, contra Avicennam, probat quod ens et unum non praedicant dispositiones rerum sed essentias.

Probatur etiam quod essentialiter praedicantur de differentia ultima sicut de aliis, quia cum differentia ultima sit ens, aut per se aut per additum. Si per additum,

645 *Metaph.* 7.12 t.43 (1038a19-20, 25-26). 649 *Ph.* 2.1 t.12 (193b7). *Metaph.* 7.3 t.6 (1029a6-7). 654-659 Scotus, *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.6 Additio (Vives 7.148b).

665 *In Metaph.* 4 t.3 (Iunt. 8.67B).

quaero de illo addito, cum sit ens, aut per se aut per additum. Si per se, eadem
 670 ratione fuit standum in primo. Et similiter cum differentia ultima sit simpliciter
 simplex non habet aliquid sibi additum quod sit extra naturam / suam per quod 42ra
 sit ens. Si illud additum sit ens, quaero de illo addito, et sic vel erit processus in
 infinitum vel stabitur in primo, quod differentia ultima ex se essentialiter sit ens.
 Haec ratio etiam concludit quod ens per se praedicatur de omnibus aliis trans-
 675 cendentalibus quae dicuntur passiones entis.

Item, ultima differentia substantiae per se est substantia, cum sit per se pars
 essentialis substantiae compositae. Substantia autem est ens essentialiter. Cum ergo
 <illud> quod per se inest superiori, et per se inest inferiori, licet non primo,
 sequitur quod ens per se praedicetur de differentia ultima, et non per se secundo
 680 modo, ergo per se primo modo.

Item, quaecumque simul addita faciunt nugationem, unum est de per se intellectu alterius. Sed differentia ultima addita enti facit nugationem, sicut differentia media. Ita haec est nugatio: 'ens rationalitas' sicut 'ens corporeitas.' Ergo ens est de per se intellectu ultimae differentiae.

685 Item, Philosophus, III *Metaphysicae*, probat quod ens et unum non sunt genera, quia genus non praedicatur per se de differentiis. <Sed> ens et unum praedicatur de eis. Ergo ens et unum non sunt genera. Quaero ergo quomodo accipit 'non praedicari' in maiori: aut absolute, et tunc erit falsum, quia genus absolute et simpliciter praedicatur de differentia, licet non per se. Accipit ergo in maiori 'non
 690 praedicari' per se. Si ergo non sit variatio, oportet similiter in minori quod ens praedicatur per se de differentiis, et per consequens cum ultima differentia sit differentia potissime, ipsa erit per se ens. Nec valet dicere quod ratio Philosophi est particularis, dicendo quod ens praedicatur per se de differentiis mediis, de quibus per se non praedicatur genus, et ideo quantum ad hoc ens non erit genus.

695 Haec solutio non valet, quia expresse dicit Philosophus ibi quod quaelibet differentia generis est ens et unum. Ait enim sic: 'non est possibile genus exsistentium esse non-ens, nam necesse est differentia cuiuslibet esse et unam esse.' Quod etiam ens per se praedicetur de uno probatur, secundum Philosophum, ibidem ubi concludit sic: quod si unum aut ens <est> genus nullam differentiam
 700 <habet> nec unum nec ens. Sed ista consequentia non valet negando unum et ens de differentia absolute, quia nec sic genus negatur de differentia praedicari absolute. Ergo consequentia tenet negando per se unum et ens de differentiis. Habet ergo

685 *Metaph.* 3.3 t.10 (998b21-28). 692-694 Hic opinionem ipsius Scoti Alnwick allegat. Vide Scotum, 1 *Ord.* d.3 n.158 (Vat. 3.96-97); cf. 1 *Lect.* d.3 n.115 (Vat. 16.167-68). 696 *Metaph.* 3.3 t.10 (998b21-25). 699 *Metaph.* 3.3 t.10 (998b26-27).

688 in maiori] imaginari A 690 oportet] quod add. A maiori A 692 potissime differentia
 A 695 dicit] dat A

Aristoteles pro inconvenienti quod unum non praedicetur de differentia sicut quod ens per se non praedicetur. Et per consequens unum essentialiter praedicatur sicut
705 ens, quod non esset verum nisi unum esset essentialiter ens.

Item, quaecumque significant unam naturam et unam essentiam differentes solum ratione praedicantur de se invicem. Sed huiusmodi sunt ens et unum, dicente Philosopho, iv *Metaphysicae*: 'Ens et unum idem, et unum et verum, sicut prius, licet non una ratione ostensa.' Quorum identitatem probat ibidem tripliciter:
710 tum quia sunt una natura et quaecumque addita tertio nullam faciunt diversitatem. <Sed ens et unum addita tertio nullam faciunt diversitatem> quia idem sunt 'ens homo', et 'unus homo'. Nec aliquid diversum ostendunt secundum dictionem repetitam per aliam; nec separantur in generatione nec in corruptione. Tum quia quaecumque praedicantur de substantia uniuscuiusque, non secundum accidens sed
715 per se, sunt una natura. Sed sic praedicantur ens et unum de substantia uniuscuiusque. Quod dictum Philosophi probat / Commentator per rationem supra positam.
42rb Tum quia illa sunt una natura quae habent easdem species. Sed quaecumque <quae> sunt species entis sunt etiam species unius. Ergo sunt una natura. Ergo unum praedicatur de ente per se, non secundo modo sed primo. Sic ergo positio prima
720 quae ponit conceptum entis non includi in quid in conceptibus sumptis ab ultimo gradu entitatis formae specificae nec in conceptibus <passionum> entis non est vera.

<Responsio auctoris ad motiva Alnwick>

Tamen non obstantibus rationibus istis, quas non dubito procedere ex defectu
725 intellectus positionis primae, teneo primam conclusionem quam amplius declarabo respondendo ad istas rationes.

Ad primam igitur rationem, quando arguitur de conceptu certo et dubio, dico quod nec in praecedenti quaestione nec hic potest plus haberi per illam rationem nisi quod conceptus entis est in se unus, neuter eorum existens formaliter quibus
730 est communis. Quod ego declaro sic: non enim ex alio concluditur conceptus entis esse alius a substantia et accidente nisi quia <cum> certitudine conceptus entis stat dubitatio de conceptibus inferioribus. Tota ergo vis in ratione est ex certitudine conceptus et dubitatione. <Sciendum> est quod ego non sum certus quod ens praedicatur in quid vel utrum praedicetur absolute. Ergo per istam rationem non
735 habetur nisi quod conceptus entis est unus. Sed hoc habito, potest tunc deduci

708 *Metaph.* 4.2 t.3 (1003b23-25). 716 Argumentum Averrois contra Avicennam, qui posuit unum esse dispositionem rei additam, Alnwick hic allegat. Cf. Averroem, *In Metaph.* 4 t.3 (Iunt. 8.67B). 727 supra, ll. 553-561. 728-735 Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.3 nn.147, 149 (Vat. 3.91-92).

703 praedicetur non *A* 722 verum *A* 727 dubito *A* 729-730 neuter. . .communis] *Hoc loco textus videtur corruptus*

quod conceptus praedicetur in quid, sic arguendo: omnis conceptus includens plures conceptus quorum unus est per se determinabilis, alius per se determinans sic se habent quod ille qui est per se determinabilis praedicetur in quid et alias in quale. Sed conceptus simplex, non tamen simpliciter simplex, includit duos
 740 conceptus, et unus eorum est determinabilis, ut conceptus entis. Ergo conceptus entis praedicatur in quid. Et tunc ultra potest deduci quod conceptus entis non praedicatur in quid de conceptu contrahente ens, quia quando duo conceptus comparantur ad invicem, quorum unus est per se determinabilis, alius per se determinans, per se determinans non praedicatur per se primo modo de per se determinante, sed denominative. Tunc ultra: conceptus speciei includit conceptum
 745 entis tamquam per se determinabilem et conceptum ultimae differentiae tamquam per se et primo determinantem. Ergo conceptus entis praedicatur per se et primo modo de specie, sed denominative tantum de ultima differentia, quod est principale intentum. Sic ergo patet quid dicendum sit ad primam rationem et quantum
 750 concludat in prima <quaestione> et etiam hic.

Ad secundum, quando dicitur 'rationalitas est quaedam entitas,' dico quod accipiendo rationalitatem pro conceptu sumpto ab ultimo gradu entitatis formae specificae hominis, non est praedicatio ista vera per se primo modo, quod patet. Cum enim 'quaedam entitas' duo includat et duos conceptus partiales, scilicet
 755 'entitatem' <et> 'quandam', per quam intelligo aliquid contrahens ipsam entitatem, impossibile est talem conceptum sic compositum per se primo modo praedicari de conceptu simpliciter simplici, cuiusmodi est conceptus sumptus ab ultimato gradu ipsius formae specificae. Nullus enim conceptus positivus ex parte praedicati includens aliquid repugnans rationi subiecti potest praedicari per se primo modo
 760 de subiecto. Immo talis proprie erit per se falsa, includens impossibilia. Cum ergo, ut dictum est, 'quaedam entitas' dicat conceptum compositum ex determinabili et determinante, et ratio conceptus determinabilis repugnet conceptui qui est per se primo determinans, cuiusmodi est rationalitas, numquam iste conceptus compo-
 765 situs, scilicet quaedam entitas, poterit per se praedicari de rationalitate, accipiendo rationalitatem pro conceptu sumpto ab ultimo gradu formae qui est conceptus ex se primo determinans. Si autem intelligatur ista praedicatio non in recto sed in obliquo, ut / sit sensus 'rationalitas est quaedam entitas', id est gradus qui est 42va
 entitatis sive conceptus sumptus ab ultimo gradu formae quae est entitas quaedam, hoc modo concedo istam propositionem 'rationalitas est quaedam entitas.' Sed sic
 770 accipiendo propositionem non est pro te sed potius contra te, quia tunc est sensus quod entitas non praedicatur per se primo modo de conceptu sumpto ab ultimo gradu entitatis formae, sed tantum denominative. Intelligo ergo sic: quod formae

751 supra, II. 573-578.

742 quando] non A

762 conceptui] -tum A

771 entitas] formae add. et del. A

775 specificae hominis non correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex, sed compositus, quorum unus est imperfectus sumptus a realitate formae, ut intellectus concipit realitatem sine gradu sue entitatis sibi intrinseco et iste est primo determinabilis. Alius sumptus est a gradu intrinseco formae et ab ista forma, et iste est perfectus. Et conceptus sumptus a gradu intrinseco realitatis formae nihil includit conceptus primi qui est primo determinabilis, alioquin vere non video possibilitatem evadendi processum in infinitum in conceptibus realibus, nisi
 780 resolutio stet ad duos quorum unus non includit aliud, nec aliquid alterius, nec e converso.

Et quando additur ultra 'si rationalitas non est quaedam entitas, ergo nihileitas quaedam,' dico quod consequentia nulla est, nec valet. Ad cuius intellectum est sciendum quod aliqua sunt contradictoria circa unum absolute sumptum, quae tamen non sunt contradictoria circa illud idem sumptum cum reduplicatione. Similiter, non est dare medium inter aliqua respectu alicuius absolute sumpti, inter quae tamen est dare medium respectu eiusdem sumpti cum reduplicatione. Declaratio istorum: 'esse risibile' et 'non esse risibile' sunt contradictoria circa hominem absolute sumptum. De necessitate enim alter istorum conceptuum dicitur
 790 de homine absolute. Similiter inter ista duo non est dare medium circa hominem absolute sumptum. Tamen ista duo non sunt contradictoria circa hominem sumptum cum reduplicatione, sed est dare medium inter esse risibile et non esse risibile. Exempli gratia, homo formaliter non est risibilis, id est, in formaliter conceptu hominis non includitur risibile. Similiter, homo formaliter non includit
 795 in suo conceptu formaliter et quidditativo 'non-risibile'. Sic dico in proposito: conceptus sumptus ab ultimo gradu entitatis ipsius formae specificae, quae est altera pars essentialis speciei, non est ens formaliter; nec similiter est non-ens formaliter. Tamen absolute loquendo, dico quod est ens. Quando ergo dicis: 'si conceptus sumptus ab ultimo gradu entitatis formae non est entitas, ergo est
 800 nihileitas,' patet per praedicta quod consequentia non tenet. 'Esse enim entitatem' et 'non esse entitatem' non contradicunt cum reduplicatione, sive in formaliter conceptu ultimi gradus formae, sed 'esse entitatem' et 'non esse entitatem' absolute. Si ergo quaeras 'rationalitas vel est ens vel non-ens quae sunt contradictoria,' dico quod <est> ens. Sed si quaeras 'vel est ens vel non-ens in quantum talis
 805 gradus,' dico quod neutrum est, nec illa sunt contradictoria circa talem conceptum.

Per ista patet responsio ad illud aliud quod adducebatur 'quidquid praedicatur essentialiter de praedicato praedicatur essentialiter de subiecto.' Dictum est enim quod nec entitas nec ens essentialiter praedicatur de conceptu simpliciter simplici

782 supra, ll. 573-574. 798 ibid. 806 supra, ll. 579-582.

774 imperfectus corr. ex perfectus A 775 intrinseco A 805 conceptum] qui potest capere capiat add. A

sumpto ab ultimo gradu entitatis formae quae est altera pars essentialis ipsius
 810 speciei. Vel potest dici quod maior est falsa; cuius falsitatem declaro sic: si dicatur
 homo per eandem rationem formalem – ratio quae distinguitur a non-/risibili – 42vb
 includit risibile sibi oppositum, sed per suam formalem rationem distinguitur a
 non-risibili; ergo risibile includitur in sua formalis ratione, non valet. Unde ad
 maiorem evidentiam falsitatis eius est sciendum quod maior, videlicet ista ‘unum-
 815 quodque eodem modo includit aliud quo removetur sive quo excluditur ab eo
 oppositum,’ patenter est falsum. Patet de non-risibili et risibili respectu hominis.
 Et ratio falsitatis est medium quod ponitur inter illa duo. Sed absolute habet
 veritatem, quia tunc sunt contradictoria, et si unum contradictorium dicitur de uno,
 reliquum removetur ad eo.

820 Ad aliud, quando dicitur quod ‘nullum obiectum potest inferre conceptum
 alterius obiecti simplicem nisi contineat illud obiectum virtualiter vel formaliter’ in
 praecedenti quaestione datus fuit intellectus istius propositionis. Tamen quantum
 ad praesens spectat, dico quod conceptus sumptus ab ultimo gradu entitatis formae
 per se et immediate non facit conceptum entis, sed mediate isto modo. Licet enim
 825 conceptus imperfectus, correspondens rei ut intelligitur abstrahere a gradu sibi
 intrinseco sive a perfectione sibi intrinseca, possit causari in intellectu nostro sine
 conceptu correspondente ultimato gradu ipsius formae, tamen conceptus corres-
 pondens perfectioni intrinsecæ rei non potest causari in intellectu nostro nisi
 causato conceptu correspondente rei cuius realitatis ille gradus est perfectio
 830 intrinseca. Non enim possum intelligere perfectionem intrinsecam rei <nisi>
 intelligendo rem cuius ille gradus est perfectio intrinseca. Quia ergo conceptus
 intellectus correspondens perfectioni intrinsecæ rei non potest causari in intellectu
 nostro nisi causato conceptu correspondente rei cuius est ille gradus perfectio
 intrinseca, et talis conceptus correspondens rei non potest causari nisi causetur
 835 conceptus entis formaliter, hinc est quod conceptus correspondens perfectioni
 intrinsecæ rei causat conceptum entis. Conceptus ergo entis non intelligitur
 causari a conceptu illo simpliciter simplici quasi imaginando quod prius causetur
 conceptus simpliciter simplex in intellectu nostro et mediante eo conceptus entis.
 Immo prius intelligitur esse causatus conceptus entis qui formaliter includitur in
 840 conceptu causato a realitate ipsa, et postea ultimo causatur conceptus ille quo
 concipitur res cum tali sua perfectione sibi intrinseca. Procedit ergo argumentum
 ex falsa imaginatione. Potes dicere sicut Scotus dicit: quod pro tanto dicitur
 causare conceptum entis, quia includitur formaliter in eo quod formaliter includit

820 supra, ll. 593-602. 822 supra, Q.1 (ll. 391-419, 431-473). 842-844 1 *Ord. d.3 n.137*
 (Vat. 3.85:14-16).

816 oppositum] quod *add. A* 828 causare *A* 829 realitas *A* 838 eo] quod *add. A*
 839 in] et *A*

ens; sed plus erit ‘in quid’ ultra hoc. Videtur hoc tamen convenienter dici posse:
 845 quod conceptus talis simpliciter simplex virtualiter includit conceptum entis, cum sit perfectior conceptu entis. Tu dicis conceptus entis nullius est passio. Dico quod aliquid potest virtualiter contineri in alio, etsi non sit passio eius, dum tamen sit perfectius ens eo. Si hoc sufficeret, tunc differentia posset causare conceptum generis. Quid mali, vide.

850 Ad aliud: dicendum quando dicitur quod ‘ultima differentia includit perfectio-
 nem simpliciter cum imperfectione, ergo poterit intellectus abstrahere quod est
 perfectionis, relinquendo illud quod est imperfectionis’; ad huiusmodi rationem et
 ad aliqualem declarationem principalis conclusionis distinguo de differentiis.
 Aliqua enim possunt sumi ex parte essentiali ultima quae est vere res et natura
 855 aliqua, et alia ab illa a qua sumitur conceptus generis, — sicut si ponatur pluralitas
 43ra formarum, et genus / dicatur sumi ex parte essentiali priori, scilicet a materia cum
 forma priori, et differentia specifica a forma ultima. Loquendo de tali differentia,
 dico quod sicut ens dicitur in quid de illa parte essentiali a qua sumitur differentia
 860 specifica, ita dicitur etiam in quid de tali differentia in abstracto, ita quod sicut haec
 est in quid ‘anima intellectiva est ens’, ita haec est in quid ‘rationalitas est ens’,
 supposito quod rationalitas sit talis differentia. Sed sic accipiendo differentiam
 nulla talis est ultima, quia in tali continentur realitates plures aliquo modo
 distinctae, saltem formaliter, de qua distinctione alias erit sermo. Omnis autem talis
 865 differentia in qua continentur plures tales realitates potest concipi secundum
 aliquam realitatem et secundum aliam ignorari, et ideo conceptus talis rationalitatis
 non est simpliciter simplex. Alia est differentia quae sumitur ab ultimato gradu
 entitatis talis realitatis. Et tunc de tali gradu ultimo, dico quod ens de ea non
 praedicatur in quid, nec conceptus sumptus ab ea includit quidditative ens; sed est
 870 conceptus simpliciter simplex. Et de tali non contingit aliquid concipi et aliquid
 ignorari, sed vel simpliciter scitur vel simpliciter ignoratur. Et secundum istam
 viam haberes dicere ad primam rationem quod loquendo de differentia, non sum
 certus quod sit ens et dubito quod <sit> ens, tamen forte <responsio> bona est quae
 supra posita est. Loquendo ergo de tali realitate sive de gradu realitatis, posito
 875 quod talis gradus sit *a* <haec non est> in quid ‘*a* est ens’, sed est per accidens. Et
 talis differentia non includit perfectionem simpliciter cum imperfectione, nec a tali
 potest intellectus abstrahere perfectionem, relinquendo illud quod est imperfec-
 tionis. Sed tantum est gradus ultimatus alicuius perfectionis. Unde dico quod talis
 gradus entitatis formae a quo sumitur talis conceptus simpliciter simplex nec est

846 Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 53.519-522, 54.540-541). 850 supra, II. 603-611.
 853-880 1 *Ord. d.3 n.159* (Vat. 3.97-98). 872 supra, II. 727-750.

848 conceptum] -tus *A* 853 conclusionis corr. ex ratio *A* 854 enim] non *A* 856,
 857 prioris *A* 874 quid] quantum *A* 876-877 imperfectionis] perfectionem scilicet *A*

perfectio nec imperfectio. Esse enim perfectionem convenit tantum habenti
880 quidditatem.

Ad aliud, quando dicitur quod ‘unumquodque per eandem rationem formalem
qua distinguitur a non-ente est ens,’ dico quod si propositio sic intelligatur:
unumquodque per eandem rationem formalem qua distinguitur a non-ente includit
ens formaliter, accipiendo ens pro conceptu entis correspondente rei ut res ipsa
885 abstrahit ad ultimato gradu suaे entitatis sibi intrinseco, dico quod falsa est. Sed
si sic intelligatur: unumquodque per eandem rationem formalem qua distinguitur
a non-ente includit ens aliquo modo, sive de ipso per eandem rationem formalem
dicitur ens aliquo modo, vera est. Non enim talis differentia distinguitur a non-ente
890 nisi quia ens denominative dicitur de ea. Sed quid dicemus circumscribendo a tali
differentia omne illud quod non includitur in ea formaliter? Dico quod si considero
ipsam sic, nec est ens nec non-ens. Et quomodo hoc sit possibile, paulo ante
declaratum est.

Ad aliud, quando dicitur ‘quidquid est primum et adaequatum obiectum alicuius
potentiae vel includit obiecta illius potentiae virtualiter, sicut dictum est de essentia
895 divina quae includit virtualiter notitiam omnium quae intellectus divinus intelligit,
et ideo ponitur essentia divina primum obiectum intellectus divini, vel illud quod
ponitur primum obiectum potentiae praedicatur de aliis obiectis formaliter sive
essentialiter. / Ens autem non continet omnia obiecta intellectus virtualiter. Ergo 43rb
praedicatur de aliis essentialiter.’ Quia illud argumentum videbatur sumi ex dictis
900 adversarii, posito isto dupli modo aliquid posse poni primum obiectum alicuius
potentiae, non recedendo a dictis eius, dico quod ens hic ponitur primum obiectum
intellectus non ratione alterius partis tantum. Probat enim quod sola primitate
virtutis non potest poni aliquid obiectum adaequatum intellectus nostri, nec etiam
905 sola primitate communitatis, quia sicut probatum est, impossibile est aliquem
conceptum unum praedicare quid de omni conceptu. Et ideo dicit, et ego dico cum
eo, ‘vel nullum erit primum obiectum intellectus nostri vel si sit aliquid primum,
in eo concurrunt simul prioritas virtutis et prioritas communitatis.’ Ergo vel nullum
erit primum obiectum intellectus nostri, vel ens erit illud obiectum primum, ita
910 quod ens erit illud primum obiectum intellectus nostri primitate virtutis per
comparationem ad conceptus suarum passionum quarum notitiam virtualiter
includit, sicut subiectum habet virtualiter continere notitiam passionum. Respectu
autem earum quae includunt ens quidditative, vel quae includuntur quidditative in

881 supra, ll. 614-620. 891-892 supra, ll. 782-805. 893 supra, ll. 621-635. 900 ‘ad-
versarii’, sc. Scoti quem Alnwick impugnat. 901 ‘eius’, sc. Scoti. 906 ‘eo’, sc. Scoto: 1 *Ord.*
d.3 nn.129, 137, 151 (Vat. 3.80-81, 85-86, 93-94).

879 *Esse] est A* 901 *hic] cum add. A* 904 *communitatis corr. ex virtutis non potest poni*
A 905 *praedicare] in add. A* 907 *communitatis] concurrere A*

his quae quidditative includunt ens — quod addo propter ultimas differentias, quia non virtualiter continentur in ente nec formaliter includunt ens sed formaliter includuntur in conceptibus specierum quae formaliter includunt ens — respectu, dico omnium talium ponitur ens primum obiectum intellectus primitate communitatis. Et sic in ente concurrit illa duplex primitas, et ideo ens est primum obiectum intellectus et nihil aliud, non ratione alterius primitatis tantum, sed ratione utriusque; et modus est positus. Quando ergo dicebas ‘ens non est primum obiectum intellectus nostri primitate virtutis,’ verum est praecise. Ergo dicebas ‘erit primum primitate communitatis.’ Si intelligas praecise, nego consequentiam, quia est dare obiectum primum potentiae tertio modo, scilicet primitate virtutis et communitatis simul. Cuiusmodi est ens respectu intellectus nostri.

Ad aliud, quando dicitur ‘quando aliquid inest alicui per aliqua duo quibus inest magis, inest illi magis per quod inest tali subiecto,’ et ponitur exemplum per hoc quod est distingui a non-sensato quod convenit homini per animal et rationale; dico quod patet ex exemplo adducto. Ex ista ratione non potest concludi quod ens includatur quidditative in conceptu differentiae ultimae, non obstante quod magis conveniat speciei esse ens per ultimam differentiam quam per genus, nam distinguatur a non-sensibili per esse sensibile formaliter; non tamen quia homini convenit magis distingui a non-sensibili per rationale quam per animal potest concludi quod esse sensibile magis intrinsece conveniat rationali quam animali, immo magis intrinsecum est animali esse sensibile quam rationali, quia includitur in conceptu quidditativo animalis, non autem in conceptu quidditativo rationalis 935 — alioquin esset nugatio dicendo ‘animal rationale,’ quia bis exprimeretur sensibile. Sed pro tanto habet veritatem quod magis convenit homini non esse sensatum per rationale quam per animal, quia ex pluribus rationibus repugnat rationali non esse sensatum quam animali. Repugnat enim animali tantum quia animal; repugnat autem rationali et quia animal et quia etiam rationale. Et tamen cum hoc stat quod 940 nec animalis esse dicitur in quid de rationali nec etiam sensibile dicitur in quid de rationali, quo tamen, scilicet sensibili, homo distinguitur formaliter a non-sensibili tantum, sed utrumque denominative dicitur de rationali. Ita dico in proposito esse 43va non-ens sive distingui a non-/ente convenit speciei per genus et differentiam et utrique istorum convenit distingui a non-ente, licet aliter et aliter, quia uni convenit 945 distingui a non-ente per ens formaliter inclusum in eo, alii autem, ut differentiae, per ens denominative dictum de eo. Et magis per ultimam differentiam distinguitur species a non-ente quam per genus, quia pluribus rationibus repugnat ultimae differentiae quam generi. Convenit autem speciei distingui a non-ente per ultimam

919 supra, ll. 630-632.

920 supra, ll. 632-633.

924 supra, ll. 636-646.

913 includunt *om. A* 920 dicebat *A* 934 quidditativo^{1]} -tativa *A* 936 conveniat *A*
sensatam *A* 941 a non] immo *A* 948 Convenit] conceptum *A*

differentiam, et ratione generis, quod dicitur denominative de ultima differentia, et
 950 etiam ratione ultimae differentiae, de qua dicitur denominative ipsum ens. Sicut
 ergo sensibile a quo homo distinguitur formaliter a non-sensibili includitur
 quidditative in animali et non in rationali sed denominative tantum dicitur de
 rationali, et tamen, ut dicis, magis distinguitur homo a non-sensibili per rationale
 quam animal, ita uniformiter dico: cum ens sit illud quo formaliter distinguitur
 955 species a non-ente et ens includatur quidditative in conceptu generis, nihilominus
 tamen magis conveniret homini sive speciei distingui a non-ente per ultimam
 differentiam quam per genus, licet non dicatur de ultima differentia nisi tantum
 denominative, et ita ex exemplo adducto potest sic responderi ad maiorem rationis
 'quando aliquid competit alicui subiecto per aliqua duo quibus inest, magis inest
 960 illi per quod sibi magis convenient.' Si accipiatur 'magis inesse' pro inesse intrinsece,
 recurre ad exemplum tuum positum in exemplo tuo et contempla in eo falsitatem
 istius maioris. Si intelligas 'magis inest illi aliquo modo,' puta denominative, et sic
 ultima differentia est <magis> ens quam animal, quia ens non dicitur denominative
 965 de animali nisi semel, si quidditative <dicitur>. Dicitur autem de differentia ultima
 bis denominative: et ratione sui, quia ens praedicatur de ultima differentia denomi-
 native, et etiam in quantum includitur in conceptu generis quod denominative
 praedicatur de differentia. Praedicatur etiam ens inclusum in eo denominative de
 ultima differentia, et ideo secundum hoc ultima differentia est magis ens quam
 genus, et secundum hoc magis convenient speciei distingui a non-ente per ultimam
 970 differentiam quam per genus.

Ad aliud, quando dicitur 'differentia sumitur a forma, <et> forma est magis ens
 quam materia et magis natura; cum ergo differentia sumitur a forma <et> genus a
 materia, magis includet differentia ens quam genus'; respondeo: dico quod acci-
 piendo conceptum entis pro conceptu primo determinabili, sicut loquuntur de
 975 conceptu entis illi qui dicunt conceptum entis non praedicare quid de conceptu
 ultimae differentiae sive de differentia sumpta ab ultimo gradu entitatis formae, tunc
 ista propositio 'forma vel ultimus gradus formae est magis ens,' scilicet, intelli-
 gendo quidditative, est falsa; sicut ista 'magis determinans est quidditative magis
 determinabile.' Immo sic accipiendo ens, oportet dicere quod quanto aliquid est
 980 magis forma et magis actus tanto est minus ens, quia magis excludit ens determina-
 bile: quanto enim aliquid est magis actus tanto est minus potentia. Cum ergo, ut
 probatum est, differentia ultima sit praecise determinans, nihil determinabilis
 includens quidditative, nullo modo debet concedi quod ultima differentia sit magis
 ens quidditative quam materia sive genus. Tamen bene dico quod ultima differentia

971 supra, II. 647-653. 975 'illi', sc. Scotus.

951 sensibile corr. ex animali A	953 sensibile A	961 contemplare A	965-966 denomi-
native] de differentia ultima add. A	977 forma bis A	978 ista] istius A	

985 est magis actus quam genus. Sed ex hoc non sequitur ‘ergo est magis ens,’ loquendo de conceptu entis ut de conceptu primo determinabili et primo contrahibili, sed sequitur oppositum magis.

43vb Ad aliud, quando dicitur ‘illud est per accidens / cognoscibile cui accidit illud quod est primum obiectum illius potentiae’; dico quod si vocas ‘per accidens cognoscibile’ illud cui accidit primum obiectum illius potentiae, id est in quo non includitur quidditative primum obiectum illius potentiae, concedo passiones et ultimas differentias isto modo <esse> cognoscibilia per accidens. Nec hoc est inconveniens ponи in esse, sed est consequens ad positionem meam, sicut patet de gradu quo contrahitur color ad albedinem, quia cum conceptui entis et conceptui 990 ultimae differentiae correspondet ex parte obiecti eadem realitas ita quod isti duo conceptus sunt idem per identitatem realem, et etiam conceptus entis et suarum passionum sunt idem identitate reali, nec debent dici cognoscibilia per accidens, id est per aliquid realiter distinctum ab eis, licet sint cognoscibilia per accidens, id est, per aliquid non idem formaliter eis.

1000 Ad aliud, quando dicitur ‘unumquodque quanto plus participat de actualitate tanto plus participat de entitate,’ dictum est paulo superius quod accipiendo conceptum entis sive entitatem ipsam in quantum abstrahit ab ultimo gradu suae entitatis et suae perfectionis sibi intrinseco, quomodo correspondet ei conceptus entis ut ab eo negatur includi quidditative in conceptu ultimo differentiae, maior 1005 propositio est per se falsa.

Ad aliud, quando arguitur per rationem Commentatoris quam facit contra Avicennam de ente et uno ad probandum quod ens et unum dicant eandem naturam, respondebitur in sequenti quaestione ubi dicetur quomodo concludit ratio Commentatoris contra Avicennam et quomodo non. Tamen ne videar querere 1010 industias, dico sic: quando tu quaeris de ultima differentia respectu entis, sicut Commentator querit de uno: aut ultima differentia erit ens formaliter per se aut per aliquid additum formaliter distinctum a conceptu entis, tu arguis ultra quaerendo de illo addito: aut est ens per se aut per additum. <Dicō> quod ibi est status. Et ad evidentiam omnium argumentorum quae procedunt per illum modum do 1015 talem regulam: quandocumque aliter comparatur primum ad secundum et secundum ad tertium numquam procedit argumentum ulterius. Verbi gratia, sic arguendo ‘album est simile,’ tunc quaero: aut est simile se ipso aut per aliquid additum. Si per additum, sic oportet dicere quia album est simile similitudine quae est additum ipsi albo. Tu non potes procedere ulterius, quaerendo de illo addito; sed ibi est

988 supra, ll. 653-659. 1000 supra, ll. 660-664. 1001 supra, ll. 883-892. 1006 supra, ll. 665-675. 1008 supra, l. 466. 1015-16 Cf. 2 *Lect. d.1 n.253* (Vat. 18.86); 2 *Ord. d.1 n.269* (Vat. 7.133-34).

985 ergo] genus *A* 996 sunt] conceptus sunt *add. A* 1003 intrinsece *A* 1008 dicatur *A* 1009 *videas A* 1010 *quaeras A* 1016 *ulterius*] *verum A*

1020 status: simile est formaliter simile similitudine. Et ratio est, quia non potest procedi, quia aliter comparatur primum ad secundum quam secundum ad tertium sic: primum enim comparatur ad secundum sicut ad aliud formaliter distinctum ab eo. Secundum autem comparatur ad tertium sicut ad aliud formaliter idem sibi; ideo in secundo est status, non in primo. Et ita est tam in argumento
 1025 Commentatoris, ut patebit in alia quaestione, quam in argumeto tuo. Aliter enim comparatur ens ad differentiam ultimam quam differentia ultima ad se ipsam. Comparatur enim ens ad differentiam ultimam sicut ad conceptum formaliter distinctum ab ea; conceptus autem differentiae ultimae formaliter est idem sibi. Et ideo quando tu dicis 'formaliter est ens per se aut per additum', dico quod per
 1030 additum. Tu quaeris de / addito. Dico quod non potes procedere ulterius, sed ibi 44ra est status. Et ratio est tacta. Et sicut dictum est de ente et de differentiis ultimis, eodem modo est dicendum de ente et de passionibus entis.

Ad aliud, quando dicitur 'differentia ultima substantiae est per se substantia, cum sit per se pars substantiae,' respondeo distinguendo de per se: vel accipitur per se
 1035 ut distinguitur contra per accidens, ut dicit aliud realiter ab eo cui illud dicitur per accidens convenire, sicut homo est albus per accidens, vel per se dicitur aliud esse tale, ita quod illud quod dicitur esse tale includit illud in suo conceptu quidditativo. Si primo modo dicatur ultima differentia esse substantia per se, concedo. Cum hoc tamen stat quod ultima differentia non sit substantia per se
 1040 secundo modo accipiendo per se, scilicet pro 'includi quidditative in ea'. Potest enim esse substantia per se, quia ad genus substantiae pertinet per reductionem; non tamen formaliter et quidditative est substantia. Et si dicas 'ergo quidditative est non-substantia' — consequentia est nulla, et ratio dicta <est> supra — dico quod 'ultima differentia non est substantia per se secundo modo loquendo de per se.' Tu
 1045 dicis: 'ultima differentia est pars essentialis substantiae,' concedo, tamen cum hoc stat quod non includit quidditative conceptum substantiae.

Ad aliud, quando <dicitur> 'quaecumque simul addita faciunt nugationem, unum includitur in conceptu quidditativo alterius,' concedo. Tu dicis 'ens additum ultimae differentiae facit nugationem.' Dico: accipiendo ultimam differentiam pro
 1050 differentia sumpta ab ultimato gradu illius formae, nego. Tu probas, quia dicendo 'ens rationalitas' est nugatio. Dico quod si sit nugatio dicendo 'ens rationalitas', non dicit conceptum sumptum ab ultimato gradu illius formae sed dicit conceptum sumptum a tota forma, quae est altera pars essentialis ipsius hominis, ut dixi, cui non correspondet conceptus simpliciter simplex, sed tantum simplex. Accipiendo

1033 supra, II. 676-680. 1047 supra, II. 681-684. 1050 'probas', sc. Alnwick. Vide supra,
 II. 681-684. 1053 supra, II. 181-184, 852-880.

1022 sic] sicut A 1040 pro includi] procedendi A 1054 correspondens A

- 1055 ergo rationalitatem pro conceptu sumpto ab ultimato gradu ipsius formae non est nugatio dicendo 'ens rationalitas.'
- Ad aliud, quando dicitur quod Philosophus probat, *III Metaphysicae*, quod ens non sit genus, quia praedicatur de differentiis, genus autem non; licet posset dici quod ideo Philosophus concludit ens non esse genus, quia genus de differentia 1060 praedicatur in quid, ens autem, etsi non praedicetur de differentiis ultimis, tamen praedicatur de mediis, tamen ad excludendum instantiam quae sit contra istam solutionem et argumentum simul, et dicendo etiam consequenter ad dicta in praecedenti quaestione, dico quod ideo ens non est genus, quia ens praedicatur de differentiis, hoc modo intelligendo: ens praedicatur de differentiis praedicatione 1065 magis identica quam genus. Et si ens non includitur formaliter in conceptu ultimae differentiae, tamen praedicatum et subiectum dicunt eandem realitatem quando dicitur 'rationale est ens.' Sed quando genus praedicatur de differentia praedicatum et subiectum non sumuntur ab eadem realitate, ut probatur diffuse, *Super II De anima*, quaestione illa: an anima sit proprie definibilis. Et ideo ens proprie non est 1070 genus. Sic ergo debet intelligi dictum Philosophi: 'ens praedicatur de differentiis, genus non,' id est, ens praedicatur de differentiis praedicatione magis identica quam sit praedicatio generis de differentia. Et ideo ens non est genus. De ratione 44rb enim conceptus / generis est quod dicat aliam realitatem a conceptu differentiae, quod non convenit enti respectu ultimae differentiae. Quando ergo dicebas: aut 1075 Philosophus accipit 'praedicari' absolute aut formaliter quando dicit in maiori 'ens praedicatur de differentiis,' dico quod accipit 'praedicari' non simpliciter absolute nec formaliter, sed <pro> praedicatione qua subiectum et praedicatum sunt una realitas et istam praedicationem in minori removet a genere. Et sic debet exponi textus qui adducebatur, ibidem, de Philosopho. Nec aliquid aliud sonat littera.
- 1080 Ad aliud, quando probatur quod ens per se praedicatur de uno, quia quae-cumque significant eandem naturam solum ratione differentia, accepta in debito

1057 supra, ll. 685-705. *Metaph.* 3.3 t.10 (998b21-28). 1059-61 Haec responsio ipsius Scoti ab Alnwick (ed. Dumont¹, pp. 51.470-52.475) impugnatur. 1063 supra, Q.1 (ll. 1754-1831). 1063-65 Cf. 1 *Ord.* d.8 n.218 *Adnotatio Duns Scoti* (Vat. 4.274); *QQ Metaph.* 4.1 n.10 (Vivès 7.152a); *QQ De an.* q.21 n.12 (Vivès 3.618a-b); Petrum Thomae, *De ente* (ed. Dumont², p. 256.1037-1044). 1068-69 '... ostendo nunc quaestionem principalem, scilicet quod ab alia realitate sumitur conceptus generis ab alia conceptus differentiae. Primo sic: si eadem realitas omnino correspondet conceptui generis et differentiae, ergo quaelibet res poterit complete definiri per genus tantum. Consequens est falsum, ergo et antecedens. Consequentia probatur sic: unicuique obiecto natus est <esse> correspondens conceptus unus quo adaequate et distinctissime potest cognosci ipsum obiectum quod est in se unum et indistinctum. Cum ergo per te omnino idem a parte rei correspondeat conceptui generis et differentiae, per conceptum generis tamquam per conceptum adaequatum illi obiecto poterit distinete et perfecte cognosci realitas talis obiecti, et ita conceptus differentiae erit superfluus in definitione . . .' (*Quaestiones in De anima* q.16 'Utrum anima sit definibilis' [A fol. 90va]). 1080 supra, ll. 706-722.

1064 praedicatur] probatur A

modo significandi, praedicantur de se invicem formaliter, concedatur ‘ens et unum differunt sola ratione’; dico: si accipias solam rationem factam per intellectum, nego. Si accipis rationem pro ratione quidditativa, concedo. Et tamen habeo
1085 intentum meum, quia quae sic differunt non praedicantur formaliter de se invicem.

Ad aliud quod additur de Philosopho, quod ens et unum dicunt eandem naturam, dicetur in sequenti quaestione, et ad tres probationes eius quae adducebantur quod ens et unum sint una natura sola ratione differentia.

1086 *ibid.* 1087 *supra*, l. 466.

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A CRITICAL EDITION OF FOUR CHAPTERS FROM THE *LÉGENDE DORÉE*

Richard Hamer and Vida Russell

THE *Légende dorée* is a complete and close translation by Jean de Vignay of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*; it was made in Paris between about 1333 and 1340.¹ Vignay's text has not been printed in modern times, but there is a serviceable if not entirely accurate nineteenth-century edition of the Latin by Theodore Graesse, based not on manuscripts but on Ebert's 1472 edition.² In about 1402 Jean Golein, also in Paris, completed a collection of forty-six *Festes nouvelles* apparently intended as a supplement to the 177 chapters of *Légende dorée*, and these are found at the end of ten of the manuscripts.³ A third version, with the contents in a substantially changed order, with various items added, omitted or altered, and including most of the *Festes nouvelles*, appeared in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The three versions are referred to as (a), (b) and (c) respectively, and the (b) and (c) manuscripts have been allotted sigla ending in these letters. The present location of nineteen (a), ten (b) and three (c) manuscripts is known. Among a number of editions the earliest were a (c) version printed in Flanders about 1472-75 and an (a) printed by Barthelemy Buyer at Lyon in 1476; all subsequent editions seem to have derived from the latter.⁴ Buyer

¹ On Vignay and his translation see P. Butler, *Legenda aurea-Légende dorée-Golden Legend. A Study of Caxton's Golden Legend with Special Reference to Its Relations to the Earlier English Prose Translation...* (Baltimore, 1899), Sr. M. Jeremy, 'Caxton's Golden Legend and De Vignay's *Légende dorée*', *Mediaeval Studies* 8 (1946) 97-106, W. F. Manning, 'The Jean de Vignay Version of the Life of Saint Dominic', *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 40 (1970) 29-46, and especially C. Knowles, 'Jean de Vignay, un traducteur du XIV^e siècle', *Romania* 75 (1954) 353-83.

² J. G. Th. Graesse, *Legenda aurea Iacopi a Voragine* (Dresden, 1846; rpt. Osnabrück, 1965). R. Benz, *Die Legenda Aurea des Jacobus de Voragine aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt* (Jena, 1917-21), used early manuscripts, and in the Lesartenverzeichnis (pp. 557-630) recorded many of the readings which differ from those of Graesse.

³ Butler, *Legenda aurea*, pp. 35-46, Jeremy, 'Caxton's Golden Legend', 97-100, V. Russell, 'Evidence for a Stemma for the De Vignay MSS: St. Nicholas, St. George, St. Bartholomew, and All Saints' in *Legenda aurea: Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. B. Dunn-Lardeau (*Cahiers d'études médiévales. Cahier spécial* 2; Montréal, 1986), pp. 131-54, R. Hamer, 'Jean Golein's *Festes nouvelles*: A Caxton Source', *Medium aevum* 55 (1986) 254-60.

⁴ On early editions see B. Dunn-Lardeau and D. Coq, 'Deux éditions lyonnaises de la *Légende dorée*', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 44 (1982) 623-35, and 'Fifteenth and Sixteenth-

followed it in 1477 by an edition of the *Festes nouvelles* whose contents indicate that it was related to the manuscript Bb, and presumably he saw these two volumes as a united project.

The fullest account of Vignay's life is by Christine Knowles, who also describes his qualities as a translator. Although he was presumably highly regarded, since the majority of his translations were dedicated to and apparently commissioned by members of the royal family, his standards of accuracy and style are low. Paul Meyer described his version of *Legenda aurea* as 'un mot à mot inintelligent et dépourvu de style', and Knowles's illustration of his various defects sufficiently supports this harsh judgment.⁵

MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS

The following are the manuscripts and earliest editions:⁶

Type (a)

B1 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 9226 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 8va-11rb,
Geo fols. 94va-96rb,
Bart fols. 200ra-202va,
AS fols. 266ra-269va.

B2 – , Bibliothèque Royale 9227 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 12rb-15rb,
Geo fols. 102ra-114va,
Bart fols. 225rb-229rb,
AS fols. 310vb-315rb.

C Chantilly, Musée Condé 735 (Paris, s. xiv med).

Nic fols. 13vb-16vb,
Geo fols. 114vb-118va,
Bart fols. 249va-253va,
AS fols. 331rb-336vb.

Century Editions of the *Légende dorée*, *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 47 (1985) 87-101; the latter supersedes all previous lists of editions. We are grateful to Dr Lotte Hellinga for information about the likely provenance and date of Ac.

⁵ P. Meyer, 'Notice du MS Med. Pal. 141 de la Laurentienne (vies des saints)', *Romania* 33 (1904) 6.

⁶ We are indebted to Mr Jeremy Griffiths, Mlle A.-F. Labie, and Miss Hilary Maddocks for information about the manuscripts and their likely dates and origins.

F Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 124 (Paris, s. xiv med).

Nic fols. 9ra-11rb,

Geo fols. 77va-79rb,

Bart fols. 161ra-163va,

AS fols. 214ra-216vb.

M Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1729 (Paris, s. xiv ex).

Nic fols. 8vb-11vb,

Geo fols. 102ra-104rb,

Bart fols. 210ra-213va,

AS fols. 278rb-281va.

N Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3705 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 10va-13ra,

Geo fols. 96ra-98ra,

Bart fols. 191ra-193ra,

AS fols. 250va-253vb.

P1 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 241 (Paris, 1348).

Nic fols. 10va-13rb,

Geo fols. 101va-103vb,

Bart fols. 219rb-222va,

AS fols. 291rb-295ra.

P2 – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 244-45 (Paris, s. xv ex).

Nic 244 fols. 14ra-18va,

Geo 244 fols. 125va-128rb,

Bart 245 fols. 61va-65va,

AS 245 fols. 156ra-162ra.

P3 – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 414 (Paris, 1404).

Nic fols. 12vb-16rb,

Geo fols. 127ra-130ra,

Bart fols. 267vb-271vb,

AS fols. 354vb-359vb.

P4 – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1535 (France, s. xv ex).

Nic fols. 17r-25r,

Geo fols. 230v-235r.

P5 – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 6448 (Paris, s. xv ex).

Nic fols. 11va-14vb,

Geo fols. 114vb-117rb,

Bart fols. 242rb-246ra,

AS fols. 326ra-330ra.

P6 – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 17232 (France, s. xv med/ex).

Nic fols. 9ra-11vb,

Geo fols. 105ra-107ra,

Bart fols. 209va-212rb,

AS fols. 276vb-280ra

P7 – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 23113 (France, s. xv in/med).

Bart fols. 73ra-76vb,

AS fols. 161ra-166ra.

Q London, British Library Add. 16907 (Paris, 1375).

Nic fols. 10ra-12vb,

Geo fols. 94ra-96rb,

Bart fols. 194vb-197vb,

AS fols. 258rb-261vb.

R – , British Library Royal 19.B.xvii (Paris, 1382).

Nic fols. 13vb-17rb,

Geo fols. 109ra-111rb,

Bart fols. 225rb-228va,

AS fols. 302vb-306rb.

S Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 266 (France, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 8vb-11vb,

Geo fols. 108rb-110va,

Bart fols. 230vb-234rb,

AS fols. 306ra-309vb.

W Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale 630 (France, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 8ra-10ra,

Geo fols. 94ra-96rb,

Bart fols. 214vb-221rb,

AS fols. 296ra-301va.

Y London, British Library Phillipps 199 (loan 36) (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 13va-18ra,

Geo fols. 156ra-159vb.

Z London, British Library Egerton 645 (France, s. xv med).

Nic fols. 12vb-16rb,

Geo fols. 129va-132rb,

Bart fols. 261vb-265vb,

AS fols. 344rb-348rb.

X Edition of B. Buyer, Lyon, 1476 (e.g. British Library IC 41504)

Nic fols. 12ra-15ra,

Geo fols. 109va-111vb,

Bart fols. 223va-227ra,

AS fols. 298ra-302ra.

Type (b)

Ab Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 9228 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 14va-17rb,

Geo fols. 105va-107vb,

Bart fols. 215rb-218va,

AS fols. 287rb-291ra.

Bb – , Bibliothèque Royale 9282-85 (Paris, s. xv med).

Nic fols. 9vb-12ra,

Geo fols. 96va-98vb,

Bart fols. 202vb-206rb,

AS fols. 271va-275rb.

Cb Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 184 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 13ra-16ra,

Geo fols. 113rb-116ra,

Bart fols. 238vb-242rb,

AS fols. 312va-316vb.

Db – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 242 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 7ra-9va,

Geo fols. 88ra-90ra,

Bart fols. 186ra-188vb,

AS fols. 245rb-248va.

Eb – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 243 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 11va-14rb,

Geo fols. 107va-110ra,

Bart fols. 235rb-238va,

AS fols. 308va-312va.

Fb – , Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 415-16 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic 415 fols. 17ra-21va,

Geo 415 fols. 164vb-168vb,

Bart 416 fols. 22va-27va,

AS 416 fols. 130ra-135va.

Gb Genève, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire 57 (Paris, s. xiv/xv).

Nic fols. 13ra-16va,

Geo fols. 122ra-125ra,

Bart fols. 252ra-255vb,

AS fols. 334va-338vb.

Hb München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Gall. 3 (Paris, s. xv med).

Nic fols. 6va-8va,

Geo fols. 74ra-75vb,

Bart fols. 158rb-160va,

AS fols. 212va-215rb.

Jb Jena, Universitätsbibliothek Gall. f.86 (Paris, s. xv in).

Nic fols. 12va-15ra,

Geo fols. 95ra-97ra,

Bart fols. 192va-195va,

AS fols. 257rb-260vb.

Mb New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library M.672-75 and Mâcon, Bibliothèque Municipale 3 (Netherlands, s. xv med).

Nic MS. 672 fols. 21v-28r,

Geo MS. 673 fols. 216v-221v,

Bart MS. 675 fols. 21v-28v,

AS Mâcon MS. 3 fols. 18r-25r.

Type (c)

Fc Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 22 (Netherlands/Northern France, c.1500).

Nic pp.200a-210b,

Geo pp.454a-460a.

Nc Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3682-83 (Netherlands, s. xv med or ex).

Nic 3682 fols. 14vb-19va,

Geo 3682 fols. 167rb-171rb,

Bart 3683 fols. 65ra-70ra,

AS 3683 fols. 176ra-182ra.

Sc London, British Library Stowe 50-51 (Netherlands, s. xv ex).

Nic 50 fols. 78va-81rb,

Geo 50 fols. 151vb-153vb,

Bart 51 fols. 46ra-50ra,

AS 51 fols. 136va-141ra.

Ac Edition of c. 1472-75, Flanders (e.g. British Library IC 50512).

Nic fols. 53vb-56vb,

Geo fols. 124rb-126ra,

Bart fols. 243va-246vb,

AS fols. 316va-320rb.

Selections

Bx Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 9549 (France, after 1475).

Geo fols. 82vb-90rb,

Bart fols. 198vb-205va.

P1 is the earliest extant manuscript and is used as the base for this edition. The following are its main codicological features: Parchment, fols. i+1-344+i, 425 x 295 mm., written space 295 x 195 mm., 2 cols., 45 lines. Collation: 1⁸-43⁸. Catchwords. Modern foliation. Written in one hand in *textura quadrata*. There are 144 illustrations, mostly at the beginnings of the chapters, and mostly within one column, eleven to fourteen lines deep, though nine fill the page across both columns. On fol. 3v at the end of the table of contents is a large miniature occupying the lower two-thirds of the page, showing Christ in majesty between two saints, with the symbols of the evangelists in the corners. The inside of the front cover has a paper guard stuck over the parchment, with a window cut in it through which can be seen various notes, notably 'Richard de Montbaston libraire a fait escrire ceste legende des sa(ints) en francois lan de grace nostre seigneur mil CCCXLVIII' in a fourteenth-century hand with letters larger than but similar to those of the text. Inside the back cover in the same hand there appears: 'Richart de Montbaston libraire demourant a Paris en la rue Neuve Nostre Dame fist escrire ceste legende en francois lan de grace nostre nostre [sic] seigneur mil CCC XLVIII.' This is the only manuscript with known associations with Montbaston, and the only evidence for his address. He was licensed as *libraire* by the University of Paris from at least 1338, and his widow applied for accreditation in 1353.⁷ *Légende dorée* is on fols. 1r-343r; on fols. 343v-344v a later fourteenth-century hand has added 'L'Epitre saint Beneoit a Remon arceuesque de coulongne du martire des machabees', a work of which no other copy is known to exist.

Most of the manuscripts were listed by Knowles, Hb and W were added by Manning, and Jb by ourselves. A number of late fifteenth-century legendaries took or paraphrased material from *Légende dorée*, among which are Tournai, Bibliothèque Municipale 127 and Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 1011-12, listed by Knowles, and Lille, Bibliothèque municipale 452, included by Manning. We have not investigated these more remote derivatives. Knowles also records two manuscripts containing selections; of these we have considered only Bx, since the sixteen added chapters in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale fr. 413 are only tenuously related to *Légende dorée*.

Knowles recorded only the Pierpont Morgan part of Mb, classing it as an (a) text; it belongs, however, with the part still at Mâcon, whence it seems Barrois removed it, and taken together this text is a (b). She also listed Nc as an (a), and indeed the contents list in each volume is that of an (a) text. Mme Dunn-Lardeau first noticed that the contents do not correspond with these lists, and our

⁷ H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1891), 2.189, 532, 658. We owe these references to Dr Richard Rouse, at whose suggestion we have looked at such early manuscripts of Vignay's translations as have been accessible, but none of those so far seen has resembled P1 in hand or format.

comparison has revealed that at some point between the beginning of *Peter of Milan* and the end of *John Before the Latin Gate* (Graesse chapters 63 and 69) the scribe turned from an (a) to a (c) text as his main exemplar. Although it is therefore a hybrid, it can largely be treated with the (c) group.

Gb may have been written in two stages. It appears as a normal (b), and has generally been described as late fourteenth-century. But since the *Festes nouvelles* were completed in 1401 or 1402, either Gb as a whole was later or they were added; and although the style throughout the manuscript is generally the same, there are differences from the beginning of the *Festes nouvelles*, such as the use of catchwords from this point.⁸

Several of the manuscripts have suffered minor losses of leaves. More serious deficiencies occur in Fc, with only about the first third surviving, P4, which breaks off about half way through, and P7, which begins shortly before this point, while Y was concluded at the end of *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Graesse chapter 119). W and what is left of P7 have lost a substantial number of scattered leaves.

The whereabouts of two other manuscripts which have been seen this century are unknown. Number 94 in the Quaritch *Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts* (London, 1931) has since passed through the hands of Pierre Berès of Paris, who sold it to a private collector some twenty years ago. It was written at Montpensier for Louis le Bâtard de Bourbon in 1480 by a scribe who signed himself Johannes. Two plates in the catalogue give parts of the text of *Thomas Apostle*, *Nativity* and *Thomas of Canterbury*, and it is clear from these passages that it was copied from Buyer's edition. The other was Lot 1470 in the Sotheby sale of 25 May 1921, the Brooke sale, and was bought by Ellis, probably bidding on behalf of a client. A plate in the catalogue gives the beginning of *Anthony*, showing that the text is to some extent a paraphrase. It appears from the illustration on the plate that the manuscript is of the fifteenth century, not the fourteenth as claimed by the catalogue.

Many of the manuscripts are of high quality, and some contain important illuminations. It is apparent from this and the identities of early owners that *Légende dorée* was regarded as a standard component of a royal or noble library.

To investigate the affiliations of these texts we have chosen four chapters from different parts of the work, three of them, *Nicholas (Nic)*, *George (Geo)*, *Bartholomew (Bart)*, being saints' lives with a high proportion of plain narrative. The fourth, *All Saints (AS)*, was chosen for variety and in the hope that a more complicated chapter would have provoked more scribal error; but as it turned out, the generally high standard of accuracy was maintained. As will appear, the

⁸ For the most recent statement see B. Gagnebin, *L'enluminure de Charlemagne à François I^e. Les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève* (Geneva, 1976), pp. 78-79.

affiliations vary markedly between the chapters, though the relationships of certain pairs and groups remain constant; there are cases of change of exemplar and correction from other French texts, but apart from the Buyer edition there are no signs of correction from the Latin except for the single case of P6 at *AS* 61.

X was so comprehensively revised that it is not practicable to record its variants in the apparatus. Instead, a selection of examples is given in the discussion of affiliations. The same applies to Bx, which derives from X, and to Mb, which has a substantial element of paraphrase. We begin by discussing these texts and others which have close and consistent relationships in all four chapters before going on to discuss the main stemma for each chapter separately.

In the following discussion the selection of evidence presented is confined as far as possible to distinctive lexical or semantic variation, and only sparing use is made of more easily reversible or repeatable variants such as omissions, transpositions and obvious additions. Our conclusions are often supported by a number of agreements in minor variants of types not recorded in our limited apparatus.

MANUSCRIPTS B2BbXBx

The Buyer edition, X, ends thus:

Cy finist la legende doree dicte la vie des saints en francois, veue et diligemment corrigee aupres du latin et segond le vray sens de la lectre, comme il pourra appareistre par ceulx qui diligemment mectront la peine a la lire et bien entendre, par notable et reuerend docteur maistre Iehan Batallier, docteur en la saincte theologie a Paris, religieux de lorde des prescheurs de la ville de Lyon sur le Rosne, et imprimée en la dicte ville de Lyon par Barthelemy Buyer citoyen du dit Lyon le dix et huitiesme iour dapuril mil quatre cens septante et six.

Batallier's corrections from the Latin were indeed diligent, as exemplified in the following. At *Nic* 9 Vignay replaced *Argolici* by *de Grece* and omitted a following sentence of explanation (see *Nic* 9); Batallier restores *Argolice* and inserts the missing sentence: 'Et Argos selon Isidoire est vne cite de Grece, dont les Argoliciens sont appelles Grecs'. In the same line, where *bonne oeuvre nettoie* is omitted by most of the manuscripts, he restores it but shows he is doing so from the Latin by giving *operacion* for *oeuvre*. At *Nic* 67-68 and 70, where Vignay has misunderstood the Latin and has the grain going to instead of from Alexandria, Batallier corrects it: *Car il est mesure en Alixandrie et il noz le conuient rendre es greniers de lempiere*. At *Bart* 259, after *raisonnables*, he attempts a translation of an awkward passage omitted by Vignay, *perite captureae, dulcis fructus vividae palmitis, offering et preneur des choses doulx fruit de viue sermente*; and at

AS 106 after *vous* he restores *Et dieu est esperit. Comment donc ne sont a honnorer les vis temples et tabernacles de dieu.* Apart from this work of correction, Battallier often substitutes different words, sometimes in conformity with the Latin, but very often simply according to his own preference: *Nic* 53 *dur* for *cruel*, 132 *prisonniers* for *enchartres*, *Geo* 29 *brebis* for *ouailles*, 50 *inviter* for *semondre*, 130 *decu* for *escharni*, *Bart* 87 *macule* for *ordure*, 93 *obey* for *oi*, *AS* 50 *lonneur* for *cultivement*, 56 *fragilité* for *enfermete*, 97 *meneurs* for *dus*, 102 (and elsewhere) *orgues* for *membre*.

Bx is a selection of forty-four chapters from *Légende dorée*, containing *Geo* and *Bart*, but not *Nic* or *AS*; in *Bart* it ends at 178. *Bx* agrees closely with *X*, including in all the examples in the preceding paragraph where it is extant. In a number of cases *Bx* has its own variant, such as *Geo* 50 *parens* for *princes*, 116 *ce preuost* for *il*, *Bart* 94 *rompu* for *despeciees*, 115 *honnourablement* for *loablement*. *X* has no significant variants not shared by *Bx*, so *Bx* must derive from *X*.

In *Nic* and *Geo*, but not the other two, *Bb* often shares variants with *X*, such as *Nic* 44 *deuucion*, 182 *trouua*, 214 *cuida*, *Geo* 40 *espargner*, 56 *beau*, 118 *aux deux costes*, 148 *voy*, 160 *rendit*, and they are joined by *B2* at *Nic* 49 *la grant dignete*, *Geo* 69 *fille*, 77 *glaiue*. In a few cases *Bb* has a variant not shared by *X*, as *Nic* 118 omit *et pleurerent amerement*, 233 *moy*, *Geo* 59 *croy* and *bon*, 127 omit *grans*. It is therefore possible that Battallier used *Bb* itself for these chapters and eliminated some variants by reference to his Latin text; if not, he must have used a text closely related to it.

In *AS* there are no patterns of variant suggesting close links between *X* and any other text. In *Bart* there are a few agreements with *AbMb* in the earlier part and with *R* in the later. The most convincing of these are 19 *estoit* *AbMbXBx*, 97 *deuant* *AbXBx* (also *F*), 152 *ordenoient* *AbMb*, *ordonnoient* *XBx*, 165 omit *que il cuidoit* *AbMbXBx*, 188 omit *terres des* *AbMbX*, 213 *seigneur RX*, 246-247 omit *et...tristre RX*. These examples are not by themselves conclusive, but are recorded here in case more or better evidence for these possible links later becomes available from other chapters. The example at 97, where *Mb* has the original reading, suggests involvement of a text more like *Ab* than *Mb*, but 141 *maistresse* for *mestre* and 153 *pouoit estre* for *estoit*, both *MbXBx*, suggest the opposite.

B2 and *Bb* are clearly closely related. Examples from *Nic* and *Geo* of *B2BbX* agreements are listed above. Cases of variants shared only by *B2Bb* are: *Nic* 6 *respleur*, *Bart* 4 *onoys*, 34 *oeuvre*, 155 *institue*, 263-264 *lieux, de gloire, celestiel*, *AS* 96 *ne*, 133 *publier* *B2*, *plublier* *Bb*, 195 *preis* (also *Db*), 250 *merites*. *Bb* has many variants not in *B2*, including *Bart* 128 *sarrazins* and omit *en celle ylle*, 172 *ses sens*, 188 *quantite*, and various cases cited above in discussing *Bb* and *X*. In a few places *B2* has a variant not shared by *Bb*, as at *Bart* 8 *la mort* for *l'amour*, 107 *veulx* for *pues*, 165 *repeat et proia le maistre* after *message*, *AS* 35 *demoura* for *remainant*, 293 *commanda* for *commença*. Three of these are easily remediable

slips, and *veulx/pues* and *demoura/remanit* were no doubt readily reversible in either direction. It seems at least possible, therefore, that Bb is a direct descendant of B2.

MANUSCRIPTS NB1P6

Variants linking N and B1 are numerous, e.g. *Nic* 99 *clers*, *Geo* 70 *aignel*, *Bart* 21 *tourmenter*. B1 sometimes has its own variants, as *Geo* 153 omit *souventes fois*, *Bart* 158 *en priere*, *AS* 93 *maniere*, 266 *pierre*, but N never does except in such trivial instances as at *AS* 60, where *faire* is omitted by N but replaced in B1 after *singulierement*. We have no doubt that B1 was copied from N, and further confirmation is given by cases such as *Bart* 162, where N *elle* looks like *ille* and is so written in B1.

P6 seems to have had at least two French exemplars as well as being possibly corrected from the Latin, the latter suggested by *AS* 61 *leglise*, Latin *ecclesia*, for incorrect *Ieroisme pape* of the other manuscripts; X shares this correction, but there are no reasons to think P6 and X are related. Sporadic agreements suggest a link between P6 and NB1, such as *Nic* 39 *euesques*, *Geo* 155 *Dacien*, *Bart* 79 *au col de*, *AS* 174 *en sa jounesce*. As an intelligent collator P6 has no doubt removed the variants which would most clearly reveal his affiliations, so one is left with these and other inconclusive cases; better ones are probably to be found elsewhere in *Légende dorée*.

MANUSCRIPTS AbMb

Mb has a very large number of individual variants, ranging from alterations of single words to paraphrasing of whole sentences, e.g. *Nic* 16 *son pere et sa mere* for *ses parens*, 48 *agnel* for *coulon*, 56 *en plourant tendrement* for *a lermes*, 188 *reueut les cops que le dist Iuif auoit donne a lymage* for *eu en soi touz les batements*.

A scribe so free with his exemplar was bound to introduce some variants agreeing with those in other texts; but apart from such random cases, it is clear that there was a more consistent relationship with Ab, as in the following selection: *Nic* 21 *doctrine*, *Geo* 5 *est*, 110 omit *vin*, 176 *sorent* (also Jb), *Bart* 6 omit *haut*, 19 *estoit* (also X), 48 *deslier* (also paraphrased in Mb), 54 *choses* (also W), 67 omit *l'art* (also Bb), 131 *gettes ses os* (transposed in Mb), 145 *cheoir*, 152 *ordenoient*, 155 *traitent*, 167 omit *en pechie*, 182 *ennoblesis* (*ennoblis* P6), 184 *ses saintes*, 188 omit *terres des* (also X), 188 *multitude*, 211 *malices* (also P3), *AS* 166 omit *engins*, 185 omit *et...sanc*, 193 *choses*. There are many others.

Mb does not share Ab's omissions at *Nic* 139, 140, *Geo* 101, *Bart* 166, nor its insertions like *Geo* 110 *mal* and *AS* 213 *choses*, but rectifying these would have

been easy, even if Mb was copying Ab. Other cases also look like corrections, though the result does not correspond so closely with the original: at *Nic* 90 Ab omits *prist...mer*, leaving no verb, and Mb re-writes the clause as *Ilz veurent vng grant feu dedens Icelle*; at *Bart* 169 for *quel lieu c'estoit contenant* Ab writes *quelle cestoit contene*, and Mb has *quelle chose estoit en* with *contene* later in the sentence; at *Bart* 227 Ab and Gb have *en tant* for *en entant*, but Mb simply puts *entant*; Ab omits *AS* 222 *ja sechiee* and 251 *virginite*, and Mb replaces them respectively by *morte* and *elles*.

Some minor instances throw doubt on the possible descent of Mb from Ab, such as at *Bart* 29, where Ab transposes the words *cognoistre* and *trouver* but Mb does not. If these are not chance, Mb may have been using an exemplar similar to Ab, or occasionally referring to another text. Miss Hilary Maddocks has pointed out to us that Ab appears in the 1467 inventory of Philippe le Bon, and that Mb was illuminated for Jean d'Auxy, a counsellor and chamberlain of Philippe.

MANUSCRIPTS CbEb

Cb and Eb share many variants, e.g. *Nic* 75 *peuple sacrefioit*, 197 *verite*, *Bart* 162 *ensemble*, *AS* 289 *lesquels...honnourables*. Eb alone has *Nic* 78 *sacrefie*, 165 *creux*, *Geo* 32 *nourrir*, *Bart* 264 *gloire*, *AS* 304 *diligenment*, and many others. At *Bart* 179 Cb omits *de cesti* and Eb has *du benoit*, doubtless to replace the omission. Cb has no separate variants, and it seems certain that Eb was directly copied from it.

MANUSCRIPTS SZ

S and Z are closely related, sharing the following and many other readings: *Nic* 132 *menacerent*, *Geo* 97 *et dont tu es*, 135 *confusion*, *Bart* 227 *nocant*, *AS* 177 *desir*. Z is not descended from the older S, which has independent variants, as at *Nic* 77 *region* (shared with others but not Z), *Bart* 214 *lumiere*, 224 *ieu*, *AS* 109 *est vanis*, 210 *rauuaux*, and omissions of *AS* 26 *veue estre*, 78-79 *ensuir...iceulx*. Z has many independent variants, such as *Bart* 30 *tres espes*, *AS* 260 *cessament*. S and Z therefore have a common ancestor.

THE (c) TEXTS

The (c) version contains most of the contents of the (b) version in a substantially re-arranged order, with a number of additional items, and with some of the original ones replaced by a different version. Of the manuscripts, Sc is nearly complete, Fc

has lost about the last two-thirds, ending some seventeen chapters after *Geo*, and Nc did not become a (c) text till about five chapters after *Geo*. In (c) *Nic*, *Bart* and *AS* are the usual Vignay texts, but the *Geo* is a different version.

These manuscripts and Ac have a large number of variants in common, and differ among themselves rather seldom. Nc has the most individual readings, such as *Bart* 92 *ardant* for *iettant* AcSc (*metant* P1), 94 *deliureray*, 135 *temple*, *AS* 18 *greigneur*.

Fc has the following variants in *Nic*: 94 *autres* for *aucunes*, and omissions of 17 *apres*, 65 *au port*, 173 *du tout*. These are sufficient to show that Fc cannot be the source of Ac or Sc. Evidence from the freer (c) version of *Geo* is less easy to interpret, but it seems to confirm the above conclusion: Fc at 68 omits *mesla avec vin et le*, at 118 adds *et gouuerneur*, and at 113 reads *fait Saint George decoler* for *este decolle* AcSc. At 101 *pendre* Sc (which is correct), *prendre* Ac, *prendre et pendre* Fc, does not help, since either verb makes sense in the context.

Sc has rather more variants, among which are *Nic* 77 *aurient*, 96 *saint nicolas*, 123 *deliurez*, 155 omit *gens*, which show that it was not the source of Ac or Fc. Similarly *Bart* 138 *tes oz*, 229 *dentendement*, *AS* 73 *grace*, 207 *tournament* for *forment* AcNc (*ferment* P1), and omissions at 103 and 289-291, rule it out as the source of Ac or Nc. The readings at *Nic* 111, where Ac and Fc have *erreur* for correct ScNc *erre*, are unfortunately inconclusive, since Sc and Nc could have been corrected through scribal recognition of the idiom.

Ac has no independent variants of significance except *Geo* (c) 76 *panelle* for *parelle* and *AS* 142 transposition of *martyrs* and *confesseurs*. The former might well have been changed by two scribes independently, but that both should have reversed the transposition seems rather improbable. On the normal interpretation of these facts there is a case for thinking that the printed edition Ac was the source of the other three (c) texts; but it is also possible that all four descend separately from an original and now missing (c) compilation.

However, the palaeographers we have consulted have consistently dated Nc earlier than Ac, probably about the middle of the century, and since its composition and divergence from its own contents lists make it clear that the latter part of it was copied from a different exemplar, which must surely have been a (c), this would place the original compilation of (c) at least a dozen years before the probable date of Ac.

The question of the relationships of the (c) texts has an additional interest because Caxton used one as the main source for his *Golden Legend*, first printed in 1483, and Pierce Butler accordingly gave it some attention.⁹ He thought that 'the MS. [Sc] manifestly antedates the book [Ac]' (Butler, *Legenda aurea*, p. 41), and

⁹ Butler, *Legenda aurea*, pp. 41, 44-45, 93-94.

referred to Sc as ‘the MS. on which this printed book is undoubtedly based’ (Butler, *Legenda aurea*, p. 44), though later on the same page he more cautiously wrote: ‘This MS., or one very closely resembling it, appears to be the original from which [Ac] was printed.’ The textual support offered for his opinion about the relationship is that the ‘MS. does seem to agree, even in spelling, with the printed copy, though some of its errors are not in the MS.’ (Butler, *Legenda aurea*, p. 45). The only example given is that ‘in the Seven Sleepers the printed [Ac] (fol. 199) has left a blank space for a date, which someone has wrongly inserted, and the manuscript (fol. 234) has no error or omission here.’ Butler further refers to this on p. 93. In fact, the Cambridge University Library copy of Ac, shelfmark Inc.I.D.40(2755), at this point reads ‘plus de soixante et dix et sept ans’ with no gap, but in the British Library copy used by Butler (IC 50152), ‘soixante’ has been erased and a largely illegible attempt at correction inserted. The number should have ‘trois cents’ before ‘soixante’, as it correctly has in Sc. However, anyone reading this story with attention would notice the omission and be able to correct it, so it cannot be regarded as sufficient evidence that Ac was copied from Sc or that Sc was not copied from Ac.

THE (c) TEXTS AND CAXTON

The question which, if any, of the (c) texts Caxton used for the *Golden Legend* is made difficult because, as he tells us in his Prologue, ‘I had by me a Legende in Frensshe, another in Latyn, and the thyrd in Englyssh, which varied in many and dyuers places.’ The English one was a somewhat enlarged version of the *Gilté Legende*, which in turn was a close translation of an (a) text of *Légende dorée* omitting the introductory etymologies.¹⁰ Thus, at any point where Caxton’s (c) text had an error or alteration he could correct it from one of his other ‘legendes’, and there is in fact no instance in *Nic*, *Bart* or *AS* where the *Golden Legend* agrees with an individual reading in one of the (c) texts.

The main part of *Geo* is more helpful, since the (c) version differs considerably from all the others and Caxton is therefore less likely to have been influenced by the English or Latin. He does not follow the variant of Sc at 31 or of Fc at 68 or 113, nor does he share with either manuscript any of the more trivial variants, but

¹⁰ See Sr. M. Jeremy, ‘The English Prose Translation of the *Legenda aurea*’, *Modern Language Notes* 59 (1944) 181-83, and ‘Caxton and the Synfulle Wretche’, *Traditio* 4 (1946) 423-28, A. Kurvinen, ‘Caxton’s “Golden Legend” and the Manuscripts of the “Gilté Legende”’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 60 (1959) 353-75, M. Görlich, *The South English Legendary, Gilté Legende and Golden Legend* (Braunschweiger Anglistische Arbeiten 3; Brunswick, 1972), R. Hamer, *Three Lives from the Gilté Legende Ed. from MS B.L. Egerton 876* (Middle English Texts 9; Heidelberg, 1978).

in all such cases agrees with Ac. It seems probable therefore that Caxton's source was the printed book; it cannot have been either of the manuscripts. It should be noticed that even in *Geo* Caxton had an eye on the Latin, since after 68 *vin* he translates *deorum suorum nominibus invocatis* as 'and made Inuocacion of the names of his false goddes' where *Légende dorée* reads *et appela ses diex*, and the (c) texts omit it.

Sister Mary Jeremy comes to a different conclusion:

Caxton probably used a manuscript of the revised Vignai version rather than one of the printed books. The reviser [i.e. the (c) compiler], as has been said, added many details not found in the Latin of Varagine or in the pre-Caxton English translation. In several places, notably in the life of Saint John the Evangelist, the printed book omits, probably by accident, portions of these interpolations. When they are found given in full by Caxton, it seems safe to conclude that his French source was a manuscript which contained them.¹¹

The only example given is the passage from 'And thenne after this' to 'Saynt John wrote his gospellis' (Caxton, fols. 101vb-102va); but this is in fact present not only in the *Légende dorée* texts apart from (c), but also in the Latin and English, from either of which Caxton could have taken it. There is thus no evidence so far available that Caxton did not use Ac as his source. It is, of course, still possible that he used another, now lost, manuscript copy of the (c) version.

AFFILIATIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SEPARATE CHAPTERS

From now on no reference will be made to the texts already adequately discussed, that is to say B1, Bb, Eb, Mb, X and Bx; and Ac, Fc and Sc will be grouped as (c).

SAINT NICHOLAS

Nic is not in P7, P4 omits the etymology, and W is missing from 55 *peris-* to 174 *Nicholas*. P1 and Y have several readings which agree with *Legenda aurea* where all others have the same variant or omission, e.g. 21 *memoire*, 34 *arreste toi*, 75 *devant ces (toutes Y) autres*, 142 *jours*. But they also have isolative variants: P1 has 77 *tyrans* for *ruraulx* Y, *rustici* in *Legenda aurea*, omitted by all others, 129 addition of *peri et*, 137 addition of *prieres et les*, 234 omission of *avec le henap*;

¹¹ Jeremy, 'Caxton's Golden Legend', 100.

Y has 54 *contenu*, 79 *fist*, 93 *celli ennemy*, 230 *feste que on faisoit*. Thus, all manuscripts except P1 and Y, which are independent of each other, descend from a common archetype.

Among the remainder, one large group B2P2P4P6SZDbFbHb(c)MQCb is distinguished by some twenty shared variants, the best of which are 115 *lempere oy ce* and 176 *les vertueuses miracles de Saint Nicholas*. The only possibly significant failures of agreement among the variants shared by this group are Db 65 *venues*, Hb 185 *refroiderai*, and Cb 91 *en la mer* and 211 *il*, any of which could have been a fortuitous correction. F, N and Nc join this group in 182-183 *ie vous auoie mis*, which might well have happened independently; but the more striking agreements with F and Nc in 185 *refraindrai* and with F alone in 233 *venta* may mean that these two derive from an exemplar preceding that of the rest of the group, though chance or contamination are not impossible.

Within this group, most manuscripts have several individual variants which show clearly that they are not the exemplars of others; to give one example for each: B2 237 *forment*, P2 169 *nestoit pas sy malicieux*, P4 34 *actiuement*, P6 36 *reuelast*, SZ 132 *menacerent*, Db 200 *cheualiers*, M 197 *doctrine*, Q 229 *car...prise*, Cb 75 *peuple sacrefioit*. The possible cases for Fb and Hb are inconclusive: Fb 115 omit *oy ce* and 138 omit *d'iceulx*; Hb 51 *tou*, 94 *lempire*, 102 *combatit*, 136 omit *non*, 201 omit *tantost*, 216 *emplorant*. The only clear link within the group is between Q and Cb, as at 27 *lostel*, 30 *aussi/ainsi comme deuant*, 31 *secouru* and 216 *voiage*. No other agreements are at all conclusive.

Many independent readings show that F and Nc are ancestors neither of each other nor of the rest of the above group, e.g. F 89 *ce soit* and 107 *aucteur*, Nc 79 *mauuaise ennemy*.

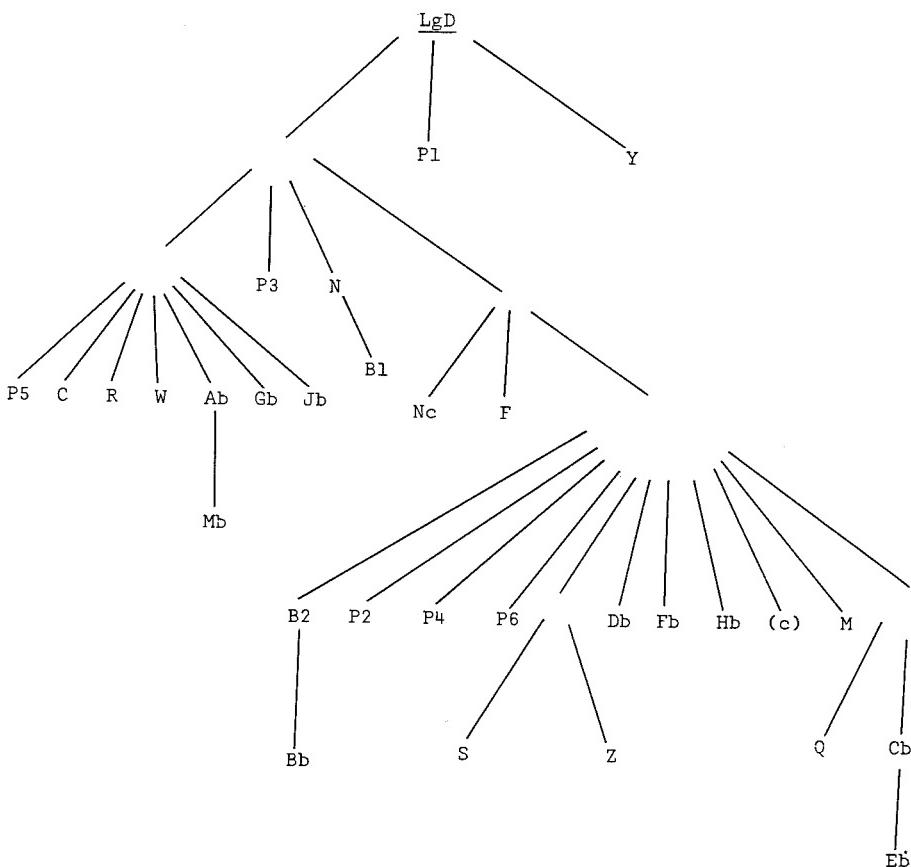
Another group P5CRWAbGbJb is indicated by 21 omission of *escripture* (Ab replacing it by *doctrine*) and 139 omission of *il leur dist* (W not running); and among these are possible signs of smaller groupings at 226 P5WAbGb omit *an* and at 238 P5RWAbGbJb omit *este*. Hints of a link RAbGb are given by 96 *quil* and 239 omission of *avoir*, but these and the agreement of WC in omitting 227-228 *leur roy* are probably without significance.

This group has good separate variants for C, W and P5, e.g. C 167 *baillie*, W 190 *je suis*, P5 82 *en voiage*; less conclusive are the available examples for Ab with omissions at 90 and 121, Gb at 41 omit *en* and *et* and 122 omit *tort*, Jb at 79 *manda* and 223 omit *fu* and *et*, and R at 187 *deportoient* and 235 *furent*.

The last two manuscripts extant in *Nic* are P3 and N, which belong to neither of the groups and have individual variants showing that they can have been the source of neither group nor of each other, e.g. N with a substantial change at 24-26, P3 with an omission at 29-31 and at 175 *receuste crestiente*.

There is a smattering in all four chapters of variants shared by manuscripts not otherwise apparently linked. These are of four broad types: obvious lexical

substitutions, as 19 *baing* YB2P6 for *bacin*, 200 *guise* YN for *habit*; minor tidying and clarification, 19 add *vne fois* P4P6Db, 219 add *que deuant* Nc(c); easily explained misreadings, 20 *chantoit* P4S for *hantoit*, 87 *bas* P2SZ for *las*, 155 *cessa* P5JbNc for *lessa*; and substitutions of contextually expected alternatives, as 140 *merites* NNc for *prieres*, 145 *graces (et)* YP6DbBbNc for *grans*. Although a few of these may turn out to be part of a pattern indicating some connection, they are by themselves of little or no significance.



SAINT GEORGE

Geo is not in P7, P4 omits the etymology, and W is missing until 57 *avec moi*. P1 has no correct readings alone or shared with Y where all the rest are wrong, and Y has unique agreement with *Legenda aurea* only in minor instances: 20 *il est dit* for *il dit*, *legitur*, 42 *en disant* for *et dist*, *dicens*, 43 *tourna* for *retorna*, *convertit*.

That neither is a direct ancestor of any other manuscript is shown by a number of minor variants in P1, some shared by a random scattering of others, as at 102, 115, 162, and by 27 *a la rive* for *armé*; and by omissions in Y at 49-50 and 83.

In some cases a large group is found consisting of P5FABGbB2P2 P4P6SZHbJbNc, the best examples being the addition at 51 of *de royaux vestemens*, replacement of the missing subject at 104 by *saint pierre*, and 85 *seruice* for *office*. At 123 *nos* correctly represents *Legenda aurea nostri* where the manuscripts outside this group all have *mes*, which suggests, if it does not prove, that the archetype of the group derived from a correct original. The evidence for sub-groups is slight and unconvincing, such as 135 *confusion* P6SZ, and 68-69 correct *a la pucelle* P6Hb, *a la fille* B2, *li/lui* in the others, and the surprising division at 8 between correct *purte* in FGbB2P2 against *pour ce* in the rest.

That the members of the group are not each others' exemplars is in most cases clear; omissions include F 67, Gb 98, B2 20, P2 8, P4 28, P6 67-68, SZ 54, Hb 164, Jb 157; and Nc has many variants, including 66 *bon cheualier*. Less certain are Ab with minor omissions at 61 and 185, and P5 with an omission at 155 shared with P6 and with Db outside the group and at 135 *des* for *et les*. A few other similarities within the group are probably fortuitous, as 123 HbJb, 16 Jb(c), 176 AbJb, and omissions at 74 P5B2P2P4 and 72 AbHbJbNc, the latter shared with YFb.

A common source for YFbCb seems likely from 166 *cuppe*, 104 *lange Cb*, *lange de nostre seigneur* YFb, and a number of lesser agreements at 55, 73, 79, 92, 134-135, 139 and 161. At 101 they agree with the P5 group in reading *bouts* for *bras*, but since these explanatory words are not in the Latin either could be correct, and in the context they are easily interchangeable. That none of these three is the source of any other is shown by various readings, including omissions in Cb at 21, Fb at 71, and Y at 49-50.

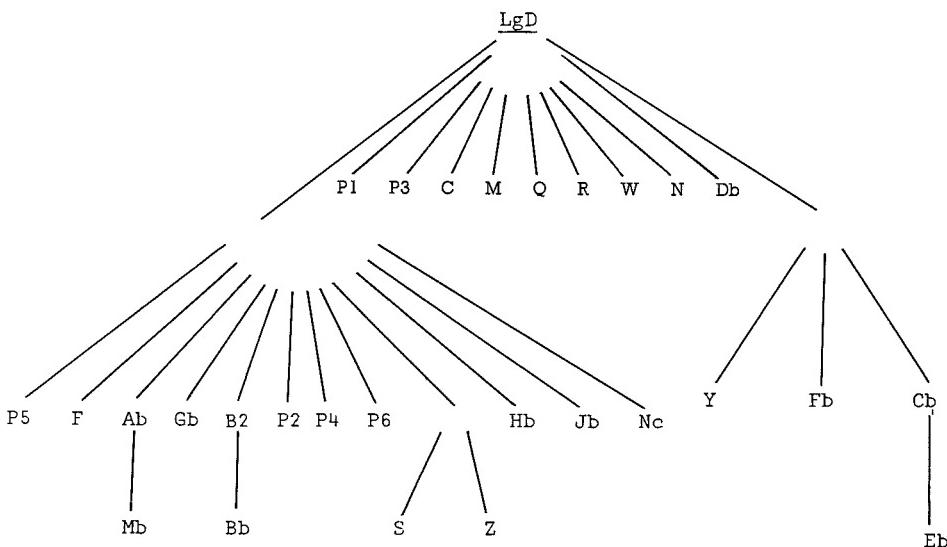
There are no clear signs of grouping among the remaining manuscripts, P3CMQRWNDb. Their only common error, 123 *mes* for *nos*, is shared with P1 and the Y group. Occasional agreements of some of them with variants in other manuscripts are of the type that could easily happen independently, such as 147 *toy* shared by P3 and the P5 group, and the omission shared by N at 148.

Three passages which gave difficulty to some scribes should be recorded, though in the end they shed little light on textual relationships. At 35 *gastez*, translating *consumti*, appears as *getez* in P3M and the Y group, with P1 giving both verbs, and Q and R using spellings which suggest they are puzzled. It seems possible that an oddly written or spelt *gastez* in an early text is the explanation of these variations, P1 perhaps reflecting one in which an attempt at correction had been inserted. At 104, where the P5 and Y groups made different incorrect attempts to supply the missing subject *dominus*, QRW leave it alone, P3Db replace *nostre seigneur* before the verb and CMN put it after, while P1 gives *dieu* after. Finally,

the situation at 110-113, complicated as it is by the similarity of the words *vin* and *venim* and the repetition of the action, has not responded to analysis, though the agreement of CMRQ with much of the P5 group at 111 and failure of B2 to omit *a boire* at 111 are of interest.

That none of this batch was the exemplar of any other can mostly be shown by omissions: P3 75, C 116, Q 44, W 105-106, N 107-109, Db 133-134. R is short on individual readings, offering only 94 *un lieu* for *milieu*; and M has only the variants at 72 and 114. There are few signs of links between these manuscripts, but we should record shared omissions for P3W at 113 and for QR at 36, at 182 *ne soient* Q *nessoient* R, for *n'osoient*, addition of 160 *de martyre* MD_b, addition of 102 *de fer* P1M, and the shared omission of 11 *a dire* by all of them except Db (W not running).

Thus, on the evidence from *Geo*, our stemma consists merely of two groups, with the rest of the manuscripts apparently descending independently of each other from the original text.



SAINT BARTHOLOMEW

Bart is not in Y, P4 or Fc, and parts of it are absent from MNB1P6P7. P1 has no correct readings which set it apart from all the others, though it has a number of individual errors, such as omissions at 67 and 104.

A large group consisting of CFB2P2P6SZDbFbHbJb is attested by a number of readings, most persuasively 79 *lians* for *l'entree* and 96 *ot ce dit* for *fu deslie*. CF do not share the significant omission at 152, the addition at 132, or the change at 136; and F lacks the group's variants at 44, 49, 146 and 161. If these correct forms in C and F are not the result of sporadic correction, for which they seem too capriciously selected, they suggest that these two descend from exemplars anterior to the archetype of the rest of the group.

This group is joined by Ab in 99 *ydolles*, 106 *croire*, and addition of 146 *deulz* and 161 *auec li*, but any of these could have been introduced independently; and agreements with Nc(c) in minor cases including 99 *ydolles* and 132 *va* and with P3 at 40 *dites* are probably insignificant. The group, but not P6, also shares several variants with MQRNNc(c): 191 omit *tres*, 199 *laide*, 202-203 the transposition, and without R 255 *recoit* (NB1P6 are not running for the last two), and these receive some support from the variations of number at 222 and 237. From this it seems possible that the CFB2 group and these manuscripts belong to a larger branch.

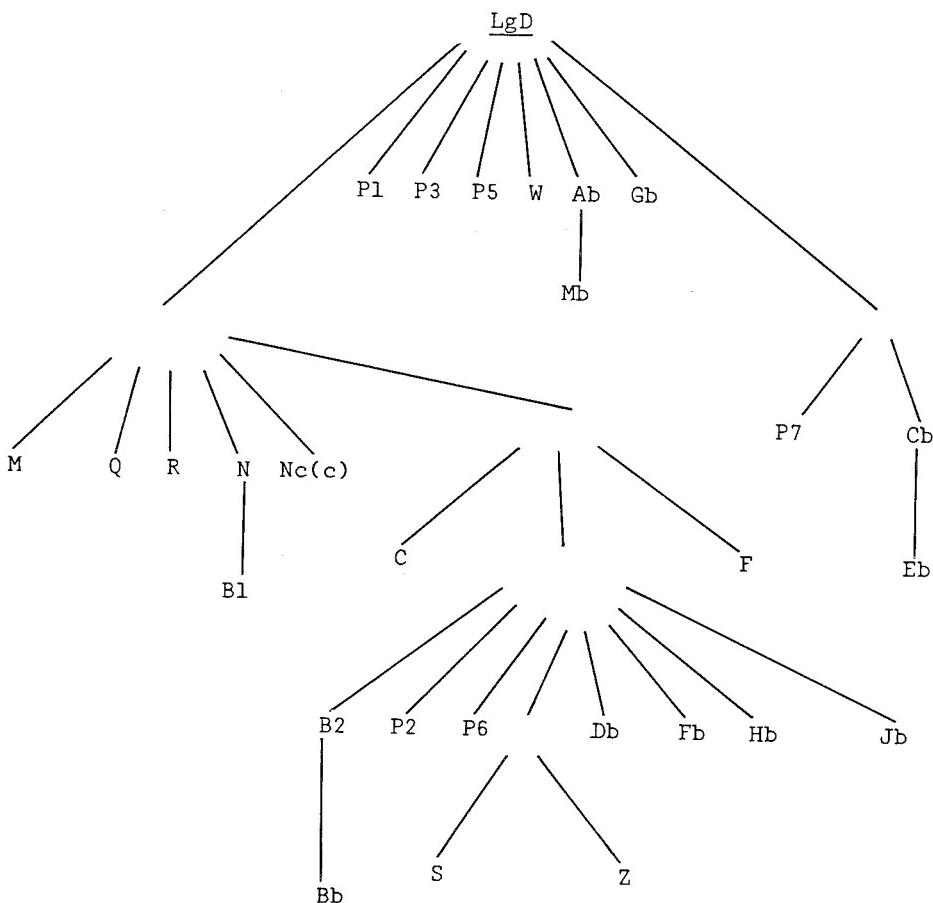
Certain failures to share variants within this group may be significant. Most notably, B2 retains 264 *sans flestrir*, omitted by P2SZDbFbHbJb; and at 246-247 B2 and Db lack the variants of the group, as do Jb at 136 and P6 at 138, 191 and 199. The only promising signs of shared variants which might imply a sub-group are 227 *cerchant* in B2P2Hb and 37 *encore* in FbJb.

It is clear that P7 and Cb have a common source, as shown by 54 *deux*, 169 *que*, 200 *gloire*, but 169 *contenant* P7 and 34 *sa chaceure* Cb mean that neither depends upon the other.

Apart from the P7Cb link there is nothing to connect any manuscripts other than those discussed above, though the agreements of WAb in 54 *choses*, AbGb in 227 *tant*, and P5QR in 182 *enuoie* should be noted. Thus, there is no evidence in *Bart* to show that any of the manuscripts P1P3P5WAbGb and the common source of P7Cb did not descend independently from the original. In so deciding, we ignore the variant *mer* for *moy* at 3 which P1W share with the CF group, since the lack of any obvious meaning for this part of the etymology, the presence of *yauves* a few words before, and the similarity of appearance of the two words make an independent repetition of the mistake all too likely.

That the manuscripts here discussed were not each other's exemplars can be shown in most cases by omissions, including the following: P3 45, P5 208, C 5, F 115-116, M 62, Q 202, R 9-10, W 199, Ab 6 and 42, Gb 85, N 103, P7 169, Cb 42, P2 166-167, P6 74, Z 81, Db 8, Fb 234, Hb 115. For the remainder, isolative variants can be found for B2 in 34 *oeuvre* and S in 214 *lumiere*, but the best available for Jb are 43 *maident* for *m'ardent* and 45 addition of *frenatique*.

From this evidence the following stemma can be drawn for *Bart*.



ALL SAINTS

AS is not in Y, P4 or Fc, its beginning is missing from P7, and two short passages are lost from Fb. *AS* has no cases where P1 is correct and all others wrong, but P1 has independent errors, such as 147 *acroisseurs*, 247 *atornement*, and omissions at 222-223, 277-278 and 289-291.

There is evidence for three groups in *AS*. The first, hereafter called W-group, consists of WAbGbP7CbNc(c), and is seen in the addition of 140 *suiuons* and in 276 *tous*; it is joined by M in the addition of 126 *en lui* (*en moi* in P7Cb), 197 *tous*, and 269 *tousiours*, and variants 167 *acteurs*, 178 *daucun qui a*, and 260 *greigneur*, and by FM in 40 *kalende*, 138 *appaisiee*, and addition of 301 *autres* (which is also added by P2). At 251, P7 has correct *comparaison* for W-group *composicion*, but this would have been an easy error to reverse or correct.

The second, P2-group, P2SZFbHbJb, is found in 13-14 *soustenoient*, 89 *vng* or *vn* for *septiesme*, a long omission at 92-94, and some seven other agreements. It is joined by FM in 173 *sagesse*, a substantial omission at 252-253, and the addition at 171 of *fermement et non moutepliablement*. Here (see AS 170-171) the relationship of these adverbs has become confused, and it seems that an incorrect attempt in a precursor of the group to explain in a note what has gone wrong has been treated as a correction and itself inserted; it is not in P2 or Fb, who doubtless saw that it made nonsense.

The third, RN-group, RNB2P6Db, appears in 188 *terme*, 212 *marteleis*, 247 *suer* (also in Nc(c)), and a number of less striking examples. R does not share the omission of 296 *poil de*.

P2-group and RN-group share variants at 4 *espier* (though P6 and Fb have different variants and Z restores correct *souplier*), 76 *ne*, 102 *de vie*, and 120 *donner* (but not in ZDbJb), and less distinctive cases at 9, 45, 58, 63, 70. These seem sufficient to indicate common ancestry for the two groups.

W-group and P2-group share the omission of 228 *ne*, but since the logic of the sentence has been obscured by the translation of Latin *etiam si* as *et* it would not be surprising if separate and similar attempts were made to rectify it in this way. These two groups also share 299 *monde* for *iour*, but in the context it would have been easy for the RN-group archetype to correct it. There is thus not enough evidence to establish between these groups a link which would exclude the RN-group from common ancestry with them.

W-group and RN-group share a long omission at 256-257, 270 *est* for *fu*, and 273 *empetrent* for *empetrons*. The first two are variants of types that could happen twice independently, but for the third, though possible with a third person *prient* just before it, this is not very likely. A possible explanation is that the common source of all three groups had *empetrent*, and the archetype of the P2-group made the correction. Thus, despite the grounds for suspecting a link between these groups, there is no entirely convincing piece of evidence. At 241, W-group, RN-group and FM have correct *touzjours* while P2-group and the remaining manuscripts have *toute*; but again it is not impossible that the correction was made twice independently from the context.

All three groups share variants at 9 *ydoles* for *yimages* (but not R or Cb, which may have reversed this common variation), an omission at 42, and, more convincingly, 57 *pourroit a ce souffire*, and these are supported by several minor changes such as 156 omission of *tres*, 163 use of singular, 70 *iiij*, and substitution and then omission of *grant* at 290 and 291. Though these examples are individually of slight value, taken together they suggest that the three groups descend from a common archetype. The situation at 111 is compatible with this view; probably the archetype, having omitted *dechiet*, belatedly inserted it after *decoit*, as

in W-group and RN-group, and the archetype of P2-group then omitted the belated correction.

The most reasonable conclusion from the above evidence, with all its uncertainties, is that the three groups have a common archetype from which were copied the ancestor of W-group and the common archetype of the other two groups. FM, with their irregular agreements with each other and occasional agreements with W-group and P2-group, seem best explained as the result of somewhat unmotivated correction from more than one exemplar.

The following are the most promising links within the groups. In W-group, P7 and Cb have a few agreements, as 122 *fermement*, and they also have separate errors, as 174 *veu de chaste* P7, 114 *terre* Cb; the evidence supports that of *Bart*, that these two have a common ancestor. At 193 Ab *choses* and Gb *choses forces*, the intended meaning of both of which is unclear, are similar; at 101 MWGbCb add *iii*; at 156 Cb *irrogatiue* resembles (c) *irrogatiuete*; and at 15 *seigneurie* is found in FMWCb(c), and also in P6 from the RN-group.

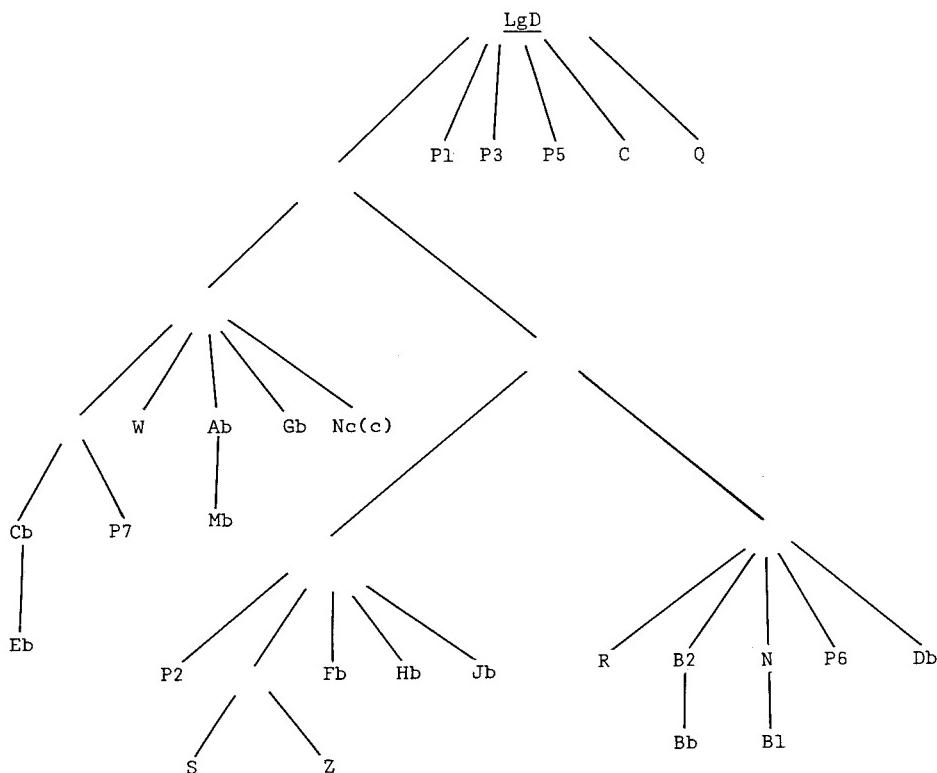
In P2-group, SZFb repeat at 132 a clause picked up from 131, but their agreement in 223 *confession* is minor; at 47 SFbJb share *vins*; P2SZ agree in 42 *temple* and 222 *en tout*; and at 35 P2HbJb read *demoura*, as does B2 outside the group.

In RN-group, B2 and Db share 195 *preis*, and at 54 NP6 have *solempnite*, Db *solempnite & feste*, for correct *feste*.

The remaining manuscripts, P1P3P5CQ and often FM, apart from sundry individual variants, generally share the correct readings, though as in some of the cases discussed above they may repeat errors of the translator. Agreements of some of them with variants of the groups are of uncertain significance, as with that of Q in 290 *grant*, P5CFMQ in omitting 291 *grant*, and P5 in the omission at 42. The most promising agreements are FMQ at 106 *Dont Crisothome dist* and FM 11 *lydole*, but apart from these there is no evidence in this chapter that all these manuscripts did not descend independently from the original.

Evidence that no manuscript was the source of any other among those discussed here can be found in omissions by most of them: P3 at 274-275, P5 19-20, F 239, M 294, Q 21, R 178-179, W 56-57, Ab 185, Gb 15, N 100-101, Cb 186-187, B2 232-233, P2 135, P6 43, S 26, Z 17-18, Db 182, Fb 284, Jb 49. C has a minor omission at 292, and Hb omits 206 *saint*, shares omission of 304 *par moult* with F, and has the variant *sauveur* at 239. P7 has the independent variant at 174 referred to above.

From this the following stemma can be drawn for AS, excluding F and M.



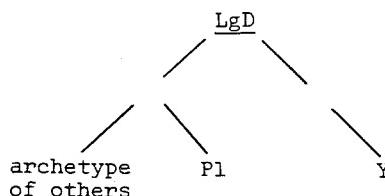
CONCLUSIONS

Stemmata quid faciunt? As the foregoing discussion shows, no two of the chapters studied have the same stemma, indeed there is considerable difference between them, and no doubt analysis of further chapters will produce even more versions. By selecting four chapters from scattered parts of the work we hoped to reveal any persisting patterns, but apart from the various close relationships discussed in the earlier part of this Introduction, the result has been disappointing. Yet some information has emerged which may be built upon by anyone who studies other sections of *Légende dorée*, and our findings have vividly illustrated the complexities involved in the dissemination of lengthy prose texts in the later Middle Ages.

P1, the earliest surviving manuscript, despite some errors and omissions, has a good standard of accuracy, and we have no doubt that it is the right text to use as the base for an edition. In Nic, shared errors show that all manuscripts except P1 and Y have a common archetype, but P1 and Y have no shared variants to

suggest they are not independently descended from the original. There are no instances in the other chapters where P1 is correct and the remainder share a variant, so that if, as seems probable, the situation was the same as for *Nic*, the common archetype must have been very accurate. In a number of cases in each chapter, P1 shares correct readings with certain others, generally P3P5CMQ, but since each of these is also found in some instances in alliance with other groups, they cannot be regarded as forming any group with P1.

Y, probably early fifteenth-century Parisian, does not contain *Bart* or *AS*. In *Geo* it has three readings which correspond more closely with the Latin than any of the others, and while it is not impossible that they are chance restorations of the original, it seems unlikely. It is also unlikely that they are deliberate corrections, since a scribe prepared to make such minor adjustments would surely have corrected some of Vignay's more obvious errors. The implication of this is that P1 may be linked with all the remainder against Y. The possible link between Y, Cb and Fb in *Geo* may throw some doubt on this, since the Latin-like Y readings would have to be in the common exemplar of the group, and it would be surprising if Cb and Fb had independently made the same changes as the rest. The evidence available does not rule out contamination in Y, but on balance it seems more probable that Cb (whose position in the stemma is mobile) and Fb consulted Y, or more probably its exemplar, while primarily copying from another text. The variants in *Nic* shared by Y and miscellaneous others are all of the sort that could have happened more than once, and show no consistency which might demonstrate contamination; but agreements with Cb at 140 and 233 may be noted here. From this somewhat slight evidence the following seems a possible stemma for the earlier history of the *Légende dorée*.



The only substantial group which is found together in all four chapters consists of P2SZHbB2P6, and these are joined by P4 in the two chapters in which it is extant, by Db and Fb except in *Geo*, by Jb except in *Nic*, and by certain others in separate chapters. The common ancestor of this group must pre-date 1375 since in *Nic* it contains Q of that date (and in *AS* R, dated 1382). Evidence for *AS* suggests a division of this group P2SZFbHbJb/B2P6Db, with a different common exemplar for each sub-group. However, B2P6Db, which are here joined by N and R, are not supported by any links in the other chapters, and P6 also has agreements

with N in all chapters, which suggest consistent collation with an exemplar of this type; and the retention by B2 of *sans flestrir* at *Bart* 264 must indicate access to another exemplar for correction.

The above group, P2SZ-group, with its differing additions, is joined in some variants in *Nic* by Nc and F or by F alone, and in *Bart* by C and F or by C alone, while in *AS* F and M sometimes join the P2-group, but F and M together or M alone sometimes join another group (W-group). This seems to establish that at least in *AS* F and M are collating two exemplars, and this could also explain the position of F in *Nic* and *Bart* (no distinction of exemplar is visible in *Geo*), while M, which seems from *AS* to have been closely related to F, may have been concentrating on its P2-like exemplar for *Nic* but the other for *Geo* and *Bart*.

The evidence for a group consisting of WAbGbP7CbNc(c) in *AS* is sufficient, and this group, which shares some errors of P2-group but not all, must therefore derive from a source preceding that of P2-group, as shown on the *AS* stemma above. A similar general pattern for this part of the stemma can be seen for *Nic*, and here the relevant group consists of P5CRWAbGbJb. In truth, the evidence for this group is slight, consisting mostly of two omissions either of which could have been restored by the common exemplar of the P2SZ-group by consultation or by guesswork; indeed Ab tries to restore the first, though he happens to choose *doctrine* instead of *escripture*; and the recovery of *il leur dist* at 139 is so obvious that one is surprised that others of these manuscripts did not put it in. In the case of *Geo* the general pattern of the stemma does not suggest an earlier group; this could be because the archetype of the P2SZ-group was in this chapter particularly accurate, causing the two groups to appear to merge. In that case the possible members of our W-group here are P5AbGbJb. In *Bart* the evidence for a similar pattern of stemma to that suggested for *AS* and *Nic* is uncertain and produces MQRN(c), which scarcely overlap with the possible group under discussion. If, therefore, the common exemplar of the *AS* W-group was here being copied by some of them, it must have been too accurate to leave any traces. Thus the continuing existence of this group is not satisfactorily established.

Although a number of shared variants suggest pairing or sub-groups within these groups, as reported in the separate discussions of the chapters, there are few signs of consistent relationships. In the two chapters for which it is available, P7 certainly shares an ancestor with Cb; and Ab and Gb are very probably copies of the same exemplar. All these four seem to be Parisian manuscripts of the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The group MQRN(c) suggested by certain variants in *Bart* may result from derivation from the same exemplar; but since for reasons already given M seems to have indulged in *consultatio* and the others vary their positions in the stemma in different chapters, more evidence would be needed before confidence could be felt in such a connection.

Some manuscripts are linked to a group in one or more chapters but elsewhere give no sign that they are not independently descended from the original (or the common archetype of all except P1 and Y). These are P3, P5 and the uncertain *Bart* group MQRN(c) discussed in the last paragraph. Db and W are in this category for *Geo*. Of these, P3 and P5, although both have some fairly substantial errors, involve themselves least with the archetypes of the groups and seem to have the most consistent access to a good textual tradition despite their relatively late date.

Thus, although some consistent relationships have been found, the amount of variation has been surprising. The explanation must lie in the manner of operation of the *libraires* responsible for meeting the considerable demand for this translation. It may be that a *libraire* in such a case would have one or more working copies divided into chapters or sections, as in the *pecia* system. If some of these acquired marginal or interlinear corrections, and if scribes did not always receive parts of the same working copy, many of the inconsistencies would be accounted for.

THE (b) AND (c) TEXTS

It is interesting that the (b) texts, those containing the supplementary set of *Festes nouvelles*, are mostly not closely related. It seems likely that these *Festes* were available to one or more *libraires* and could be included in copies of *Légende dorée* if the commissioning patron so desired. As far as one can judge, the (b) manuscripts were conceived and executed as such, with the possible exception of Gb, to which they may have been added later. Variations in the contents already suggest new relationships. Of those that have all forty-six *Festes*, Gb has one order, Ab a second, and FbHbJb share a third; CbDb follow the order of Ab but omit the last four chapters, and Bb omits two different chapters and has slight variations of order. Mb and Eb correspond to Ab and Cb respectively. The (c) texts share various omissions of their own.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The following facts and strong probabilities emerge from the foregoing discussion. They may, of course, not be true of all other parts of *Légende dorée*, and further information from the study of other chapters may lead to the modification of some of them.¹²

¹² Manning, 'The Vignay Version of Saint Dominic', recorded the closeness of N to B1 and Cb to Eb in the chapter on St. Dominic, but without defining the relationships.

1. Bb is a copy of B2 or of an exemplar very like it.
2. X is an edition containing the text prepared by Jean Batallier using at least two copies of *Légende dorée*, one of which was Bb or a text very like it, and substantially correcting them from the Latin.
3. Bx is a selection of chapters copied from X.
4. The manuscript offered for sale by Quaritch in 1931 was a copy of X.
5. Mb is a somewhat free text which seems to have been largely derived from Ab, though consultation of another exemplar is possible.
6. B1 is a copy of N.
7. Eb is a copy of Cb.
8. S and Z share a common source.
9. Ab and Gb share a common source.
10. Cb and P7 share a common source.
11. Cb and Q share a common source in *Nic*.
12. Y derives from the original independently of the development of all the other manuscripts.
13. P2SZHbB2P6 form the regular core of a group which must descend from a common exemplar, and which is augmented in various chapters by other manuscripts, usually Db, Fb and Jb.
14. P6, as well as belonging to this group, makes use of a text similar to N.
15. Nc starts as an (a) text, but after about 65 chapters becomes a (c) text. Fc, Nc and Sc are not the sources of each other or of Ac, but Ac could, on textual grounds, be the source of any or all of them, though it is possible that all four derive independently from a lost earlier (c) compilation.
16. Caxton did not use Sc or Fc, but could have used Ac, and very probably did so.

On the basis of this investigation, if we were going to prepare a complete edition of *Légende dorée* (which we are not), we would use P1 as our base text and collate it with Y and two or more of P3, P5, W and Gb.

EDITORIAL METHOD

P1 is used as the base text, with modern punctuation, accents, capitalisation and paragraphs. Abbreviations are silently expanded and use of *i/j* and *u/v* modernised. All emendations appear in square brackets, and where P1 added material to his original its omission from the text here is indicated by the symbol +, which has then been used as the lemma. Where P1, Y, and the main body of manuscripts disagree, we have accepted whichever version agrees with *Legenda aurea*, using Graesse's edition, in which the four chapters are found as follows: *Nic* pp. 22-29, *Geo* pp. 259-64, *Bart* pp. 540-48, *AS* pp. 718-28.

Variants recorded have been limited broadly to those that have some real semantic or lexical significance, and the following have been omitted except on rare occasions when they may shed some particular light on affiliations: orthographic variants; errors corrected by the scribe and other minor and easily correctable slips; omissions and additions of pronouns, definite articles, demonstratives, prepositions and conjunctions, or use of different ones, such as *lors/donc*, *ainsi/aussi*, *avec/atot*, *et/mes/or*; changes of tense, such as from preterite to imperfect; non-significant variation between singular and plural nouns; substitution of closely related words, such as *lignage/ligniee*; minor syntactical variants, like Nc's habit of writing *commenca a* with infinitive instead of a preterite; transpositions of words.

In the textual apparatus the sigla for variants are given in the order P1YP3 P5CFMQRWAbGbNB1B2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbJbP7CbEb(c); where necessary (c) is divided as AcFcSc. The rationale for this order is given in the Introduction as a whole, first the most accurate and individual (P1-C), next the general middle ones (FMQR), and lastly the 'groups', with the later and more remote stages towards the end. Manuscripts with identified exemplars or other close relations are given together, with the earlier and/or more reliable first (NB1, SZ, etc.). The (c) texts are thus recorded if all those running concur.

The apparatus also includes the Latin text from Graesse of passages where the French is incomprehensible or incorrect. They have been kept to a minimum, and a number of omissions and minor changes by Vignay have not been recorded.¹³

¹³ We have worked mostly from microfilms, and are grateful to all the libraries concerned for supplying them. We also wish to thank the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes for obtaining and giving us access to film of Jb, and for much other help. Finally, our thanks are due to Miss R. Eaden of the University of Adelaide for invaluable advice on problems in the text and help in preparing it for printing.

<SAINT NICHOLAS>

Ci commence le prologue de saint Nicholas. Nicholas est dit de nychos, qui est P1 10va
 a dire victoire, et de laos, pueple, si que Nicholas est autant a dire comme victoire
 de pueple, c'est victoire de pechiez qui sont popuslaires et vilz. Ou il est dit victoire
 5 de pueple, pour ce que il enseigna moult de pueple par vie et par doctrine a vaincre
 vices et pechiez. Ou Nicholas est dit a nicor, c'est res/plendeur, et de leos pueple. 10vb
 C'est a dire resplendeur de pueple, car il ot en soi ces choses qui font resplendeur
 et neteté. Quar selonc saint Ambrose la parole devine nettoie, vraie confession
 nettoie, sainte pensee nettoie, bonne oevre nettoie. Et les docteurs de Grece
 10 escristrent sa legende. Et l'en lit ailleurs que Methodien patriarche l'escrist en grec,
 et Jehan dyacre la translata en latin et y ajouta pluseurs choses.

Ci commence la glorieuse vie monseigneur saint Nicholas glorieus confesseur
 Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, qui vit et regne par touz les siecles des siecles.
 AMEN.

15 Nicholas, citoien de la cite de Patras, fu né de riches et sains parens, et son pere
 fu Epiphanus et sa mere ot nom Jehanne. Et ses parens l'engendrerent en la
 premiere fleur de leur aage, et puis aprés vesquirent en continence et menerent vie
 celestiel. Et le premier jour que il fu né, quant l'en le baignoit il se dreça tout droit
 el bacin. Et si ne prenoit la mamele que une foiz au mecredi et au vendredi. Et li

Nicholas: *Nic* is not in *P7*. *W* is missing from 55 *peris-* to 174 *Nicholas*. *P4* omits the etymology;
 it was copied from a manuscript with disordered leaves and moves from one to another without
 regard to sense or syntax. After 36 *devea* follows a passage from St. Andrew; it resumes with 76 *au
 temps* to 114 *majesté*, then 36 *et li request* to 76 *jusques*, finally from 115 *Et quant* to the end. (c)
 signifies agreement of *AcFcSc*.

3 est] vaut *FNc* 5 pour ce] point *M* pour...pueple] om. *CbEb* 6 resplendeur]
 replendre *N*, replende *B1*, respleur *B2Bb*, add de peuple *P3P5FMQRNB1B2BbP2DbFbHbCbEb*, add
 du ciel *W* 6-7 et²...resplendeur] om. *CP6S(c)* 7 il] add est resplendeur et *Cb* ot...font] est
Eb 8 Quar] Que *P3P5CFMQRWAbGbB1BbSZDbFbHbJb* Quar...Ambrose] seloncq ce
 que saint ambroise dist (c) 8-9 Quar...oevre nettoie] om. *CbEb* 8 devine] dune *Db*
 nettoie] om. *W(c)* vraie confession] repeated *P1*, add et *M* 9 nettoie¹] om. *NB1(c)*
 nettoie²] om. *P3BbP2S*, crossed out *M*, add lomme (c) bonne oevre nettoie] *PIY*, om. rest
 de Grece] Argolici; *Lg4*, next sentence reads: Est autem Argos secundum Ysidorum civitas Graeciae,
 unde Argolici Graeci vocantur 10 lit] *PIY*, dit rest grec] grief *Db* 12-14 Ci...AMEN.]
 Only in *P1* 15 citoien] om. *P3* Patras] panbras (c) 16 fu] add nomme *YNc*, add ne
 nomme *B1*, ot nom *MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb* (c) ot nom] fu nomme *Nc*, om.
MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb (c) ses parens] om. *P3* 17 apres] om. *Fc* 18 jour] om.
 and an inserted *Jb* que...né] om. (c) quant...baignoit] om. *W* tout droit] om. *B2Bb*
 19 bacin] baing *YB2BbP6* foiz] add la sepmaine *P3*, add le iour *Db* et] add vne
MQB2BbP2SZFbHbAcSc, add vne fois *P4P6Db*, add autre *F*, add autre *CbEb* vendredi] samedi
CbEb

20 qui estoit jane eschivoit les jolivetez des autres janes. Il hantoit volentiers l'egleise
 11ra et / tout ce qu'il pooit la entendre de la sainte escripture il le metoit a memoire.
 Et quant ses parens furent trespassez, il commença a penser comment il distri-
 bueroit ses richesces, et non pas a la loenge humaine mes a la gloire de Dieu. Et
 .i. sien voisin adonc avoit .ij. filles vierges et il estoit noble homme, mes pour la
 25 povreté d'eulz ensemble les filles estoient contraintes a aler a pechié, si que del
 gaaing de leur infameté il fust soustenu et norri. Et quant le saint homme le sout,
 il ot horror de cele felonnie, et jeta la nuit secretement en la maison de celi une
 masse d'or envolepee en .i. drapel. Et quant l'omme se leva au matin, il trouva cele
 masse et en rendi graces a Dieu, et en maria son ainsnee fille. Et par mout pou
 30 de temps après le sergent de Dieu fist autele oevre, et celi la trouva et rendi grans
 graces a Dieu, et proposa de veillier pour savoir qui celi estoit qui avoit aidé a sa
 povreté. Et pou de jours après Nicholas doubla la masse d'or et la geta en la maison
 de celi, et il s'esveilla au son du cheoir et sui Nicholas qui s'en fuioit, et li dist
 ainssi: 'Sire, arreste moi, ne t'en fui pas si que je + te voie,' et donc courut plus
 35 hastivement et congnut que ce estoit Nicholas, et donc s'agenoilla a terre et vouloit
 [baisier ses piez,] et il li devea et li requist que il ne deist ceste chose tant comme
 il vesquist.

Aprés ce l'evesque de la cité de Mirre fu mort. Et les evesques s'assemblerent
 pour porveoir a cele egleise d'evesque. Et la estoit entre les autres .i. evesque de
 40 grant auctorité, et toute l'eslection pendoit a li. Et si comme il les ot tous
 amonnestez d'estre en jeans et en oroisons, celi evesque oï cele nuit une voiz qui
 11rb li dist que a l'eure de matines il gardast les portes de l'egleise, / et cil qui premier
 vendroit a l'egleise qui aroit non Nicholas que il le sacrast en evesque. Et donc
 revela ceste chose as autres evesques, et les amonnesta d'estre touz en oroisons et

20 jolivetez] pleuretes *Db*, ieux (*c*) janes] iouuenceaulx *P3*, add enfans (*c*) hantoit]
 chantoit *P4S*, sieuoit (*c*), add moult *Nc* volentiers] add a *P4*, inserted *S*, add la sainte (*c*) 21
 de...escripture] om. *Nc* escripture] om. *P5CRWGbjb*, doctrine *Ab* il²...memoire] om. *P6*
 le] *PIY*, om. rest a] add volentiers *F* memoire] *PIY*, oeure rest 23 humaine] du
 monde (*c*) 24-25 et...filles] om. *NB1* 25 les filles] elles *MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb(c)*
 pechié] add de luxure (*c*) 26 infameté] add peust soustenir eulz et leur pere. Et quant ses parens
 furent trespasses il commença a penser comment il distribueroit ses richesces *NB1* il] leur pere
YSZ et norri] om. (*c*) 27 felonnie] vilonne (*c*) la maison] lostel *QCeb* 29-30
 Et...temps] Petit *Nc* 29 Et par] om. *Fc* par mout] om. *P6* pou] om. *CbEb* 29-31
 et²...Dieu] om. *P3* 30 autele oevre] autant *Y*, aussi comme deuant *Q*, ainsi comme deuant *Cb*,
 comme deuant *Eb* et²] add respondi *Db* 31 aidé] secouru *QCeb* 32 jours] temps *W*
 geta] add par nuyt *Nc* maison] masse *B1* 33 du cheoir et] de lor qui sonna si (*c*) 34
 arreste moi] *PIY*, om. rest +] ne *P1* plus] moult *Nc* 35 hastivement] fort *Y*, actiuement
P4 36 baisier/ses piez] trs. *P1* il li devea] le saint ne le volt pas (*c*) devea] refusa *Y*,
 defendit *Z*, denya *Nc* deist] reuelast *P6* ceste chose] a ame *CbEb*, add a nul *Nc* 38 la
 cité de] om. *P6Jb* Mirre] nime *Db* s'assemblerent] semblablement *Db* 39 autres] add
 evesques *NB1P6* 40 pendoit] estoit *MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHb(c)* 41 amonnestez] adm-
 nistrez *SZ* d'estre] add celle nuit *CbEb* en jeans et] ieunes *Gb* 42 de l'egleise] om. *SZ*
 44 oroisons] deuocion *Bb*

45 il gueteroit dehors les portes. Ce fu merveilleuse chose, car a heure de matines aussi comme envoié de Dieu Nicholas se leva devant touz les autres, et l'evesque le prist quant il vint la et li demanda: 'Comment est ton non?' Et cil qui estoit simple comme coulon enclina le chief et dist: 'Nicholas, serjant de vostre saintee.' Et il l'enmenerent en l'eglise, ja soit ce que il le refusa forment, et le mistrent en 50 la chaire. Et il ensivoit aussi comme devant humilité et honnesté de meurs en toutes choses. Il veilloit en oroisons et amegrissoit son cors. Il eschivoit compagnies des fames. Il estoit humble en recevant touz, profitable en parlant, joieus en ammonnstant, et cruel en corrigeant.

L'en dit, si comme il est leu en une cronicque, que le beneoit Nicholas fu au concile de Nice. Et .i. jour si comme aucuns mariniers perissoient, si le prierent ainssi a lermes: 'Nicholas, serjant de Dieu, se les choses sont vraies que nous avons oïes de toi, si les esprouvon maintenant.' Et tantost .i. homme s'apparut en la semblance de lui et dist: 'Veez me ci, ne m'apelez vous pas,' et leur commença a aidier en leur aploit de la nef. Et tantost la tempeste cessa. Et quant il furent venus 60 a son eglise, il le congnurent sanz demoustrer et si ne l'avoient onques veu, et donc rendirent graces a Dieu et a li de sa delivrance. Et il leur dist que il l'atribuassent a la misericorde de Dieu et a leur croiance, et non pas [a ses] merites.

Il fu .i. temps que toute la province de saint Nicholas souffri grant famine, si que viande failloit a touz. Et donc l'omme de Dieu où que nef[s] chargees de forment 65 estoient venues au port. Et tantost il ala / la et proia les mariniers que il aidassent au pueple qui perissoit au mains de .C. muis en chascune nef. Et il li distrent: 'Pere,

45 gueteroit dehors] guettoit *P3*, garderoit *MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb*, gardoit (*c*) 46
envoie] oeuvre *M* 47 vint] le vit *YW* 48 enclina] add moult humblement *Nc* serjant] om.
C Nicholas...saintee] Iay a nom nicolas. Adonc leuesque lui dist nicolas sargent et ami de dieu
de vostre saintete vous seres euesque de ce lieu. (*c*) 49 l'enmenerent] add tantost *Y* 49-50
ja soit...chaire] et le sacrerent et mirent en chayere ia soit ce quil le refusast forment *Y* 49 refusa]
add la grant dignite *B2Bb* le mistrent] lassistrent *CbEb* 50 honnesté] chastete *Y* de
meurs] om. *P3* 51 veilloit] add tou *Hb* cors] add par jeunes *Nc* 52 estoit] add
honnourable et *B2Bb*, add moult *Nc* recevant touz] retenant *Y* touz] toutes choses (*c*) 53
ammonnstant] admenistrant *SZ* corrigeant] corigement *W* 54 dit] *P1B1*, fist *SZ*, list rest
si...est] *PIY*, om. rest leu] contenu *Y*, om. rest en une cronicque] om. *Nc* Nicholas]
om. *W* 55 aucuns] om. *CbEb* mariniers] aronniers *Db* perissoient] passoient *CbEb*,
perilloyent *Nc*, perilloient en la mer (*c*) 56 ainssi a lermes] et requirent deuotement (*c*) 57
oïes] add dire *Bb* (*c*) esprouvon] *PIY*, esprouue rest 58 ne, pas] om. *YSZ* ne m'apelez
vous pas] vocasti enim me 59 aploit] esployt *CP2P6SZ(c)* aploit de la] om. *Q* nef] mer
(*c*) 60 demoustrer] demander *Nc*, add que cestoit il *NB1* et...veu] om. *Nc* 61 a li] a Saint
Nicholas *P6* de sa delivrance] quiz oncqves mais nauoyent veu *Nc* 62 la...de] om. *Y*
croiance] acroissance *Y* a ses] assez *P1* 64 viande...touz] tous auroient souffrete de viande
CbEb nef[s] nef *P1* chargees] om. *SZ* forment] add passoient et *P6* 65 venues]
arriuees *MQB2BbP2P4P6SZFbHbCbEb(c)* au port] om. *Fc* 66-71 *Vignay misunderstood the*
passage; the wheat should have been coming from Alexandria. The Latin reads: (66-68) quia
mensuramat est Alexandriae, oportet in horrea imperatoris nos reddere; and (70-71) eandem
mensuram, quam Alexandriae acceperant, redidissent ministris imperatoris. 66 muis] add de
fourment (*c*)

nous n'oserion, car il est mesuré et le nous couvient rendre par mesure es greniers de l'emperiere en Alixandre.' Et le saint leur dist: 'Faites ce que je vous di, et je vous promet en la vertu de Dieu que il n'apeticera de riens quant vous vendrez au 70 grenier.' Et quant il li orent baillié il vindrent en Alixandre, et rendirent la mesure qu'il avoient receue, et donc raconterent le miracle as menistres de l'emperiere, et donc loerent forment Dieu en son serjant. Et donc l'omme de Dieu distribua le forment a chascun selonc son besoing, si que il souffist a .ij. ans non pas seulement au vivre mes aussi au semer.

75 Et si comme cele contree servoit aus ydoles et le pueple auroit devant ces autres le faus ymage de l'escommeniee Dyane, si que jusques au temps de l'omme de Dieu plusieurs [ruraulx] de cele escommeniee relegion hantoient aucunes coutumes des paiens souz .i. arbre sacré a Dyane, mes celi homme de Dieu chaça hors ces coutumes de toute la contree et commanda a couper cel arbre. Et donc le deable 80 fu couroucié contre li. Si fist une huile qui art contre nature en yaue et art pierres aussi, et adonc se transmua en forme d'une relegieuse fame, et se mist en .i. petit batel, et encontrra pelerins qui aloient a nage a l'omme de Dieu. Et elle les arraisonna ainssi: 'Je amasse miex aler avec vous au saint + de Dieu, mes je ne puis. Je vous prie que vous portez ceste huile a son eglise, et pour la remembrance de 85 moi que vous en oingniez les parois de sa sale,' et tantost s'evanoï. Et donc il virent une autre nef avec personnes honnestes, entre lesquielx il en avoit .i. tres semblable a saint Nicholas qui leur dist ainsi: 'Las, que vous a dit cele fame, et que 11vb / vous a ele aporté?' et il li distrent tout par ordre. Et il leur dist: 'C'est la mauvese et orde Dyane, et que vous esprouvés que je di voir, jetés cele huile en la mer.' Et

67 est mesuré et] om. *CbEb* et...mesure] om. *P3B2Bb* mesure] compte (c) es greniers] en la court *Y* 68 de l'emperiere] om. *CbEb* 69 vertu] verite (c) de Dieu] om. *P2* 70 baillié] add le ble *YQ* en] add la ville d' *CbEb* 72 en] et *QAbB2BbP2P6SZDbNc* (c) serjant] nom *CbEb* 72-73 Et...chascun] om. *NB1* with distribua le four a chascun inserted in margin in *N* in different hand 72 l'omme de Dieu] saint nicholas *Y* 73 a²] pour *Nc(c)* pas] add tant *YP3P5CFMQRAbGbNB1B2P2P4P6DbFbHbJb* 74 au vivre] pour vendre (c) 75 contree servoit] peuple sacrefioit *CbEb* servoit aus ydoles/et le peuple] trs. *P3* le peuple] om. *CbEb* devant ces autres] deuant toutes autres *Y*, om. rest 77 ruraulx *Y*, tyrans *PI*, om. rest escommeniee relegion] contree (c) relegion] region *YP3B2BbSCbEb* hantoient] aurient *Sc*, antoient *AcFc*, add deux *P4* 78 souz] sur *P3* sacré] sacrefie *Eb* chaça] cessa (c) hors] lors *Y(c)* ces] add ordes *Y*, add mauuaises et maudsittes *Nc* 79 commanda a] fist *Y*, manda a *Jb* deable] mauuaise ennemy *Nc* 80 art²] ardoit *Y*, om. *SZ* 81 transmua] transforma *P3QBbDbHbNc(c)*, transfourma et transmua *S* forme] figure *Q*, guise *P3(c)* relegieuse] ancienne *P6* mist] traist (c) petit] om. *P3Bb* 82 batel] vaiseil *P4* a nage] en voiage *P5* 83 arraisonna] add en disant *Nc*, add et dist (c) ainssi] om. *P5(c)* avec vous] om. (c) au..Dieu] om. *NCbEb* au saint] add homme *PI*, a lomme *YMQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHb(c)*, om. *NcEb* de Dieu] om. *NcCbEb* 84 a son eglise] a leglise de lomme de dieu *Nc* remembrance] reuerance *SZ*, amour *CbEb* 85 sa sale] leglise *P3*, son *Cb*, son eglise *Eb* 87 ainsi: 'Las] en bas (c) Las] bas *P2SZ* 88 distrent] conterent *F*, racompterent *Nc* dist] om. *Hb* 89 et orde] om. *BbP2*, et escommeniee *CbEb* esprouvés] sachies (c) je di] ce soit *F*

90 quant il l'orent getee, un tres grant feu prist en la mer, et le virent longuement arde
en la mer contre nature, et donc vindrent au serjant de Dieu et li distrent:
'Vraiemment tu es celui qui apparus a nous en la mer et nous delivras des agués [du]
deable.'

En celi tems aucunes gens revelerent contre l'empire de Romme, et l'emperiere
95 envoia contre eulz .ij. princes, Neponcien, Ursin et Apolin. Et il vindrent au port
Adrien pour le vent qui leur estoit contraire. Et le beneoit Nicholas les convia a
disner avec li, car il vouloit garder ses gens de leur rapine qu'il faisoient. Et si
comme le saint n'i estoit pas, le consulte, corrompu par peccune, avoit commandé
100 .ij. chevaliers innocens estre decolez. Et quant le saint le sout il pria ces princes
que il alassent la avec lui hastivement. Et quant il vindrent au lieu ou ceulz a
decoler estoient, il les trova a genoulx, les iex bendés, et le decoleleur brandissoit
ja l'espee sus leur chiés. Et Nicholas, embrasé de l'amour de Dieu, s'embati
hardiement contre le decoleur et li osta le glaive de sa main et le geta loing, et
deslia les innocens et les enmena avec lui touz sains. Et tantost il s'en ala en
105 jugement au consulte et trouva les portes closes que il ouvri par force. Et le
consulte vint tantost a li et le salua. Et le saint en out despit et li dist: 'Anemi de
Dieu, corrompeur de la loy, par quel folie as tu osé estre consentant de si grant
felonnie? Comment nous oses tu resgarder?' Et quant il l'out forment tencié et
rebris, toute foiz reçut il a penitance celi repentant a la proiere de ces princes. Et
110 donc quant les messages de l'emperiere orent receu sa beneïcon, il appareillierent
leur erre et souz/mistrent les anemis a l'empire sanz sanc espandre, et donc 12ra
retornerent a l'emperiere et furent receus honnorablement. Et donc aucuns orent
envie des biens de ces princes. Si distrent en traïson a l'emperiere, et firent tant
par prieres et par dons que il furent accusez faussement du blasme de sa majesté.

90 tres] PIY, om. rest feu] om. Bb, fleue Cb, fleue corrected to feu Eb prist...mer] om.
Ab en la mer] om. Nc 90-91 et...mer] om. Eb 91 en la mer] en la dictie mer C, om.
MQNB1B2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHb(c) 92 delivras] add de la mer et (c) du] au P1 93
deable] celli ennemy Y 94 aucunes] autres Fc l'empire] lempereur YNBSZ(c) de
Romme] om. (c) l'emperiere] lempire Hb 95 Ursin] voisin Db, vexsin Sc, versin AcFc
95-96 au port Adrien] a mirre Y 96 qui] quil RAbGb Adrien...contraire] saint nicolas Sc
estoit] om. Jb convia] conuoia B2Bb, commanda P2AcFc, pria Sc 99 chevaliers] clers
100 alassent] alissoient C avec] auant Y 101 trova] add
NBI ces] add trois NB1P6Nc 100 alassent] alissoient C avec] auant Y 101 trova] add
cheus P3 102 ja] om. B2Bb chiés] colz Nc s'embati] se combatit Hb 103 contre le
decoleur] en eux CbEb glaive] espee (c) main] add au decoleur CbEb 104 les¹] yceulx
hommes Nc touz] add seulz et Q 106 tantost] om. Db a li] om. Y 107 corrompeur]
corrompus P3P6, corrumpant C de la loy] om. P6 la] PIYSZ(c), sa rest quel] add
maniere et par quelle SZ par quel folie] pour quoy (c) folie] foleur YF osé estre] PIY,
este rest consentant] aucteur F, corrompeur CbEb de] add telle folie et de SZ 108
felonnie] mal et de si grant vilonnie (c) forment] bien Z 109 repris] add celiu consulte Nc
111 erre] yre P2, erreur P4AcFc, terre Z 112 Et...aucuns] om. P2 113 princes] Josnes
P4 distrent en] firent tant par Nc 113-114 et...dons] om. Nc 114 sa] add grant (c)

115 Et quant il fu dit a l'emperiere il fu plain de grant forssenerie, et commanda qu'il fussent mis en chartre, et sanz nule autre demande faire il commanda que il fussent occis cele nuit. Et quant il le sorent par le portier qui les gardoit, il desromppirent leur vestemens et pleurerent amerement. Et donc Neponcien si se remenbra comment le beneoit Nicholas avoit delivré les .ijj. innocens. Si amonnesta les
 120 autres que il requeissent + son aide. Et si comme il oroient, saint Nicholas s'apparut a eulz et si s'apparut a Constantin emperiere et li dist: 'Pourquoi as tu pris ices princes a si grant tort et les as jugiez a mort sanz mesfait? Lieve sus hastivement, et commande qu'il soient lessiez. Et se ce non je prie a Dieu que il esmewe bataille contre toi, en laquelle tu trebuches et soies fait viande as bestes.'
 125 Et l'emperiere li demanda: 'Qui es tu qui es entré par nuit en mon palais et m'oses dire tiex paroles?' Et il li dist: 'Je sui Nicholas, evesque de la cité de Mierre.' Et aussi espoenta il le prevost, disant: 'Tu qui as sens et pensee perdue, pourquoi as tu consentu en la mort de ces innocens? Va tost et pense de delivrer les, ou se ce non ton cors sera + porri de vers, et ta mesniece sera tantost destruite.' Et il li
 130 demanda: 'Qui es tu qui si nous menaces tant?' Et il [li] dist: 'Saches que je sui Nicholas, evesque de la cité de Mierre.' Et donc s'esveilla l'un et l'autre, et distrent l'un a l'autre leur songe, et manderent tantost ces enchartrés. Et l'emperiere leur
 12rb dist: 'Quiex / ars magiques savez vous qui nous avez en nuit tant eslusez par songes?' Et il respondirent que il n'estoient pas enchantereors et si n'avoient pas
 135 deservi sentence de mort. Et donc dist l'emperiere: 'Congnoissiez vous .i. homme qui a non Nicholas?' Et quant il oïrent ce non il tendirent les mains au ciel et prirent Nostre Seigneur que par les + merites de saint Nicholas il les delivrast de ce peril present. Et quant l'emperiere out oï d'iceulz la vie et les miracles du

115 Et quant] Pourquoys Nc il¹...fu²] lempereore oy ce il fu MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbHbCbEb(c), lempereur fu Nc, lempériere il fu Fb plain] espris CbEb forssenerie] felonneie Eb, yre (c) et] om. Nc 116 mis...fussent] om. P4 il commanda] et P6 117 les gardoit] la estoit NB1 118 et...amerement] om. Bb 119 le beneoit] om. P6, add homme de dieu saint Nc, saint (c) .ijj.] add hommes Nc 120 +] leur aide P1 oroient] aouroient BbEb, depricoint (c) 121 si s'apparut] om. Ab 122 tort] om. Gb, fort (c) a mort] a si grans tort crossed out P4 123 lessiez] delaissez AcFc, deliurez Sc, add hors M se ce] saichez P4 123-124 il esmewe] ilz ensuient P2P4 125 demanda] dist Db 125-126 et...paroles] om. CbEb 126 Mierre] add appelle nicolas Q 127 aussi] add pareillement Y le prevost] lempereur P6 128 ces] add trois Bb, add hommes Nc innocens] add et lui dist (c) tost] om. S, tantost Db, ten Hb 129 ton] ton ton P1 +] peri et P1 porri] pene (?) P4, mengie P6, poura Hb tantost] PIY, toute rest 130 nous] PIY, me rest li] om. P1 Saches que] om. CbEb 131 de la cité] om. BbNc distrent] racompterent Nc 132 manderent] menacerent SZ tantost] om. CbEb 133 ars] om. Bb avez] add fait P3, om. Db en nuit] om. QEb eslusez] esueilliez Y 134 respondirent] dirent YMQB2BbP2P4P6SZFbHbCbEb(c) 135 sentence de] om. CbEb vous] add bien (c) 136 ce non] parler du nom du saint (c) non²] om. Hb tendirent] entendirent Db 137 Nostre Seigneur] saint nicholas CbEb +] prieres et les P1 de...Nicholas] om. CbEb 138 present] ou ilz estoient Y d'iceulz] om. Fb vie] voix (c)

beneoit Nicholas, + il leur dist: 'Alez vous en et rendez graces a Dieu qui vous a
 140 delivrés par les prières de celi Nicholas, et li aportez de vos joies, et li priés que
 il ne me menace plus, mes prie pour moi et pour mon regne a Nostre Seigneur.'
 Et pou de jours après les devant dis princes alerent au serjant de Dieu et
 s'agenoillierent a ses piez humblement, disans: 'Vraiemt es tu serjant de Dieu
 et vrai auoureur et ameur de Jhesu Crist.' Et quant il li orent tout conté par ordre,
 145 il leva les mains au ciel et rendi grans loenges a Dieu et renvoia les princes bien
 enseigniez en leur païs.

Et quant Nostre Seigneur le voulut prendre, il depria Dieu que il li envoiast ses
 angres. Et il enclina le chief et vit les angres venans a li. Et il dist le psiaume: 'Sire,
 j'ai esperé en toi,' jusques a ce vers: 'Sire, je commande mon esperit en tes mains.'
 150 Et donc rendi l'esperit en l'an de Nostre Seigneur .CCC. et .xljj. a grant melodie
 dicte des celestieix compagnies. Et quant il fu enseveli en une tombe de marbre,
 une fontaine d'uile decourut du chevés et une d'yaue des piez. Et jusques [au] jour
 d'ui il ist de ses membres huile sainte qui vaut au salu de / moult de gens. Et i. 12va
 homme de bonne volenté fu successeur de lui, qui fu bouté hors de son siege par
 155 gens envieus. Et quant il en fu bouté hors la fontaine de huille lessa a corre, et quant
 il fu rapelé ele sordi arriere. Long temps après les Turs si destruitrent la cité de
 Mierre, et donc vindrent la .iiij. chevaliers du Bar, et .iiij. moines leur moustrent
 la tombe de saint Nicholas, et il ouvrirent le sepulcre et trouverent les os noans
 [en] l'uille, et les enporterent honorablement en la cité du Bar en l'an .M. et
 160 octante et .vij.

Un homme avoit pris d'un juif une somme de peccune en prest, et jura sus l'autel
 de saint Nicholas que le plus tost qu'il porroit il li rendroit, quar il n'avoit nul autre

139 +] Et adonc *P1* il leur dist] *om. P5CRAbGbJb*, il dist *P3NB1* 140 prieres] merites
NB1Nc Nicholas] *P1QSc*, *om. rest*, *add et le auurez (c)* et¹...et²] Si *Q* aportez] *om. P3*
vos] noz *Y*(nostris *Lg4*), des *B1* vos joies] vous joye *CbEb* priés] dittes *YCbEb* 141
 regne] empire *P6*, roiaulm (*c*) 142 jours] *P1Y*, temps *rest* devant dis] *om. CbEb*, dessusno-
 mez *Nc*, dis (*c*) alerent] *om. S* 143 humblement] *om. P2P6Nc* disans] *om. Eb* tu]
 tres *R* 144 et ameur] en lamour *C* ameur] amour *P3Eb*, ameneur *P4*, amy *Z* par ordre]
om. F 145 les] *add yelx et les Bb* grans] graces *BbNc*, graces et *YP6Db* loenges] *om. Nc*
 146 en leur païs] *om. B1* 147 le] *om. Q* prendre] *add le saint homme Q* Dieu] *om.*
(c) 148 Et¹...angres] *om. SZ* vit] *om. R* a li] *om. F* 151 quant] *om. R* enseveli]
 enterrez *Y*, ensouy *P3* 152 et...des] iusques aux (*c*) au] a cest *P1* 153 ist] est *B1* ses
 membres] son corps *MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb(c)* salu] *om. B1* moult de] maintes
P5 155 gens] *om. Sc* hors] *add de son siege (c)* la...huille] elle *CbEb* de huille] *om.*
MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEbNc(c) lessa] cessa *P5JbNc* 156 sordi] *P1Y*, recouri
P3P5CFRAbGb, courut *MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbNc(c)*, couri *NB1*, recouru *CbEbJb* temps]
om. P4 les Turs] *om. Eb* 157 *iiij*¹] troys *MNB1CbEb* *iiij*²] trois *MCbEb* 158 la tombe]
 le sepulcre *YMQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb(c)* ouvrirent *Eb* le sepulcre] la tumbe
Y, *om. Bb(c)* trouverent] virent *CbEb* les] leurs *F*, *om. B2Bb* 159 en¹] dedenz *P1*
 en²...du] au *SZ* 159-160 et octante] space *B1*, quatre vingz *Nc*, *iiij*^c (*c*) 161 de peccune]
 dargent (*c* en prest] *om. MQNB1B2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb(c)* 162 quar il n'avoit] et
 nen auoit le juif *Y*

plege, et donc tint la monnoie moult longuement, tant que le juif li demanda, et il dist que il li avoit rendue.

Et donc le juif le fist venir en jugement, et le serement
 165 fu mis sus le debiteur. Et il avoit aporté avec li .i. baston cave ou il avoit mis la peccune en or aussi comme se il se soustenist du baston. Et quant il voulut faire le serement, il bailla le baston au juif a garder, et donc jura que il li avoit plus rendu que il ne li devoit. Et quant il ot fait le serement il li demanda son baston, et le juif, qui ne sot pas le malice, li rendi. Et donc celi s'en ala qui avoit fait la fraude,
 170 et donc ot sommeil et se coucha dormir en .i. quarrefour. Et .i. char vint a grant force et le tua et rompi le baston plain d'or, et l'or se espandi. Et quant le juif oï ce, il vint la tout esmeu et vit la fraude. Et si comme pluseurs li disoient que il repreist l'or, il le refusa du tout se celi qui estoit mort ne revenoit en vie par les merites de saint Nicholas, et dist [que] s'il revivoit qu'il recevroit baptesme et
 12vb 175 seroit crestien. Et donc cil qui avoit esté mort / resuscita, et le juif fu crestienne.

Un juif vit la vertueuse poissance de saint Nicholas es miracles que il faisoit. Si fist faire .i. ymage du saint et le mist en sa maison. Et quant il aloit hors, il li commandoit a garder ses choses par tiex paroles: 'Nicholas, veez ci touz mes biens. Je vous commet a garder les. Et se vous ne les gardez bien touz, je prendrai
 180 vengeance par vous batre et tormenter.' Une fois si comme le juif estoit hors, larrons vindrent et ravirent tout et lessierent tant seulement l'ymage. Et quant le juif revint et il [se] vit tout despoillié, il araisonna l'ymage par tiex paroles: 'Sire Nicholas, ne vous avoie je mis en ma maison pour garder mes choses des larrons? Pourquoi ne les avez vous gardees? Vous en recevrez cruelz tourmens et arez la poine pour les
 185 larrons, et je vengerai mon damage en tes tormens et refroiderai ma forssenerie en toi batre.' Et donc le juif prist l'ymage et le tormenta et bati cruelment, dont il avint grant merveille, car quant les larrons departoient les choses le saint de Dieu, tout

163 monnoie] pecune F 165 avec li] sur li Hb, om. CbEb cave] carre Db, creux Eb
 166 aussi...baston] om. P6SZ 167 rendu] baillie C 168 devoit] bailla N, om. Bl, avoit baillie P6
 168 il³...et] om. Z li demanda] demanda au juif P6 168-169 et le juif] om. AbP6
 169 ne...malice] nestoit pas sy malicieus P2 fraude] faussete C 170 et...sommeil] om. P6
 se...dormir] sendormi MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb(c) char] chartier P5, chart P4,
 chap Db, chariot Nc, add a .iiji. roes (c) 171 et³...espandi] om. CbEb oï] sot P6 173 du
 tout] om. Fc qui...mort] om. P6 174 que] om. PI revivoit] reuenoit YAcFc, reuenoit en
 vie SZJbSc 175 fu crestienne] receuste crestiente P3, fu fait crestien CbEb 176 la...faisoit]
 les vertueuses miracles de Saint nicholas MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEb(c) (de Saint nicholas)
 du Saint Q) 177 Et] add lui commandoit quil gardast bien sa maison (c) 178 commandoit]
 om. (c) 179 commet] PI, command rest touz] PIY, om. rest 180 vengeance] add de vous
 CP6 182 se] om. PI, le Bl vit] trouua YBb(c) despoillié] desrobe Y(c) araisonna
 l'ymage] laraisonna P6 182-183 ne...mis] PI/CJb, ne vous auoie ie pas mis YA_b, ie vous auoie
 mis FMQNB1B2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbCbEbNc(c), ne vous auoie mis P3P5RWGb 183 des
 larrons] om. W 183-185 Pourquoi...larrons] om. P3 184 cruelz] om. (c) 185 mon...tor-
 mens] ma perte (c) damage] iniure CbEb refroiderai] refreneray P3, refraindrai
 FMQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbCbEbNc(c) 187 quant les larrons] ainssi comme il F departoient]
 deportoient R saint] add homme Y

aussi comme se il eust eu en soi touz les batemens, il s'apparut as larrons et leur dist: 'Pourquoi ai ge esté batu si cruelment pour vous et ai souffert tant de tormens?'
 190 Veez comme mon cors est detrenchié, veez comme le sanc vermeil en decourt. Alez et rendez tout tantost, ou autrement l'ire de Dieu tout poissant se forssenera en vous, si que touz saront vostre felonnie et que chascun de vous sera pendu.' Et donc li distrent il: 'Qui es tu qui nous dis tiex [paroles]?' Et il leur dist: 'Je sui Nicholas, serjant de Jhesu Crist, lequel le juif a si cruelment batu pour ses choses
 195 que vous en aportastes.' Et donc il furent espoentez et vindrent au juif, et oïrent qu'il avoit fait a l'ymage et li distrent le miracle et rendirent tout. Et ainssi / les 13ra larrons revindrent a voie de droiture et le juif a la foy Jhesu Crist.

Un homme pour l'amour de son filz qui aprenoit les lectres celebroit chascun an la feste de saint Nicholas sollempnelment. Une fois que le pere de l'enfant ot
 200 appareillié le disner et + convié moult de clers, et le deable vint a la porte en habit de pelerin demander l'aumosne. Et le pere commanda tantost a son filz qu'il donnast l'aumosne au pelerin. Et l'enfant se hasta, mes il ne trouva pas le pelerin. Si le sui si comme il s'en aloit, et quant il vint en .i. quarrefour le deable prist l'enfant et l'estrangla. Et quant le pere oï ce il s'en dolut forment et pleura et porta
 205 le cors en sa chambre, et commençâ a crier de douleur et a dire: 'Tres douz filz, comment vous est il? Saint Nicholas, est ce le guerredon de l'onour que je vous ai si longuement faite?' Et si comme il disoit ces choses et semblables, l'enfant se esveilla aussi comme de dormir et ouvri les iex et se leva.

Un noble home proia saint Nicholas que il li empetrast .i. filz de Nostre
 210 Seigneur, et promist que il meneroit ce filz a son eglise et li offerroit .i. henap d'or. Et donc le filz fu né et vint en aage, et il commanda le henap a faire, et le henap

188 les] add horrions et Nc batemens] add du juif CbEb 189 tormens] add pour vous
 Y 190 mon cors est] je suis W 191 Alez] a ses Db tantost] om. Q, incontinent Nc
 l'ire] laide Q tout poissant] om. QW 192 vous] add ou autrement lire de dieu vous sera
 grieue B2, add grefment Bb touz...que] om. Nc touz saront] chascun sara CbEb que²
 pourra estre Y sera] om. Y pendu] perdu (c) 193 dis] om. C paroles] choses PI(c)
 194 cruelment] griefment Nc 195 oïrent] virent YNBI Sc, entendirent Nc 196 distrent]
 compterent Nc 197 revindrent] PIY, vindrent rest droiture] doctrine M, verite CbEb juif]
 mist W, add vint Q, add ala Db foy] voie (c) 198 les lectres] PIY, a lectre rest 199 de
 l'enfant] PIY, om. rest 200 + convié] ot conuié PI, comme YCWAbB2BbSZ, y avoit Q, comme
 il y auoit Eb, conuoqua (c) clers] cheualiers Db, add y füssent W, add a ce disner (c) habit]
 guise YNB1 201 tantost] om. Hb 201-202 Et...pelerin'] PIY, om. rest 201 filz] om. Bb
 203 le deable] il Y, lennemy Nc 205 le cors] lenfant Nc de...dire] om. F douleur] add
 et de yre Y, dueil Z dire] add et dit P2 206 guerredon] grant don P2 de l'onour] PIY,
 que vous me faictes pour ce (c), om. rest 207 si longuement faite] porte si grant honneur
 CbEb faite] porte Nc, serui (c), add honneur P4Nc, add grant honneur P6, add si grant honneur
 rest choses] parolles P6SZEb et] add autres Nc(c) 207-208 se...et/ouvri...et] trs.
 MQB2BbP2P4P6SZFbHbCbEb(c) 208 ouvri...et] om. Y leva] add deuant tous et fut
 resuscite (c) 209 noble] ioune NB1, om. B2Bb que] add par ses merites CbEb 210 ce
 filz] om. CbEb et li offerroit] om. Nc henap] champ B1 211 il] le pere
 MQB2BbP2P4P6SZDbFbHbNc(c) le henap²] et quant il fut fait il NB1

li plut moult forment. Si le retint pour li et en fist faire .i. autre d'autel value. Et si comme il aloient par mer a nage a l'eglise de saint Nicholas, le pere commanda a son filz qu'il li aportast de l'yaue el henap premier fait. Et quant l'enfant voulut prendre de l'yaue el henap, il chaï avec le henap en la mer et tantost desapparut. Et toutes fois le pere parfist son veu en pleurant amerement son filz. Et quant il vint a l'autel de saint Nicholas et il offri le secont henap, il chaï aussi comme se l'en l'eust geté hors de l'autel. Et il le releva et le mist sus l'autel, et il fu geté arriere 13rb plus loing. Et encore le releva il et mist tierce fois sus l'autel, et il fu encore ge/té 220 plus loing. Et touz se merveillierent et vindrent veoir cele chose. Et donc l'enfant vint sain et dru et aportoit en ses mains le premier henap, et raconta devant touz que quant il chaï en la mer tantost le beneoit Nicholas vint, qui le garda sanz mal avoir. Et ainssi son pere fu lié, et offri au beneoit Nicholas l'un henap et l'autre.

Un riche homme ot .i. filz par les merites de saint Nicholas, et l'apela 225 Dieudonné. Et ce riche homme fist une chapele de saint Nicholas en son manoir, et i celebroit chascun an la feste de celi. Et cel lieu si estoit assis delez la terre des Agarains. Et Dieudonné fu une foiz pris des Agarains, et fu deputé a servir leur roy. L'an ensuant que son pere faisoit devotement la feste saint Nicholas, et l'enfant tenoit .i. precieus henap devant le roy, si se remembra de sa prise et de 230 la douleur de ses parens et de la joie qui estoit faite a ce jour en la maison son pere,

212 moult...fist] tant bien quil le commenca a goulouse et de fait le detint pour lui et en commanda a Nc d'autel] dautretel P3 213 mer] nef (c) 214 henap] champ B1 voulut] cuida Bb 215 prendre...el henap] puisier (c) el henap] PIYP6, om. rest avec le henap/en la mer] PIYNc, en la mer auecques W, en leau B2Bb, en lyaue a tout le henap MQP2P4P6SZFbHbCbEb(c), trs. rest 216 veu] voiage QCbEb pleurant] emplorant Hb son filz] om. CbEb 217 l'autel] lostel P4 henap] add et quant il leut offert (c) chaï] add ius a terre NB1 218 hors] PIYMP6SZ, om. NB1, ius rest de l'autel] om. CbEb Et...l'autel] om. P2 releva] reuela Hb mist] remist P3P5RWAbGbNB1JbNc(c), jetta Y 218-219 et il...l'autel] om. W 218 fu geté] chey Y geté] regettes P3NB1P6 219 loing] add que deuant Nc(c) releva] reuela Hb 219-220 Et encore...loing/Et touz...chose] trs. Y 219 encore¹...fois] tierce foiz le releva et mist SZ encore²] arriere FMQB2BbP2P4DbFbHbAcFc, de rechief Sc geté] regettes P3P5CRWAbGbnB1P6JbNc 219-220 et il...loing.] om. CbEb 221 vint...dru] qui auoit este cheu en la mer reuint prestement deuant tous (c) 222 tantost] om. P4, que CbEb 223 ainssi] tantost F fu lié, et] lie Jb lié] moult joyeux YNc, joyeux Z au...Nicholas] om. CbEb beneoit] add saint YNc, saint rest l'un...l'autre] lun et lautre hanap CFQP6, lun et lautre hanap par les merites de Saint Nicholas MB2P2P4P6SZDbFbHb, lun hanap par les merites saint nicholas Bb, tous les deux hanaps AcFc, les deux hanaps Sc 225 fist] add faire B1P4Nc(c) saint] son Sc son manoir] sa maison F 226 an] om. P5WAbGb celi] PIY, monseigneur saint nicholas P3, saint nicholas rest 227 Et...Agarains] PIY, om. pris Y, lesqueulx amenerent lenfant P3, et fu cest enfant prins di ceulx Nc, om. rest fu²] add lenfant Q, Cest enfant fu (c) 227-228 leur roy] om. WC, le roy rest 228 L'an ensuant] cestui an CbEb, Vne fois Nc, add au iour (c) faisoit] celebroit YP6 devotement] om. P6 229 remembra] commenca a ramembrer Nc prise] add car il auoit este pris et amene a force sanz ce que nul de ses amis en sceussent riens. Et si comme il pensoit a sa prise Q 230 joie...jour] feste que on faisoit Y qui estoit faite] quilz auoient acoustumee a faire Q pere] add a tousiours Y

et commença a soupirer haut. Et le roy li demanda la cause de ses soupirs, et il li dist. Et quant le roy la sout il li dist: 'Que que ton Nicholas face, tu remaindras ci avec nous.' Et soudement il vint i.e. fort vent qui fist trembler toute la maison, et l'enfant fu ravi [avec le henap] et fu mis devant les portes la ou ses parens 235 faisoient la sollennité du saint, si que touz en firent moult grant joie. Et l'en lit ailleurs que celi jouvencel fu de Normendie, et ala outremer et fu pris du soudant, et le faisoit batre souvent devant li. Et si comme l'en le batoit le jour de la feste saint Nicholas, et il eust esté après mis en la chartre, il depria adonc saint Nicholas tant pour sa bateure comme pour la joie qu'il souloit avoir en cel jour, et puis 240 s'endormi, et quant il s'esveilla il se trouva en la chapelle de son pere.

<SAINT GEORGE>

Le prologue saint George. George est dit de geos qui vaut autant a dire comme P1 101va terre, et orge qui est autant a dire comme cultiver, si que Jeorge est a dire aussi comme cultivant la terre, c'est assavoir sa char. Et Augustin dit el Livre de la 5 Trinité que la bonne terre [est] el haut des montaignes et en la trempance des vales et el plain des champs. La premiere terre est bone as herbes vertes, la seconde est bone as vignes, la tierce est bonne as bles. Aussi le benoit George fu haut en despisant les basses choses et pour ce out il verdeur et purté. Il fu atrempe

231 haut] om. F demanda] add quil auoit et (c) 232 dist¹] add de bout en bout tout entierement (c) Et quant...dist] om. CbEb le roy dist Nc Que] pourquoy P3 remaindras] demourras YQP2(c), reuindras P5, rendras P4 233 nous] moy Bb vint] fist YCbEb, venta FMQB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHb(c), vit B1 i.e.] add moult MQB2P2P6SZDbFbHbCbEb(c) il...toute] om. P4 234 avec le henap] om. PINc 235 que...firent] en orent tous Y firent] furent R, demenerent (c) moult] PIYNc, om. rest lit] PIYNBI, dit rest 236 fu¹] PIY, estoit (c), add ne rest 237 souvent] forment B2Bb batoit²] add lenfant C la feste] P1, la YP5QRWAbGbNB1B2BbP2P4P6SDbFbHbJb, om. rest 238 esté] om. P3P5RWAbGbJb 239 bateure] batement P6, baterie Db, add quil souffroit (c) avoir] om. R4bGb (a trs. in P3CJb) en cel jour] om. Bb jour] add faire Ab 240 pere] add et y fist on moult grant ioie pour luy. Prions au benoit baron quil veulle prier pour nous a nostre seigneur ihesu crist. Qui est beney in seculorum. Amen. (c)

George: *Geo* is not in *P7*; *P4* omits the etymology; and *W* has lost the beginning of the text as far as 57 *avec moi*.

2 a dire] om. N 3 est²] vault NB1DbSc autant...dire²] om. P6 a dire¹] om. NB1 cultiver] cultieur RAbSHbJbNc est²] add autant P3P5CFAbGbNB1B2BbP2P6SHbJbNc(c), vault autant Z la terre] om. Db 4 assavoir] a dire Eb Livre] om. R 5 est] om. P1P3P5CFQRAbGbB2BbP2P4SZHb(c) des montaignes] singular NB1 et] est Ab(c), om. P2Jb 7 George] Gregoire SZ 8 out] est CbEb out...purté] om. P2 et purté] om. Nc, et pour ce P5AbP6SZJbHb, en lui et pour ce (c)

par discretion et pour ce ot il vin de leesce par dedens. Il fu plain par humilité
 10 et pour ce mist il hors blee de bonne oevre. Ou George puet estre dit de gerar qui
 vaut autant a dire comme saint et de giron qui vaut autant a dire comme liute. Car
 101vb il liuta avec le serpent./ Ou il est dit de gero qui est a dire estrange et gir qui vaut
 autant comme detrenchement et de us qui vaut autant comme conseilleur. Il fu
 15 estrange en despisant le monde et detrenchié par martyre et fu conseilleur en
 predicacion. Et sa legende fu nombree entre les escriptures apocriffes el concile de
 Nice por ce que le martyre de li n'a pas certaine relacion. Car el Kalendier de Bede
 il est dit que il souffri mort en Perse en la cité de Diopolim. Et l'en lit ailleurs que
 il repose en la cité de Dyopolim qui fu avant apelee Lide qui est delez Jospen. Et
 ailleurs l'en dit que il souffri mort souz Dyoclicien et Maximien emperieres de
 20 Perse presens .lxx. rois de leur empire. Et il dit ici que ce fu souz Dacien prevost
 et que Dioclicien et Maximien estoient emperieres.

Ci commence la glorieuse vie monseigneur saint George le beneoit martyr, et
 comment il vainqui le dragon et delivra la pucelle.

Saint George fu juge du lignage de Capadoce et vint une fois en la province de
 25 Libe en la cité de Silame, et delez cele cité estoit .i. estanc el quel il avoit .i. dragon
 qui s'atapissoit la. Et ce dragon avoit par mainte fois chacié le pueple qui aloit
 102ra [armé] contre li et venoit as murs de la cité et / tuoit par son souffler touz ceulz
 que il trovoit, pour laquel chose les gens de la cité furent contrains et li donnoient
 chascun jour .ij. ouailles pour apaisier sa forssenerie. Car quant il ne les avoit il
 30 assailloit si les murs de la cité que il corrompoit si l'air par souffler que pluseurs
 en moroient. Et donc l'en donnerent tant que les bestes estoient a bien pou failliees

9 et...vin] pur et plain SZ leesce] ioye Z par dedens] om. P3, internae Graesse; the other Latin texts have aeternae 10 blee] om. Q de¹] et P2SZ 10-21 Ou...emperieres] om. P6
 10 George] gregoire P5B1 11 vaut¹] est Bb vaut autant²] est Nc a dire²] om.
 P3CMQRNB1P2 12 le serpent] plural (c) est a dire] vault autant comme Hb 12-21
 Ou...emperieres] om. NB1 12 qui¹...gir] om. (c) estrange] escape (?) S, estage Z, peregrinus
 LgA et] add de P3CQAbGbB2BbP2ZDbFbHbJbCbEbNc 13 autant¹] add a dire
 YP3DbCbEbNc(c) detrenchement...comme] om. Db autant²] add a dire YB2BbFbEbNc(c)
 conseilleur] add en predication Z 14 estrange] peregrinus LgA fu] add vng bon (c) 14-15
 en² predication] om. P3 14 en²] add sa Bb 15 predication] praedicatione regni LgA les]
 add autres (c) el concile] om. Db concile] conseillie AbJb 16 martyre] concille F
 certaine] entame Jb, entame la (c) 17 Perse] partie (c) 17-18 Et...Dyopolim] om. P2Z
 18 avant] om. F avant apelee] nommee Nc delez] empres Z, empres la cite de (c) 19
 dit] lit YBbCbEb emperieres] qui pour lors estoient empereurs et il dist cy quil estoit empereur
 (c) 19-20 de Perse...empire] alibi quod sub Dyocletiano imperatore Persarum praesentibus
 LXXX regibus imperii sui LgA 20 presens] om. B2Bb empire] emperieres Db il] add est
 Y 21 et que...emperieres] om. CbEb 22-23 Ci commence...pucelle.] Only in P1 24 juge]
 scored through P3, om. Nc 25 delez] dempres Z 26 s'atapissoit] se mucoit P6 avoit...chacié]
 trs. NB1P6Db par maintes fois/chacié] trs. DbHb, chacie plusieurs fois NB1 27 armé]
 a la rive P1 28 chose...la] om. P4 cité] vile P3 29 .ij.] trois Nc ouailles] brebis ou
 moutons P6 30 cité] om. B1 si²] tellement Y par] add son YP3FB2BbP4P6Db
 31 pou] add toutes P6

meesmement + qu'il ne povoient avoir nules herbes pour les bestes. Et donc orent conseil entr'eulz et li donnerent chascun jour .i. home et une beste, tant que il donnerent par sort touz leur enfanz et filz et filles et que le sort n'en espargnoit 35 nul mes estoient touz les enfans de ce pueple + gastez, si que une fois fu esleue par le sort et jugiee a donner au dragon la fille du roi. Et donc le roi fu espoventé et dist: 'Prenez mon or et mon argent et la moitié de mon regne et me lessiez ma fille que elle ne muire en tel maniere,' au quel le pueple respondi par grant forssenerie: 'Roi, ce as tu fait par ton ordenance, et nos enfanz sont touz mors et 40 tu veulz sauver ta fille. Se tu n'acomplis de ta fille ce que tu as ordené des autres nous ardrons toi et ta maison.' Et quant le roi vit ce il commença a plorer + sa fille et dist: 'Las, ma tres chiere fille, que ferai je de toi et que dirai je? Car je ne verrai jamés plus tes noces.' Et donc se retorna au pueple et dist: 'Je vous pri que vous me donnez espace de .vij. jours a pleurer ma fille.' Et quant le pueple li out 45 ottrié, en la fin des .vij. jours le pueple retorna a li a grant forssenerie disant: 'Pourquoi pers tu ton pueple pour ta fille et nous moron touz par le soufflement du dragon?' Et donc le roi vit que il ne povoit delivrer sa fille. Il la fist vestir de roiaus vestemens et l'embraça et dist en plorant: 'Las, ma tres / douce fille, je 102rb cuidoie avoir de toi et norrir roial ligniee et tu t'en vas pour estre devouree du 50 dragon. Las, douce fille, je esperoie a semondre mes princes a tes noces et que tu fusses aornee de pierres precieuses, et avoir tymbres et tabors et orgues, et tu t'en vas au dragon estre devouree.' Et donc la baixa et la lessa aler disant: 'Par ma volenté, fille, fusse je mort ainz que toi et que je te perdisse ainssi.' Et donc ele se mist as piez de son pere et li requist sa beneïcon et il li donna en pleurant. Et 55 donc elle s'en ala au lac. Et quant le beneoit George qui passoit par la la vit plorant, si li demanda que ele avoit. Et elle li dist: 'Bon jouvencel, chevauche hastivement

32 meesmement qu'il] pour la quelle chose F +] por ce P1 les] donner aux Nc bestes] nourrir Eb 34 sort...le] om. Q touz leur] om. Bb enfanz et] om. NB1Nc filz et filles] trs. YCbEb, filz et leur filles NB1 35 les...pueple] om. Db +] getez et P1 gastez] gettez YP3MFbCbEb, gostes Q, gestes R, si] add auint Nc 36 jugiee a donner] donnee P2 donner] deuorer P2 jugiee...roi¹] donnee par iugement la fille du roi a ce dragon Db la fille du roi] after fois YFbCbEb, after sort Nc, after jugiee P3M, om. QR 37 la...lessiez] espagnies a P6 lessiez] rendez F 38 en...maniere] om. N, point B1 respondi] commenca a crier Nc 39 forssenerie] despit P6, add en disant Nc enfanz] filz Hb 40 sauver] espargnier Bb de ta fille] om. NB1 41 +] pour P1 42 et dist] en disant Y Las] om. F tres] om. Bb Car] Or P6 43 plus] om. CP6, toy ne Z retorna] tourna Y et dist] disant CbEb, om. MQRNB/DbFb 44 donnez espace] espassez P4 .vij.] .vij. P3 ma...pueple] om. Q 45 en...jours] et les huyt jours furent passez Nc 47 donc...fist] Lors le fist le roy Nc la] se P2 48 et l'embraça] lacolla Z tres douce] om. P6 douce] chere P5FABGbB2BbP2P4SZHbJbNc 49-50 cuidoie...je] om. Y 50 esperoie] pensoie P6 mes] not in the Latin text 50-51 et que tu fusse...precieuses] palatium margaritis ornare 51 aornee] add de royaux vestemens et P5FABGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc et orgues] om. P4P6 52 balsa et la] om. P6 53 fille] om. Gb ainz] auant BbP4P6SZ et...te] om. SZ et...ainssi] om. P6 54 en pleurant] om. SZ, emplorant P4 55 la la] ylec la F, la P4Hb plorant] om. YFbCbEb, la pucelle P4 56 Bon] beau Bb

et t'en fui que tu ne perisses avec moi.' Et George li dist: 'Ne te double fille, mes
di moi que tu atens ci et qu'est ce que tout ce pueple regarde.' Et ele li dist: 'Bon
jouvencel, si comme je voi tu es de grant cuer et de noble, mes pourquoi desires
60 tu a morir avec moi? Va t'en hastivement.' Et George li dist: 'Je ne me partirai de
ci devant que tu m'aras dit que tu as.' Et donc quant ele li ot tout exposé George
li dist: 'Fille, ne te double, quer je te aiderai el non de Jhesu Crist.' Et ele dist: 'Bon
chevalier, ne peris pas avec moi. Il me souffit se je peris seule, car tu ne me porroies
delivrer mes periroies avec moi.' Et si comme il parloient, vez ci le dragon qui vint
65 et leva le chief de l'yaue, et donc la pucelle dist en tremblant: 'Fui t'en, bon sire,
fui t'en hastivement.' Et donc George monta sus son cheval et se garni du signe
de la crois et assailli hardiemment le dragon qui venoit contre li, et brandi forment
la lance et se commanda a Dieu et navra le dragon et le geta a terre, et dist a la
pucelle: 'Jete li ta çainture entor le col, et ne le doute de riens, bele fille.' Et quant
102va 70 ele ot ce fait le dragon la sivoit / aussi comme .i. tres debonnaire chien. Et donc
quant il l'orent mené en la cité le pueple qui le vit s'en commençà a fuir par
montaignes et par forteresces, et disoient: 'Las a nous, quer nous perirons ja tous.'
Et donc le beneoit George leur demoustra et dist: 'Ne vous doubtez, quer Nostre
Seigneur m'a envoié a vous pour vous delivrer de ces poines de ce dragon. Creez
75 en Dieu tant seulement et chascun de vous soit baptizié et je occirrai ce dragon.'
Et donc le roi et tout le pueple furent baptiziez. Et donc le beneoit George sacha
l'espee et occist le dragon et commanda que il fust porté hors de la cité. Et donc
couvint .iiij. paire de bués a mener le hors en .i. grant champ. Et donc en celi jour
furent baptiziez .xx. mille homes exceptez fames et enfans. Et donc le roy en
80 l'oneur de la Vierge Marie et du beneoit George fist faire une eglise de merveilleuse
grandeur, et de l'autel de cele eglise il sourt une fontaine vive qui guerist touz les

57 t'en fui] te haste *P3* Ne te double/fille] *trs. P6* 57-58 mes...moi] et me dy *P6*
 58 que¹...et/qu'est...regarde] *trs. Z* 59 si...voi/tu...noble] *trs. Db* voi] croy *Bb* grant]
 bon *P3Bb* grant...noble] noble et de moult grant couraige *Nc* 61 devant] jusques a tant *WNc*
 que tu as] qui tu es *Jb* tout] *om. Ab*, dit et *P4* 64 periroies] pourras *Q* 64 parloient] add
 ensamble *F* 65 chief] teste *Nc* Fui t'en] *om. NBI* 65-66 bon sire, fuy t'en] de cy *P6* 66
 hastivement] bon cheualier *Nc* 67 et¹] add commenca a brochier le cheval et *Nc* hardiemment]
 hastiuement *P6Db* qui...li] *om. F* 67-68 qui...dragon] *om. P6* brandi...lance/se...Dieu] *trs.*
Nc 68 et²...dragon] *om. P3* le²...et⁴] *om. Db* et⁴] add George *P6Hb* dist] George dist
P6Hb 68-69 dist...pucelle] George li dist *P5FabGbP2P4SZJbNc* 69 pucelle] fille *B2Bb*
 70 chien] aignel *NBI* 71 qui...vit] *om. Fb* 72 forteresces] forestz *FbHb* a nous] fuiions
M a nous quer] *om. YAbFbHbJbNc* 73 leur...et] *om. YFbCbEb* 74 a vous] *om. PSB2BbP2P4*
 a...pour] *om. SZ* pour vous] *om. P6* de ces poines] *om. P6* dragon] add venimeux *Nc* 75 chascun de vous] *om. P3* 75-76 et²...baptiziez] *om. P2P6* 76 le
 beneoit] *om. Bb* sacha] tira *P6* l'espee] le glaive *B2Bb* porté] menes *P3*, boute *NBI*
 78 mener] trainer *Nc* 79 baptiziez] add plus de *F* exceptez] sans *YP6FbCbEb* 79-80
 donc...eglise] fist le roy faire vne eglise en lonneur de dieu de la vierge marie et du benoist george
 et *P6* 80 la] add benoite *P3Nc*, add verite (?) *Ab* 81-82 touz les malades] de toutes maladies
 aceulz *SZ*

malades qui en boivent. Et le roy offri a saint George grant peccune sanz nombre, laquelle il refusa a prendre et commanda que ele fust donnee as povres. Et donc saint George entrouist le roi briement de .iiij. choses. Ce fu que il eust la cure 85 des eglises de Dieu, qu'il honorast les prestres, qu'il oïst bonnement le devin office et fust touzjours aumosnier as povres. Et donc bâsa le roi et se parti de la. Et toute fois lit l'en en aucuns livres que si comme le dragon aloit devourer la pucele George se garni de la crois et ala occirre le dragon.

En ce temps estoient emperieres Dyoclicien et Maximien, et fu si grant 90 persecution de crestiens souz Dacien prevost que en .i. mois il furent .xxij. mille coronnés par martyre. Donc entre tant de / tormens moult de crestiens desfaillirent 102vb et sacrefioient as ydoles. Et quant saint George le vit il fu forment dolent en cuer et departi as povres tout quan que il avoit, et mist hors l'abit de chevalerie et vesti l'abit des crestiens, et sailli el milieu des tyrans et dist: 'Touz les diex des gens sont 95 deablies et Nostre Seigneur si fist les ciex.' Auquel le prevost couroucié dist: 'Par quel presompcion oses tu apeler nos diex deablies? Or me di donc tu es et comment tu as non.' Auquel George dist: 'Je sui apelé Jorge et sui de noble ligniee de Capadoce et sui venu en Palestine par la volenté de Dieu, et ai tout delessié pour ce que je puisse plus franchement servir a Dieu du ciel.' Et si comme le prevost 100 ne le povoit encliner a soi, il le commanda estre levé en .i. torment qui est aussi comme une crois fichiee en terre par les .ij. bras et est nommee eculee, et que son corps fust desrompu a ongles + membre a membre. Et li fist metre encore as costez brandons ardans tant que les entrailles li paroient, et commanda que ses plaies fussent arrouseees de sel et frotees. Et cele meismes nuit s'apparut a George Dieu 105 a grant lumiere et le conforta doucement par la douce vision duquel et par le dous parler il fu si conforté que il n'acontoit riens en ses tormens. Et quant Dacien vit que il ne le povoit sourmonter par poines, il apela .i. enchanter et li dist que les

82 George] Gregoire P2 peccune] add dor P6 83 laquelle...povres] om. Y il...que] om.
Bb a prendre] om. P3 85 office] seruice P5F4bGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc 86 bâsa le
 roi et] le roi P6 87 livres] lieux F la pucele] le peuple P6 88 garni] add du signe CP4P6Nc
 le] add dit SZ 90 .xxij.] xx. P4, .xxij. Db 92 forment] molt YFbCbEb 93 et departi]
 Si commença a departir et donna Nc avoit] add dauoir N, add dabit with ab subpuncted B1
 93-94 et vesti...crestiens/et sailli...tyrans] trs. P3 94 milieu] un lieu R 94-95 gens...les]
 om. B1 94 sont] add mauuais Nc 95 si...ciex] les fist telx Hb couroucié] om. P4 96
 apeler] assembler Nc donc] qui P3, add qui SZ 96-97 et...non] om. Db, add et dont tu es
 SZ 97 Je sui] quil estoit Bb apelé] nomme Nc 98 de Capadoce] om. Gb 99 plus]
 om. Bb du ciel] om. P4 100 a soi] om. Db levé] om. WBb 101 fichiee] om. W en
 terre] om. P5F4bGbB2BbP2P6HbJb bras] bouts YP5F4bGbB2BbP2P4P6SZFbHbJbCbEbNc et
 est nommee] qui est dit Bb 101-102 que son corps] om. Bb 102 a ongles] om. P6 ongles]
 vngles Y, vn gres Fb +] de fer P1M encore] om. P6 103 brandons] add de feu P6
 paroient] perioient Jb 104 arrouseees] frotees P6 de sel/et frotees] trs. Nc et frotees]
 om. NB1P6 meismes] ensuant Nc nuit] add lange de nostre seigneur YFb, saint pierre
 P5F4bGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc, nostre seigneur P3Db, lange CbEb Dieu] nostre seigneur
 CMNB1, om. rest 105 douce] om. P3, add visitacion et P4 105-106 et²...parler] om. W
 107-109 que²...dist] om. NB1

crestiens despisoient [s]es tormens par leur ars magiques, ‘et despisent les sacrefices de nos diex.’ Et l’enchanteur li dist: ‘Se je ne puis sormonter ses ars je 110 veul perdre le chief.’ Et donc fist ses malefices et appela ses diex, et puis prist vin 103ra et mella venim avecques et le tendi a George a boire, et l’omme / de Dieu fist le signe de la crois desus et but et n’en senti nule lesion. Et de rechief celi enchanter mesla arriere plus fort venim que le premier avec le vin, et l’omme de Dieu fist le signe de la crois et le but tout sanz avoir nul mal. Et quant l’enchanteur vit ceste 115 chose il chaï tantost as piés du saint + et li requist pardon en pleurant et que il fust fait crestien. Lequel enchanter le juge fist tantost decoler. Et le jour ensuant il commanda que George fust mis en une roe garnie tout entour de glaives taillans de .ij. pars, mes tantost la roe fu froissiee et George fu trouvé tout sains. Et donc fu le prevost couroucié et commanda que il fust geté en une chaudiere plaine de 120 plonc fondu. Et il fist le signe de la crois et entra dedens, et par la vertu de Dieu il commença a estre dedens aussi comme en .i. baing. Et quant Dacien vit ce il se pourpensa que il l’amolieroit par beles paroles car par menaces ne le povoit il sormonter ne par tormens. Et donc li dist il: ‘George biau filz, vois tu comme [nos] diex te sont de grant debonnaireté qui te soustienent si souffrablement et si les 125 blasmes, et toutefois sont il appareilliez a toi pardonner se tu te convertis a eulz. Tres douz filz, fai donc ce que je t’amonnestes, si que ta fausse loi deguerpie tu sacrefies a nos diex et que tu aies grans honneurs d’eulz et de nous.’ Auquel George dist en souzriant: ‘Pourquoi ne le me deis tu plus tost au commencement

108 despisoient] desprisoient *P2Nc*, add tous *Q* ses] les *P1* ars] om. *AbGbP4* despisent] desprisent *P2Nc* 109 nos] leurs *P3*, om. *Nc* ars] add magiques *Db* 110 chief] col *Nc* fist] add mal *Ab* 110-111 prist vin et] om. *Nc* 110 vin] om. *Ab* 110-111 vin...avecques] venim et le mesla auecques vin *NB1Bb* 111 avecques] add vin *P5CMQRAbGbB2P4DbHbJbNc* a boire] om. *P5FAbGbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc* 111-113 et l’omme...vin] om. *P2* 111 l’omme de Dieu] il *NB1P6* Dieu] add le prist et *W* 112 desus] om. *WFb*, add le venim *Nc* et] add le *WNB1Bb*, om. *Ab* senti] add onques *P3FW* 113 arriere] om. *WNB1BbP4P6SZCbEbNc*, de rechief *P5FAbGbB2P4HbJb* venim...vin] vin avec venin *SZ* que le premier] om. *P3WCbEb*, quil nauoit fait deuant *Bb* le vin] venim *NB1* l’omme] nomme *Gb* l’omme de Dieu] George *Bb*, le saint homme *Nc* 113-114 fist...crois et] om. *Bb* 114 crois] add dessus *P3FNBI* et...tout] om. *Nc* tout] om. *P5WAbGbB2BbP2P4P6SZFbHbJb* sanz avoir] et nen sentit *Bb* sanz...mal] sans nulle lesion & sans nul mal auoir *M* 115 chaï] se mist *P3* +] homme *P1P2Nc* requist] add tantost *CbEb* 116 fait] om. *WP6Db* le juge] om. *C* This juge, Latin judex, is presumably still Dacien, who is usually, e.g. 119, a prevost, Latin praeses. fist tantost] commanda a estre *Nc* il] le juge *Nc* 117 garnie] om. *P6* taillans] poignans *P3*, trenchans *P5FAbGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc* 118 de...pars] aux deux costes *Bb*, om. *CbEb* tantost] incontinent *Nc* et...sains] om. *F* 118-119 fu²...il] George par le commandement du prevost qui estoit couroucie *P4* 119 fust] add tantost *C* 120 fondu] boullant *Hb* vertu] voulente *P6* 121 commenca...aussi] y estoit *Bb* dedens] om. *Fb* 122 beles] om. *Bb* 122paroles] add et par doulx ammonnemestens *Nc* 122-123 par, il, par] om. *SZ* 123 ne par tormens] en nulle maniere *CbEb* il] le prevost dacien *Hb*, Dacien *Jb* George] om. *Hb* nos] mes *P1YP3CMQRWNBI* *DbFbCbEb* 124-125 et...blasmes] om. *Db* 125 convertis] veulx conuertir *SZNc*, veulx consentir *F* 126-127 tu sacrefies] et sacrefice *B2Bb* 127 grans] om. *Bb* 128 le me deis] mamonnestas *Nc*

par beles paroles avant que par tormens? Je sui appareillié de faire ce que tu
 requiers.' Et donc Dacien escharni par ceste promesse fu forment lié, et commanda
 que l'en criast que touz s'asemblassent pour veoir George qui avoit tant estrivé
 departir de sa loy et de sacrefier. Et donc toute la cité fu aornee de joie. Et quant
 George / entra el temple des ydoles pour sacrefier, et tout le pueple estoit illec 103rb
 joieus et lié, il s'agenoilla et deproia Nostre Seigneur que il destruisist du tout en
 130 tot le temple et les ydoles, si que + a la loenge de li et a la conversion du pueple
 il n'en remainsist nule chose. Et tantost il descendri feu du ciel qui ardi le temple
 et touz les diex et les prestres, et la terre s'aouvrir et englouti tout ce qui en demora.
 Et ce raconte Ambrose en .i. preface et dit: 'George tres loial chevalier de Jhesu
 Crist, quant il gouvernoit la profession de crestienté taisiblement il confessa seul
 140 et sans paour le filz de Dieu entre les ydolatres, auquel la grace devine otroia tel
 fermeté de foi que il despist les commandemens de la poste du tyrant et ne douta
 point les tormens [de] poines sans nombre. O noble et bneuré combatant de
 Nostre Seigneur que la soueve promesse du regne temporel ne decut pas, mes le
 persecuteur fu deceu et la moustrance de ses faus ymages fu getee en abisme.' Et
 145 quant Dacien ot veu ceste chose il fist George amener a li et li dist: 'Quiex sont
 tes malefices, le plus + mauvés des homes qui as fait tel felonnie?' Et George li dist:
 'Ne cuide pas, roi, que il soit ainssi, mes vien avec moi et tu me verras sacrefier
 de rechief.' Et il li dist: 'Je entent bien ta fraude, quer tu me veulz faire asourbir
 en terre aussi comme tu as fait asorbir mon temple et mes diex.' Et George li dist:
 150 'Di moi, maleureus, comment t'aideront [tes] diex qui ne se sont peus aidier?' Et
 donc fu le roi couroucié et dist a Alexandrine sa fame: 'Je defail et me muir, quer
 je voi bien que je sui seurmorté de cest homme.' Et ele li dist: 'Cruel tyrant et

129 avant] om. P3P6SZEb de faire] destre AbB2BbJb 130 promesse] parole Db
 forment] moult BbP2 lié] joyeux YHb l'en criast que] om. CWNBI P6HbCbEbNc 131
 George] add sacrefier F 132 sacrefier] add a noz dieux Z, aux dieux Nc aornee] raemplie
 P3 de joie] prae gaudio LgA 133 des ydoles] om. CbEb pour sacrefier] om. P3
 133-134 pour...et²] il Db 134 joieus et lié] om. P6 et lié] om. NB1Z 134-135 du tout
 en tot] om. P3 en tot] om. YGbFbCbEb 135 et les] des P5 +] ce fust P1 conversion]
 confusion P6SZ, conuersacion Db 136 tantost] add comme George eut fait sa priere Nc 136
 ardi] add tout NB1 137 touz] om. NB1 diex] ydoles NB1BbHb 138 .i.] son F
 138-144 et...abisme] om. P6 139 la] sa YFbCbEb profession] prefeccion N, perfeccion
 BI, procession Hb 139-140 seul et] om. Nc 140 devine] de dieu Nc 141 despist] add
 tous B2Bb poste] puissance P5Z 142 de] et les P1 O] Comme JbNc 143 soueve]
 premiere C temporel] om. CbEb pas] point P3, une Z 144 abisme] enfer P3 145 fist]
 commanda Nc George...a] venir George deuant Bb 146 tes] ses P4 le] les P5BbP4 le
 plus] om. SZ +] tres P1 147 roi] toy P3P5FabGbB2BbP4SHbJbNc, om. NB1P2P6Z
 148 entent] voy Bb 148-149 ta...aussi] om. CbEb 148 faire] om. P5FabGbNB1B2Bb-
 P2P4P6SZHbJbNc 149 asorbir] om. P5FabGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc 149 temple...diex]
 peuple P4 et...diex] om. P4 149-150 Et...diex] om. Nc 150 tes] ces P1 qui ne se]
 quant ils ne Db 151 le roi] Dacien NB1 a...fame] om. F Alexandrine] Alixandre P3
 152 et] add fel et C

mauvés boucher, ne t'ai je pas dit souventes fois que tu ne fusses pas cruel as
 103va crestiens, / quer le dieu d'iceulz se combat pour eulz? Et saches que je veul estre
 155 faite crestienne.' Donc fu le roi esbahi et dist: 'Las, quel douleur, es tu dont
 deceue?' Et dont la fist il pendre par les cheveus et batre tres durement de verges.
 Et ele dist a George tant comme l'en la batoit: 'Jeorge, lumiere de verité, ou cuides
 tu que je voise qui n'ai point esté regeneree d'yaue de baptesme?' Et George li dist:
 'Fille, ne te double pas, quar l'effusion de ton sanc te sera reputé pour baptesme
 160 et aras couronne.' Et donc en disant a Dieu ses oroisons ele mist hors l'esperit,
 et ce tesmoigne Ambrose en son preface et dit: 'Et pour ce la roine des gens de
 Perse, + condampnee de son mari par cruel sentence sanz avoir grace de baptesme,
 deservi victoire de glorieuse passion. De laquelle nous ne povons pas doubter que
 la rousee de son sanc espandue deservi a defferner les portes du ciel et entrer pour
 165 poursooir le regne des cieux.' Et le jour ensuant George reçut tel sentence que il
 fust trainé par toute la cité et puis eust le chief trenchié. Et donc proia il a Nostre
 Seigneur que qui c'onques requerroit son aide que il eust sa requeste. Et la devine
 vois si vint a li et li dist que il seroit fait si comme il avoit requis. Et quant il out
 s'oroison accomplie il accompli son martyre par avoir coupé le chief, et fu desous
 170 Dyoclicien et Maximien + qui commencierent adonc environ l'an de Nostre
 Seigneur .CC. et .iiij. vins et .vij. Et quant Dacien retornoit del lieu ou il avoit esté
 decolé et aloit a son palais, le feu de Dieu descendit du ciel qui l'ardi avec touz ses
 menistres.

Gregoire de Tours raconte que si comme aucuns portoient aucunes reliques de
 103vb 175 saint George et il se furent hostelez en .i. oratoire, quant il vint au matin / il ne
 pourent mouvoir la chasse en nule maniere devant que il orent lessié illec une partie
 des reliques.

L'en lit en lystoire d'Antioche que si comme les crestiens aloient assegier

153 boucher] homme *Nc* souventes fois] *om. B1* fois] *om. P5FAbGb-*
Nb2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc pas²] *add mauuais ne Nc* 154 le...d'iceulz] leur dieu
P5FAbGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc saches] *om. Hb* 155 faite] *om. P5P6Db* le roi *Dacien*
Nb1P6 Las quel] Pour laquelle *Nc* 156 fist] commanda *Nc* pendre] prendre *QAbBbP6Jb*
 pendre...cheveus/batre...verges] *trs. P4* 157 ele] *om. YWNB1DbFbCbEb* tant...batoit]
om. Jb Jeorge] *om. P6* verité vertu *P3* 158 point] *om. P4* esté regeneree] receu *F*
 de baptesme] *om. Db* 159 l'effusion] le fusion *P5P6* te] ce *Db* 160 aras] au cas *Ab*
 couronne] *add de martyre MDb* a Dieu] *om. P3P5FAbGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc* mist
 hors] rendit *Bb* 161 ce] *add que YdbFbCbEb, add fu NB1* 162+] *fu P1CbEb* de...mari]
om. NB1 sentence] tourment *NB1* de²] *add gloire et de P4* 163 glorieuse passion] gloire
P6 164 espandue] *om. Hb* 165 poursooir] parceuoir *Y*, possider *Z* regne] royaume *Nc*
 166 trenchié] coppe *YFbCbEb* 167 eust] oynt *Nc* 169 accomplie] finee *Y*, faite *Nc*
 coupé] trenchie *Nc* 170+] emperieres *P1* adonc] *om. MW* 171 et .vij.] .xvij. *SZ*
 il] le saint *Y* 172 decolé] *om. P4* de Dieu] du ciel *CBb* du ciel] *om. CBb* 174
 aucunes] *om. NB1* 175 .i.] *add belle Y oratoire*] *add de S. George NB1* 176 pourent]
 sorent *AbJb* mouvoir...chasse] auoir la chace ne mouuoir *Y* chasse] chaire *P2* illec] *om. Hb*

Jherusalem un tres bel jouvencel s'apparut a .i. prestre, qui disoit que il estoit saint
 180 George duc des crestiens, et l'amonnesta que il portassent [avec eulz] ses reliques
 et que il seroit avec eulz. Et quant il orent assiégié Jherusalem et les Sarrazins se
 desfendoient si que les crestiens n'osoient monter dedens par les eschieles, [le
 benoit] George vestu de blanches armes et ennobli d'une vermeille crois leur
 demoustra que il montassent aprés li seurement et que il prendroient la cité. Et
 185 donc il s'en enhardirent et pristrent la cité et occistrent touz les Sarrazins.

Explicit la vie saint George.

<(c) TEXT OF GEORGE USING Ac>

Saint George estoit ung chevalier de Capadoce. Il vint une fois en une cité qui Ac 124va
 eut a nom Sine, et d'emprez celle cité avoit ung estang ainsi comme une mer la
 ou il avoit ung dragon qui tout envenimoit, et autrefois le peuple s'estoit / assamblé 124vb
 5 pour le tuer, et quant ilz le veoient ilz s'enfuioient, et quant il venoit prez des murs
 de la cité il venimoit les gens de son alaine. Et pour ce la gent de celle cité lui
 donnoient tous les jours .ij. brebis pour lui assasier par quoy il ne fesist nul mal
 au peuple. Et quant les brebis defailloient on prenoit ung home et une brebis. Dont
 on fist une ordonnance en la ville que on prenisti les enfans de la bonne gent selon
 10 les loz de chascun a son tour, fust riche ou povre, gentil ou vilain. Or advint quant
 tous les enfans de la ville estoient ja livrez tant que le lot chey sur la fille du roy,
 dont fut le roy couroucié et dist au peuple: ‘Pour Dieu prenez or et argent et
 quanques j’ay, mais que vous me laissiez ma fille.’ Ilz dirent: ‘Comment, sire, vous
 avez donnee la loy, et nostres enfans sont ja tous mors, et maintenant vous le volez
 15 faulser. Ou vostre fille sera donnee ou nous vous arderons et toute vostre maison.’
 Quant le roy vid qu’il n’en povoit plus faire il commença a plorer et dist a sa fille:
 ‘Or ne verray je plus tes neupces.’ Adont retorna il a son peuple et leur demanda
 .viiij. jours de respit, et ilz lui ottrorierent. Quant les .viiij. jours furent passez ilz se

179 prestre] om. B1 qui disoit] et lui dist P5F4bGbB2BbP2P4P6SZHbJbNc 180 avec
 eulz] om. P1 181 et...eulz] om. Db Jherusalem] om. P4 182 n'osoient] ne soient Q,
 nessoient R monter] entrer Nc dedens] en hault W 182-183 le benoit] om. P1 183
 vermeille] merueille P2 184 montassent] add hardiement W seurement] hardiement C
 185 donc...cité et] om. Z touz] om. Ab

George (c): The etymology is here excluded as (c) variants are given with the main text of Geo above.

5 et¹] mais Sc 6 la gent] les gens Sc 11 estoient...chey] furent la ainsi tous liurez vng
 iour chey le loz Sc 14 nostres] noz Sc 15 fille] add nous Sc 17 plus] iamais Sc leur]
 lui Sc

trairent a lui et lui dirent: 'Tu vois que la cité perist.' Dont fist le roy parer sa file
 20 ainsi come elle deust estre espousee et l'acola, baissa et lui donna sa beneïcon et
 puis le menerent au lieu ou le dragon estoit. Quant elle estoit la, saint George
 passoit par la. Quant il vid la dame si lui demanda qu'elle faisoit la, et elle lui dist:
 125ra 25 'Allez vous ent, beau josnencel, que vous ne perissés aussi.' Dont lui dist il: 'Dictes
 moi que vous avez et pourquoy vous plourez et ne vous doubtez riens.' Quant elle
 vid qu'il le vouloit savoir elle lui dist comment elle estoit livree au dragon. / Dont
 dist saint George: 'Belle fille, ne te doublete de riens car je te aiderai ou nom de
 Jhesu Crist.' Elle lui dist: 'Pour Dieu, bon chevalier, allez vous ent que vous ne
 demoureuz avec moy, car vous ne me pourrois delivrer.' Ainsi come ilz parloient
 ensamble le dragon s'aparut courant a eux et saint George estoit sur son cheval
 30 qui tray s'espee et se garni du signe de la croix, et s'en ala hardiemment contre le
 dragon qui venoit a lui, et le feri de sa lanche et le navra forment et jetta a terre.
 Et puis dist a la pucelle: 'Bailliés cha vostre chainture et le mettés ou col du dragon
 et ne vous doubtez.' Quant elle eut ainsi fait le dragon aloit aprés lui comme une
 beste debonnaire. Quant il l'eut amené en la cité, les gens s'enfuioient par
 35 montaignes et par vales et disoient: 'Las, las, nous serons tous mors!' Dont leur
 dist saint George: 'Ne vous doubtez pas; sans plus creez en Dieu Jhesu Crist et
 vous faictes baptisier et je tueray le dragon.' Adont se fist le roy baptisier et tout
 son peuple, et saint George occist le dragon et commanda qu'on le jettast aux
 champs, et prist on quatre charettes de beufz qui le traïrent hors de la cité. Adont
 40 furent bien baptisiez .xv. mille hommes sans les femmes et les enfans. Et le roy fist
 faire une belle eglise de Nostre Dame et de saint George en laquelle il sourt encore
 une fontaine d'eau vive qui garist les malades qui en boivent. Aprés ce offri le roy
 a saint George tant d'argent que on ne le povoit nombrer, mais il le refusa tout et
 commanda qu'on donnast aux povres pour Dieu. Et enjoindi le roy quatre choses,
 125rb 45 c'est qu'il eust les cures des eglises et que il honnourast les / prebstres et oïst leur
 service songneusement et qu'il eust pitié des povres. Et puis balsa le roy et se
 departi.

Or advint que ou temps [de] Dioclesien et Maximien qui estoient empereurs
 estoit si grant persecution des cristiens que dedens ung mois on en martiria bien
 50 .xxij. milliers. Et pour ce ilz avoient si grant paour que aucuns renioient Dieu et
 sacrificioient aux ydolles. Quant saint George vit ce il laissa l'abit de chevalier et
 vendi quanques il avoit et donna tout aux povres et prinst habit de cristien et puis
 sailly ou moillon des paiens et commencha a crier: 'Tous les dieux des paiens sont
 diables. Mon Dieu fist les cieulx et est vray Dieu.' Dont lui dist le prevost: 'De

20 elle deust estre] selle fust Sc l'acola] add et Sc 21 Quant] Et comme Sc 22 si]
 il Sc 24 doubtez] add de Sc 28 demoureuz] mourez Sc 31 feri] frey Sc 31 et?] si grant
 cop quil Sc forment] durement Sc 33 lui] elle Sc 34 l'eut] fut Sc 44 qu'on] add le
 FcSc 48 de] om. Ac 51 l'abit] la vit Sc

55 quelle presumption te vient il que tu dis que noz dieux sont diables? Et si nous dis qui tu es et comment on t'appelle.' Il respondi tantost: 'J'ay a nom George. Je suy ung gentil home chevalier de Capadoce et ay tout laissié pour servir le Dieu du ciel.' Dont s'enforcha le prevost de lui attraire par doulces parolles, et quant il n'en peut venir a chief il le fist lever a ung gibet et tant battre de grans bastons et de 60 broches de fer que son corps estoit tout despechié. Et puis fist les brandons de feu joindre a ses costez, et les entrailles qui estoient ja apperissans froter de sel et puis l'envoia en la chartre. Mais Nostre Sire s'aparut a lui celle nuit a grant lumiere et le reconforta moult doulcement. Et par celle grant consolation il printst si grant coeur qu'il ne doubtoit riens au tourment qu'on lui fesist souffrir. Dont quant le 65 prevost Dacien vid qu'il ne le povoit surmonter, il appella son enchanteur et luy dist: 'Je voy que ces cristiens ne doubtent / riens a noz tourmens.' L'enchanteur 125va tantost se obliga a la teste copper s'il n'en venoit a chief. Dont printst il venin et le mesla avec vin et le donna a saint George a boire. Il fist la croix dessus et puis tantost il le but sans lui grever, dont lui en donna l'enchanteur encore du plus fort 70 a boire qu'il n'avoit fait par devant, ne onques ne le greva. Quant il vid ce il s'agenoulla aux piés saint George et lui pria qu'il le vaulsist faire cristien. Et quant Dacien sceut qu'il estoit devenu cristien il lui fist copper la teste. Et puis l'endemain il fist saint George mettre entre deux roes qui estoient toutes plaines d'espees trenchans et agües de .ij. pars, mais tantost les deux roes despechierent et saint 75 George en eschappa tout sain. Et adont commanda Dacien qu'on le mesist en une panelle plaine de plonc fondu. Et quant saint George y fut entré il lui sembloit qu'il fust en ung bain bien aisé. Dont le commença a amollier Dacien par doulces parolles et lui dist: 'George, la pacience de noz dieux est trop grande envers toy que tant leur as fait de despit dont, beau tres doulx filz, je te prie que tu retournes 80 a ton coeur et sacrefie aux dieux et laisse ta follie et je te feray exaulcier et honnourer.' Adont commença saint George a soubzrire et lui dist: 'Pourquoy ne m'en disoies tu autant au commencement? Je suy appareillié de faire ce que tu dis.' Dont fut Dacien lié et fist crier par toute la ville que tous s'assemblassent pour veoir George sacrier qui tant avoit estrivé. Dont fut paree la cité et fut feste par toute la 85 ville, et vindrent tous au temple pour ce veoir.

Quant saint George fut agenoullié et on cuidoit qu'il vaulsist aourer les ydolles, il pria Nostre Seig/neur le roy du ciel qu'il destruisist le temple et l'ydolle en 125vb l'onneur de son nom pour faire convertir le peuple. Et tantost le feu descendit du ciel et ardi le temple et les idolles et leurs prebstres. Et puis la terre se ouvri et 90 englouti toute la cendre qui en estoit demouree. Dont le fist Dacien amener et lui

62 l'envoia] les enuoia Sc 66 a] om. Sc 68 mesla...le] om. Fc 69 en] om. Fc 70
 qu'il] qui Fc 71 Et] om. Sc 74 despechierent] despererent Sc 76 panelle] pareille FcSc
 78 trop] moult Sc 79 que¹] om. Sc 83 lié] moult ioieux Sc 84 sacrier] sacrefier Sc

dist: 'Quelz sont ces malefices et grandes mauvaistez que tu as faictes et grans desloialtez?' Dont lui dist saint George: 'Ha, sire, ne le creés pas mais venez avec moy et regardez comment je sacrifieray.' Dont lui dist Dacien: 'Je voy bien ta fraude et ton barat! Tu me veulx faire engloutir en terre ainsi comme tu as fait le temple et mes dieux.' Dont dist saint George: 'O chetif, dy moy comment te pourroient aidier tes dieux quant ilz ne se pevent aidier.' Adont fut Dacien si courouchié qu'il dist a sa femme: 'Je morray de couroulx se je ne puis cest homme surmonter.' Dont luy dist elle: 'Mauvais et crueulx tirant, ne vois tu pas la grande virtu des cristiens? Je le te disoie bien que tu ne leur fesisses nul mal, car leur dieu se combat pour eulx. Et bien saches que je veul estre cristienne.' Dont fut moult esbahy Dacien et luy dist: 'Veulx tu estre cristienne?' Adont la fist il prendre par les ceveulx et puis la fist moult cruellement batre et flageller, dont demanda elle a saint George: 'Que pourray je devenir, car je ne sui pas baptisee.' Dont lui respondi le benoit saint George: 'Ne te doubtes, tres belle fille, car tu seras baptisee en ton sang.' Dont commencha elle a aourer Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist et ainsi trespassa et s'en alla en paradis.

126ra L'endemain donna Dacien sa sentence que / saint George fust trainé par toute la cité, et puis après qu'on lui coppast la teste. Adont fist il s'oroison a Nostre Seigneur que tous ceulx et celles qui le requeroient impetrassent a Dieu ce que ilz 110 demanderoient en son nom. Et une voix vint du ciel qui lui dist que tout ainsi qu'il avoit devisé ainsi seroit il fait. Et puis après s'oroison faicte on lui trencha le chief environ l'an de grace deux cens .iiij. vingz et .vij. Quant Dacien s'en ralloit en son palais du lieu la ou il avoit esté decollé, le feu du ciel cheÿ sur luy et l'ardi tout entre lui et ses varlés et sergans.

115 On treuve en escript en l'Istoire de Anthioce que quant les cristiens aloient oultre mer que une fois ung josnencel tres beau s'apparut a ung prebstre de l'ost et lui conseilla qu'ilz portassent avecq eulx ung peu de reliques saint George, car il estoit conduiseur de leur bataille, et ilz firent tant qu'ilz en eurent. Quant ce vint qu'ilz eurent [assegié] Jherusalem et ilz n'osoient monter dessus les murs pour les 120 quariaulx et les mangonniaux que les Sarasins jettoient, ilz veirent appertement saint George qui avoit armes blanches et une croix rouge qui monta devant eulx par dessus les murs, et ilz le sievirent et ainsi fut prinse la cité de Jherusalem et c.

91 Quelz] Que *Fc* 96 pevent] poellent *Fc* 98 et crueulx tirant] thirant & crueux *Fc*
 99 le] om. *Fc* 101 prendre] prendre & pendre *Fc*, pendre *Sc* 110 qu'il] comme il *Sc*
 111 ainsi] om. *Sc* 113 esté decollé] fait Saint George decoler *Fc* cheÿ] descendri *Fc*
 114 varlés] valles *Sc* 117 peu] om. *Fc* 118 conduiseur] add et gouuerneur *Fc* et] add
 a son dit *Fc* 119 asségié] asségié *AcSc* 121 qui¹] lequel *Fc*

<SAINT BARTHOLOMEW>

Le prologue saint Berthelemy. Berthelemy est exposé filz de souspendant les yaues, ou filz de souspendant [moy], et il est dit de bar, qui vaut autant comme filz, et de tholos, qui vaut autant comme souveraineté, et de moys, c'est a dire yaue, 5 et de ce [est] dist Berthelemy, aussi comme filz du souspendant les yaues. C'est de Dieu qui eslieve haut les pensees des docteurs, si que les yaues de doctrine il espandent plus bas, et est non de Syrie, non pas Ebrieu. Et par le premier tu dois congnoistre .ij. suspendemens que il ot. Il fu suspendu et osté de l'amour du mond[e], et fu suspendu et ententif en l'amour du ciel, et fu du tout en tot 10 suspendu et envolepé en la grace et en l'aide de Dieu, [si non pas de ses merites se vie despensionist mes de l'aide de Dieu.] Du secont vint la parfondesce de [sa] sagesce, de laquel parfondesce de sagesce Denis dit en sa Debonaire Theologie: 'Le devin Berthelemy dit que il est moult de theologie et tres petit, et [que] l'evvangile est leue et grant et de rechief brieve.' Et selonc l'entente saint Denis, Berthelemy 15 veult demoustrer que toutes choses pueent estre demoustrees souz une considération de Dieu, et par l'autre consideration pueent il estre plus proprement niees.

Ci commence la vie saint Berthelemy apostre./ Berthelemy apostre ala en Ynde, 219va qui est en la fin du monde, et entra en .i. temple ou une ydole est qui a non Astaroth, et conmença a estre la aussi comme pelerin. Et en cele ydole habitoit .i. 20 deable qui disoit que il guerissoit languereus, mes il ne les enforçoit point en guerissant, mes tant seulement il se cessoit de faire les malades. Et ce temple estoit plain de languereus, et nul n'avoit response de cele ydole, si que il alerent a une autre cité ou une autre ydole estoit, qui avoit non Berich, et li demanderent pourquoi Astaroch ne leur donnoit response nule. Et Berich + dist: 'Vostre dieu

Bartholomew: *Bart* is not in *P4*, *Y* or *Fc*. *M* begins at 46 *le*; *P6* ends at 201; *NB1* end at 203 *maniere*; *P7* lacks the etymology and breaks off at 225 *raisonnables*. (*c*) is used to signify *AcSc*.

2 de] ou *CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb* 3 filz de souspendant moy] filius suspendentis se in *Graesse*, me in other versions. The latter was probably an alternative etymology not followed up, the *Graesse* and *LgD* versions being attempts to make better sense of it. moy] mer *P1CFWB2P2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c)*, mor *Q* 4 moys] onoys *B2Bb* 5 est] om. *P1* filz du] om. *C* 6 haut] om. *Ab* 7 Syrie] seryue *Ab* dois] pues *F* 7-16 Et par...end of etym.] om. *P6* 8 et osté] om. *Db*, id est elevatus *LgA* 8-9 et...souspendu] om. *B1* 8 l'amour] la mort *WB2SZ* 9 monde] mondu *P1* et ententif] id est intentus *LgA* 9-10 et ententif...souspendu] om. *R* 9 du ciel] de dieu *NB1Eb* 10 envolepé] adden lamour *NB1* l'aide] lamour *F* 10-11 si...Dieu] om. *PIP2* 10-16 si...end of etym.] om. *NB1* 11 despensionist espandist *W*, resplendist *Nc(c)* sa] om. *PIFBcEb* 12 de laquel...sagesce] om. *DbFb* Debonaire Theologie] *Mystica Theologia* *LgA* 13 dit que il] duquel *Nc(c)* que²] quant *P1* 14 leue et] large & *Z*, om. *CbEb* 18 en la fin] ou parfont *P3* 19 habitoit] estoit *Ab* 20 enforçoit confortoit *GbEb* 21 faire] tourmenter *NB1* 22 de cele ydole] om. *SZ* 24 donnoit] rendoit *P6* +] leur *P1Bb*

25 est estraint et lié de chaennes de feu, ne il n'ose soupirer ne parler des cele heure que Bertheleimi apostre de Dieu entra el temple.' Et il li distrent: 'Et qui est celi Bertheleimi?' Et ce deable dist: 'Il est ami de Dieu tout poissant, et por ce est il venu en ceste province que il voide hors touz les diex d'Ynde.' Et il li distrent: 'Di nous signes a li congnoistre, si que nous le puisson trouver.' Et le deable leur dist:
 30 'Il a les cheveus noirs et crespes, la char blanche, les iex joieus, les narille[s] onies et droites, la barbe longue et .i. pou chauve, de droite estature. Il est vestu d'une cote blanche et d'un mantel blanc, et la cote est entailliee de pourpre, et a chascun des angles de son mantel il a une pierre precieuse vermeille. Et il a .xxvi. ans que ses vestemens ne sa chaceure n'en viellirent ne n'en ordirent. Il oure chascun jour
 35 et s'agenoille .C. fois le jour et .C. fois la nuit. Les angres vont avec li qui ne le
 219vb les/sent onques travaillier ne avoir fain. Il est touzjours d'un meisme semblant lié et joieus. Il voit tout avant et congnoist tout. Il parle toutes langues et entent, et seit ja bien ce que je vous di. Et quant vous le querrés, s'il veult il se demoustrera a vous, et s'il veult non et ne le porrés trouver. Et je vous prie quant vous l'arés
 40 trouvé que vous li priés qu'il ne viengne ça, que ses angres ne me facent aussi comme il ont fait a mon compaignon.' Et donc s'en vindrent, et quant il l'orent quis curieusement par .ij. jours et il ne l'orent pas trouvé, .i. jour .i. demoniacle s'escria et dist: 'Apostre de Dieu, Bertheleimi, tes oroisons m'ardent.' Et l'apostre dist: 'Tes toi et is hors de illec.' Et tantost celi fu delivré. Et quant Polimien, roy
 45 de cele region, où ceste chose, qui avoit une fille lunatique, si envoia a l'apostre deproiant le que il venist a li et guerisist sa fille. Et quant l'apostre fu venu a li, et il vit que [cele estoit] liee de chaennes et mordoit touz ceulz qui aloient a ele, il la commanda estre desilee. Et les menistres n'osèrent aler a li, et il dist: 'Je tieng ja [lié le deable] qui estoit en ele et vous vous doubtés.' Et tantost ele fu desilee
 50 et delivree. Et donc le roy voulut faire presenter a l'apostre chameus chargiez d'or et d'argent et de pierres precieuses, mes il ne pot estre trouvé en nule maniere. Et au matin ensuant l'apostre s'apparut avec le roy tout seul en sa chambre et li dist:

25 est] add tenu NB1 de feu] de fer WP2, om. SZ, Jb reads feir (feu changed to fer?) ne parler] om. W des cele heure] des CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb, depuis ZNc(c) 29 congnoistre] trouuer Ab si...dist] Et ilz respondit Bb trouuer] cognoistre Ab leur] om. CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb 30 crespes] tres espes Z narilles] narille P1 33 a²] add plus de Sc 34 sa chaceure] sa chaucentemente Ab, se changerent ne P6, om. CbEb, sa cauerne Nc oure] oeuvre B2Bb 36 lessent] cessent NB1 onques] om. P2, point Hb travaillier] trembler CB2Bb ne avoir fain] om. Eb touzjours PINB1P7CbEb] tous rest meisme] om. P3 37 et entent] om. F, encore FbJb 40 priés] dites CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb, dies P3 40-41 aussi comme il] ce quilz CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb 42 curieusement] longuement F .ij.] trois NB1 et...trouvé] om. CbEb .i. jour] om. Ab 43 Bertheleimi] cesse toy NB1 m'ardent] maident Jb 44 is] va CB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb, viens Nc(c) 45 où ceste chose] om. P3 une] add seule P6 lunatique] add sot ceste chose P3, add frenatique Jb 47 cele estoit] ce fu P1, elle estoit P3FabGb 48 aler] deslier Ab 49 lié/le deable] trs. PIZ estoit] add lie CB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb 50 voulut faire] fist NB1 52 au matin] lendemain NB1

'Pourquoi me queris tu ier toute jour avec or et argent et pierres precieuses? Ces
 dons sont neccessaires a ceulz qui couvoitent choses terriennes, mes je ne desire
 55 riens terrien ne riens charnel.' Et donc saint Berthelemy li / commença a dire moult 220ra
 de choses a enseigner le roy de la maniere de la redemptions de vie, demoustrant
 entre les autres choses que Jhesu Crist avoit vaincu le deable par merveilleuse et
 couvenable poissance et droiture et sagesce. Car ce fu chose couvenable que cil qui
 avoit vaincu le filz de la vierge, c'estoit Adam qui estoit formé de terre encore
 60 vierge, fust vaincu par le filz d'une vierge. Et il le vainqui poissaument quant il le
 geta poissaument hors de sa seignorie, laquelle il avoit ostee par geter en hors a
 force le premier homme, et tout aussi comme celui qui vaint aucun tyrant envoie ses
 compagnons pour metre son enseigne partout + et pour geter hors les autres
 65 tyrans, tout aussi Jhesu Crist envoie ses messages partout pour oster l'oneur et le
 cultivement du deable. Droiturierement, car c'est droiture que cil qui avoit vaincu
 home par mengier et le tenoit encore, que il fust vainqu[i] par home jeunant et ne
 tenist [plus home]. Sagement, quant l'art du deable fu despit par l'art Jhesu Crist.
 L'art du deable fu car tout aussi comme le faucon prent l'oisel, aussi preist il Jhesu
 Crist el desert; pour ce que il jeunoit il essaia se il aroit fain, et se il eust eu fain
 70 qu'il le peust avoir deceu par viande, et se il n'avoit fain il savoit bien sanz double
 que c'estoit Dieu. Mes il ne le pout congnoistre, car il ot fain et il ne se consenti
 de riens a li ne a sa temptation. Et quant il li ot preeschié les sacremens de la foi,
 il dist au roy que se il se vouloit baptizier il li mousterroit son dieu lié de chaennes.
 Et le jour ensuant que les evesques des ydoles sacrefioient delés le palais le roy,
 75 les deables commencierent a crier et a dire: / 'Cessés vous, maleurés, de sacrefier 220rb
 a nous, que vous ne souffrés pis que moi qui sui lié de chaennes de feu des angres
 Jhesu Crist, que les Juys crucefierent et le cuidoient mener a mort et cele mort
 [enchina] nous et nos regnes et lia de liens de feu nostre prince et le geta en

53 queris] cerches Nc 54 dons] choses WAb, deux P7CbEb couvoitent] quierent NB1
 55-56 moult de choses] om. Hb, add et P3CFAbB1B2BbP2P6DbFbHbJbP7CbEb 57-58
 merveilleuse...sagesce] mirabilem congruentam, potentiam, justitiam et sapientiam. LgA Vignay has
 (not untypically) misunderstood this division, which is worked out in the following lines. 59 de
 terre/encore] trs. CFB2P2P6SZDbFbHbJb, en corps de terre P6 59-60 de terre...vierge¹] encore
 Q 60-61 quant...poissaument] om. P3 61 poissaument] om. P6Db 62 homme] pere
 Nc(c), om. M 63 +] son pouoir P1 65-66 cil...encore] qui comedente homine vincens
 hominem detinebat LgA 66 vainqui] vainqu P1 67 plus home] om. P1 quant] Car cest
 droiture comme cil qui par Nc(c) despit] destruit CbEb l'art²] om. AbBb 68 L'art...fu]
 om. Bb car] vaincu et Nc(c) 69 se il aroit fain] que Bb aroit] auoit
 CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb et se il eust eu fain] om. SZ 74 des ydoles] om. P6, ydolo LgA
 75 deables] ydoles Db, daemon 76 a nous] aux ydoles NB1, mihi LgA moi] nous FM
 sui] sommes FM de feu] de fer Nc(c) angres] angelo LgA 77-79 et cele mort...mort]
 Ille autem ipsam mortem, quae regina nostra est, captivavit et ipsum nostrum principem autorem
 mortis vinculis igneis vinxit. LgA 77 et cele mort] il Nc(c), add nous Z 78 enchina QRWGb]
 eschiua P1, enclina P5AbNB1P7CbEb, enchainna CFMB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c), si destr.. s
 (?) P3 feu] fer Nc(c), add nous & noz regnes & P6

l'entree de mort.' Et tantost touz mistrent cordes a l'ydole pour geter jus le faus
 80 ymage, mes il ne parent. Et donc l'apostre commanda au deable que il issist de
 la et despeçast l'ydole, et il issi tantost et destruist tout par li les ydoles du temple.
 Et tantost l'apostre fist son oraison, et touz les malades furent gueris. Et donc
 l'apostre dedia le temple a Dieu, et commanda au deable qu'il s'en alast en .i. lieu
 desert. Et donc l'angre de Dieu apparut illec et vola tout entour le temple et entailla
 85 es .iiij. angles du temple le signe de la crois a son doit, disant: 'Nostre Seigneur
 dit que tout aussi comme vous estes nettoiés de vostre enfermeté ce temple soit
 netoié de toute ordure. Mes je vous mousterrai celi qui y habitoit devant auquel
 l'apostre a commandé aler au desert, et ne vous doubtés pas de li veoir, mes faites
 90 en vos frons autel signe comme j'ai entaillé en ces pierres.' Et donc leur demoustra
 .i. Ethyopien plus noir que foudre, la face agüe, la barbe longue, les cheveus
 estendus jusques as piés, les iex flamboians comme fer chaut et getoient estenceles
 de feu, metant hors par la bouche flambes ensouffrees, lié les mains de chaennes
 ardans par desriere le dos. Et donc li dist l'angre: 'Pour ce que tu as oï ce que
 220va 95 l'apostre t'a commandé et as despeciees toutes les ydoles du temple, je te deslierai.
 Va en tel lieu ou il n'abite / home nul, et soies la jusques au jour du jugement.'
 Et quant il fu deslié il s'en ala a grant escroissement ullant. Et l'angre de Nostre
 Seigneur s'en vola el ciel voiant touz. Et donc fu le roy baptizé avec sa fame et
 ses enfans et tout le pueple, et lessa son roiaume et fu fait deciple de l'apostre. Et
 donc touz les evesques des temples s'assemblerent et alerent a Astriages roi, frere
 100 de Polimien, et se complaintrent de la perte de leur diex et du destruement de
 leur temple et de la conversion de son frere et par art magique. Astriages roy fu
 [couroucié] et envoia mil hommes armés a prendre l'apostre. Et quant il fu amenez
 devant li, le roy li dist: 'Tu es celi qui as perverti mon frere.' Et l'apostre li dist:
 'Je ne l'ai pas perverti, mes converti.' Et le roy li dist]: 'Aussi comme tu as fait
 105 mon frere relenquier son dieu et croire el tien, et je te ferai ton dieu relenquier et

79 l'entree] lians *CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb* a] au col de *NB1P6* 79-80 le faus ymage]
om. P6 80 ymage] ydole *W* 81 et il...tantost] *om. Z* les ydoles] lydole *F* les ydoles
 du temple] le temple des ydoles *P3* 82 Et tantost l'apostre] *om. Ab* et] add donc *S* 83
 Dieu] add et tous les autelz *CbEb* lieu] *om. SZ* 85 angles] cornes *Hb* du temple] *om. Gb*
 le signe...crois] *om. CbEb* disant] *om. Gb* 86 nettoiés] entailliez *CbEb* 91 iex]
om. Q, add estincelans et *Sc* 92 metant] gettant *Hb(c)*, ardant *Nc* 93 ardans] add ensouffrees
CbEb 94 deslierai] deliureray *Nc* 95 Va] *om. P7CbEb* 96 quant il] tantost quil *Sc* fu
 deslié] ot ce dit *CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb* a grant] *om. SZ* escroissement] bruissement *Nc*
 ullant] volant *Z* 97 vola] ala *P6* voiant] deuant *Fab* 99 temples
P1P3P5MQRWGbNB1P7CbEb] ydolies *CFAbB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c)* 100 du destru-
 ment] de la destruction *CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c)* 101 leur temple] plural
P3CFB2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c) de²] add leur seigneur *CbEb* et²] faict *Nc(c)* par...magique]
om. P6 roy] *om. Nc(c)CbEbZ* 102 couroucié] courouciee *P1* armés] *om. P6*
 a...l'apostre] ali prendre *F*, a prendre le *CbEb* 103 Tu...dist] *om. NB1* 104 Je...dist] *om. P1*
 105 son dieu] ses dieux *Bb* ton dieu relenquier] relenquier le tien dieu
CFB2BbP2P6SZDdFbHbJb, relenquier le tien *P2ZDb*, relenquier au tien *P3*

sacrefier au mien.' Et l'apostre + dist: 'Je liai le dieu que ton frere aouroit et le moustrai tout lié et le contrains qu'il despecast son faus ymage, et se tu pues aussi faire a mon dieu tu me porras bien atraire a ton ydole, et se ce non je te despecerai tes diex et tu croiras en mon dieu.' Et si comme il disoit ceste chose, il fu dit au
 110 roi que son dieu Baldach estoit trebuschié et tout derompu. Et quant le roy oï ce, il desrompi le pourpre de quoi il estoit vestu et commanda que l'apostre fust batu de bastons et que quant il fust vif escorchié, et ainsi fu il fait. Et dont les crestiens emporterent le corps et l'ensevelirent honorablement. Et donc le roy Astriages et les evesques des temples furent ravis des deables et morurent, et le roy Polimien
 115 fu ordené en evesque et accomplit l'office d'evesque .xx. ans / moult loablement, et 220vb après ce reposa a pais plain de vertus.

Il est diverse opinion de la maniere de sa passion, quar le beneoit Dorothee dit que il fu crucefié, et dit ainssi: 'Bertheleimi preescha as Yndois, et leur bailla l'evangile selonc Maci en leur propre langue. Il s'endormi en la cité d'Albane, et
 120 fu crucefié en la Grant Armenie le chief en bas.' Et le beneoit Theodore dit que il fu escorchié, et l'en lit en pluseurs livres qu'il fu decolé tant seulement. Et ceste contrarieté puet estre sousse en tel maniere, que l'en die que il fu premierement crucefié, et avant que il morust en la crois il fu osté de la et pour avoir greigneur torment il fu escorchié et [au desrenier] il fu decolé +.

125 En l'an de Nostre Seigneur .CCC.xxxj. Sarrazins assaillirent Cecile et degasterent l'ylle de Liparite ou le corps de saint Bertheleimi reposoit, et desrompirent son sepulcre et degeterent les os de li ça et la. Et l'en dit que son corps estoit en tel maniere venu d'Ynde en celle ylle. Quant les paiens virent que [le] sepulcre [de li] estoit forment honnoré pour les miracles qui la avenoient, il en orent despit et
 130 le mistrent en i. tombel de plonc et le geterent en la mer, et par la volenté de Dieu il vint en cele ysle. Et quant les Sarrazins orent departis ses os et getés ça et la,

106 sacrefier] croire *CFAbB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb* Et...dist] *om. P6* +] li
P1CB2P2SZDbFbHbJb 107 pues] veulx *B2* 109 tu] *om. CFB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb*
 110 trebuschié] despecie *P3F* 111 le pourpre] son vestement *P6* 112 que quant
P1QRWGb] que *P3P5CFNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbP7CbEbNc(c)*, que apres ce *M*, apres que *Ab*
 113 Astriages] *om. P6* 114 temples] princes *SZ*, ydoles *P6* des deables] du diable *P6Bb*,
 des ydoles *P5* 115 ordené] esleu *P3*, establi *CbEb* et¹...d'evesque] *om. Hb* d'evesque] *om. Q*
 116 loablement] loyalment *B1SZ*, laiblement *P2* 115-116 et²...vertus] *om. F* 118 crucefié]
 sacrefie *Q* as Yndois] aux ydoles *Cb*, aux yndes *Eb* 120 Theodore] dorothee *FNB1* 121
 livres] *om. P3* 122 sousse] soubte *P5*, souce *N*, soubz ce *B1*, souise *MP2Fb*, solue *P6P7CbEb*,
 absolue *Z*, solute *Nc*, soutle *B2(c)*, consulte *Bb* 124 au desrenier] apres *P1* au...fu] puis apres
NB1 +] au desrenier *P1* 125 .CCC.] *om. B2Bb* 126 reposoit] estoit *NB1* 127
 degeterent] degastoient *Hb* corps] *om. Z* 128 en celle ylle] *om. Bb* paiens] sarrazins *Bb*
 que] add son corps et *Nc(c)* 128-129 le...li] son sepulcre *P1FBbZ*, le corps de li *NB1* 129
 forment] en telle maniere *F*, moult *P2* avenoient] amenoient *Ab* 130 le²] *om. P5QRWGbP7*
 131 departis...getés] gettes ses os *Ab*, degetez ses os *F*, departi et deiette les oz *Sc* et getés/ça
 et la] trs. *CB2P2P6SZDbFbHbJbNcAc*

et il s'en furent departis, l'apostre s'apparut a .i. moine et li dist: 'Lieve sus, conqueil mes os qui sont espartis.' Et cil li dist: 'Par quel raison conqueillirai je tes os? Quel honneur te devons nous faire quant tu nous as lessié destruire?' Et 135 l'apostre li dist: 'Nostre Seigneur a espargnié a ce pueple ci par moult de temps 221ra par mes merites, mes par leur pechiez qui s'enforçoient trop et crioient jusques au ciel, je n'ai peu empetrer pardon pour eulz.' Et quant le moine li dist: 'Comment entre tant [d'autres os] porrai je trouver les tiens?' Et l'apostre dist: 'Tu iras cuillir les par nuit, et ceulz que tu verras resplendissans comme feu tu les leveras tantost.' 140 Et dont le moine les trouva touz ainssi comme il avoit dit et les leva, et donc monta en une nef et vint a Bonivent qui est mestre cité de Puille, et les transporta la. Et l'en dit maintenant qu'il sont a Romme, ja soit ce que cil de Bonivent dient que il ont le corps.

Une fame aportoit .i. vessel plain d'uille pour metre en la lampe saint Berthelemy. Comment que il enclinassent le vessel desus la lampe il n'en povoit riens issir, ja soit ce que il touchoient au doi l'uille clere. Et dont l'un s'escria +: 'Je cuide que il n'est pas chose agreable a l'apostre que ceste huille soit mise en sa lampe,' pour laquel chose il la mistrent en une autre lampe et tantost l'uille s'en issi.

Si comme l'emperiere Federich destruioit Bonivent, et il ot commandé que 150 toutes les eglises qui la estoient fussen destruities, et s'esforçoient de transporter cele cité en .i. autre lieu, si que .i. home trouva homes tous blans et resplendissans, et li estoit avis que il traitoient et parloient d'aucune chose ensemble. Et donc s'emerveilla forment que c'estoit, et leur demanda, et donc + l'un d'eulz respondi: 'Cesti est Berthelemy apostre avec ces autres sains qui avoient eglises en ceste cité, 155 qui parlent et ordenent [ensemble] par quel poine celi soit justicié qui les a ostés 221rb de leur tabernacles et ont ja confermé entr'eulz par sentence / ferme que sanz demeure celi voise au jugement de Dieu pour respondre sus ce.' Et tantost celi emperiere morut maleureement.

132 et il...departis] om. Bb li] om. P3P5QRGbNP7Cb sus] add va B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbNc(c) 135 a ce pueple] ce temple Nc 136 merites] prieres P6 s'enforçoient trop] sont trop grans B2BbZFb, sont grans trop P2SDb, sont P6, sont trop Hb et crioient] et montez B2BbP2SZDbFb, montez P6Hb 137 empetrer] trouuer P3 quant...dist] om. NB1 138 d'autres os] dos P1AbNB1, dautres CFB2BbP2SZDbFbHbJbNc(c) les tiens] tes oz Sc 139 verras] trouuera F comme feu] om. Nc(c) 141 en] add hault B1 144-148 om. P6 145 Comment] Et quant len la vouloit mettre en sa lampe il nen riens yssir combien Bb, Conuint Hb, mais combien Nc(c) desus la lampe] om. NB1 145-146 il²...il] et Bb 145 issir] cheoir Ab 146 l'un] add deulz CAB2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb +] & dist P1P7Nc(c), disant CbEb 150 transporter] add les biens de Nc(c) 151 tous] om. Q 152 traitoient et] om. B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c) parloient] ordenoient Ab 153 et leur demanda] om. SZ +] & donc P1 154 Berthelemy] add in specie peregrini LgA 155 parlent] traient Ab ensemble] om. P1 quel] add maniere et quele Nc(c) justicié] institue B2Bb, Iuge Z 156 entr'eulz] en eulz C, om. NB1 ferme] om. CbEb 156-157 sanz demeure] om. P6 157 voise] venist Z de Dieu] om. F 158 emperiere] en priere B1 maleureement] mauuaisement Nc(c)

L'en [lit] en .i. livre des miracles des sains que .i. mestre celebroit chascun an
 160 sollempnelment la feste de saint Berthelemi. Et le deable en forme d'une pucelle
 s'apparut a celi mestre qui preeschoit. Et quant celi [la] vit il la convia a disner.
 Et quant il estoient a table ele s'esforçoit moult a li atraire a son amour. Et donc
 saint Berthelemi vint a la porte et deproia qu'il fust mis dedens pour l'amor de saint
 Berthelemi, et cele ne le voulut pas. L'en li envoia du pain, et il ne le voulut prendre,
 165 et proia le mestre par son message que il li deist la plus propre chose que il cuidoit
 estre en home. Et il respondi: 'Rire.' Et la pucelle dist: 'Non est. C'est pechié, en
 quoi l'omme est conceu et est né et vit en pechié.' Et Berthelemi respondi que il
 avoit bien dit, mes ele avoit plus parfondement respondu. Et le pelerin manda
 après au mestre que il li deist quel lieu c'estoit contenant l'espace d'un pié ou Diex
 170 avoit fait greigneur miracle. Et quant il ot dit: 'Le signe de la crois, en laquelle Diex
 a fait moult de miracles,' et ele dist: 'Non est, mes le chief de l'omme, el quel le
 meneur monde est, c'est a dire touz les sens de l'omme.' Et l'apostre loa la
 sentence de l'un et de l'autre, et donc leur demanda tierce fois combien il avoit du
 souverain ciel jusques el parfont d'enfer. Et le mestre dist qu'il ne savoit. Et ele dist:
 175 'Ore voi je bien que je sui trebuchié, et je le sai bien, car je trebuchai de l'un a
 l'autre. Et il couvient que je le te de/moustre.' Et donc ce deable se trebuscha en 221va
 enfer a grant brait. Et donc quistrent le pelerin, mes il ne le parent trouver. Et a
 bien pou lit l'en tout aussi du beneoit saint Andri.

Le beneoit Ambrose dit ainssi el prefache que il fist de cesti apostre en abrejant
 180 sa legende: 'Jhesu Crist, tu as daigné moustrer a tes deciples preeschans moult de
 choses de ta divinité, ta trinité en merveilleuse maniere et ta majesté, entre lesquielx

159 lit] dit *P1* mestre] prestre *NB1* 160 sollempnelment la feste] la solempnite *F*, la feste
ZEb 161 la¹] le *P1* convia] commanda et (la) conuia *CP2SZDbFbHb*, commanda *Jb*,
 commanda venir *B2*, commande venir avec lui *Bb*, linuita avec lui *Nc(c)* disner] add avec li
CF4abB2BbP2P6S2ZDbFbHbJb 162 a table] ensemble *CbEb* ele] elle looks like ille *N*, ille *B1*,
 il *P6* 163 a la porte] a luis *Db* 164 le¹] om. *P5QRWAbGb* 165 mestre] add quelle mandast
P6 message] add et proia le maistre *B2* deist] demandast *NB1* 165-166 que²...estre] estre
Ab, qui est *P6* 166 il] le pelerin *P6* respondi] dist *P3* dist] om. *Ab* C'est] om. *SZ*
 166-167 en...pechié] om. *P2* 167 vit] vif *Z* en pechié] om. *Ab* respondi] dist
WNB1P6 168-169 le...mestre] elle manda au pelerin *P6* 169 que...deist] qui luy deist *P6*, om.
NB1 quel lieu] quelle *Ab*, que *P7CbEb* contenant] conceuant *R*, contenre *Ab*, om. *P7* 170
 greigneur] plus grant *WP6Bb* 171 moult] pluseurs *Z*, om. *Gb* le...l'omme] om. but inserted
 in now damaged margin *Eb* 172 meneur] petit *Nc(c)* est] om. *S* c'est...l'omme] om.
Nc(c) les...l'omme] ses sens *Bb* 172-173 Et...l'autre] om. *P6* 173 donc...demandata] elle
 luy manda *P6* tierce fois] om. *F* combien...avoit] om. *Eb* 174 el parfont d'enfer] en enfer
W le mestre] lapostre *P6* 175 Ore...trebuchié, et] om. *Nc(c)*, add et trebucheray *Bb* 177
 quistrent] le maistre fist querir *P6* 178 tout aussi] aussi *WNB1*, om. *P2* beneoit] om. *Nc(c)*
 saint] om. *NB1P6Db* 179 Le...Ambrose] Saint Andri *NB1* Ambrose] inserted in margin
Q il fist] om. *Q* de cesti] om. *Cb*, du benoit *Eb* 180-181 Jhesu...majesté] discipulis,
 Christe, tuis unica divinitate praedicantibus trinitatem tuam mundo, mirabiliter dignatus es ostendere
 majestatem. *LgA* 180 tu] qui *WNB1* as] add voulu et *Z* 181 divinité ta] diuine *Nc(c)*
 trinité] add est merueilleuse *B1* en...maniere/et...majesté] trs. *Hb*

tu envoias le [tres] benoito Berthelemy [honneuré] par tres grant prerogative au
lointain pueple, et ja soit [ce] que il fust du tout lointaigne a humaine conver-
sacion, toutefois deservi il par l'acroissement de ses predications merchier en ton
185 signe le commencement de celi pueple. Ha, par quiex grans loenges est a honorer
cele merveilleus apostre! Et quant les cuers des prochains pueple[s] ne li souffi-
soient pas a semer la croiance, il trespassha aussi comme en volant les desrenieres
contrees des terres des Yndois, et entra el temple ou il avoit grant compagnie de
languereus sanz nombre, et fist le deable si muet qu'il ne donnoit nule response
190 a ceulz qui l'auroient. Et la royne qui estoit lunatique par l'atouchement du deable
fist deslier, et la rendi a son pere tres [saine]. Ha, comme ce fu tres grant miracle
de sa saintee que il fist a l'ennemi de l'umain lignage despecier son ydoile et metre
a noient. Ha, comment est il digne d'estre nombré a la celestiel compagnie, auquel
l'angre apparut pour loer la foi de li par ses miracles, et vint de la souveraine sale,
195 et demoustra a touz le deable enchaenné et tres lait, et avoit entaillie en la pierre
221vb le signe de No/stre Seigneur portant salu. Et le roy et la royne furent baptiziez avec
la gent de leur citez. Et au desrenier le tyrant frere de Polimien nouvel en la foi
par la relacion des evesques des temples fist le benoito apostre, tres ferme en toutes
manieres en la foi, batre et escorchier et recevoir tres aigre mort. Et si comme il
200 denonçoit le meschief de mort, il ot et emporta en la joie celestiel victoire de son
glorieus estrif.'

Et le beneoit Theodore, abbé et noble docteur, dit de cesti apostre entre ces autres choses en ceste maniere: 'Le beneoit apostre Bertheleimi preescha premie-

182 envoias] ennoblisis *Ab*, ennoblis *P6CbEb* tres¹] om.
P1P3CFQNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c) beneoit om. *Gb* honnouré] en hore *P1*, enuoie
P5QR honnouré...prerogative] magna virtutem praerogativa colendum benigna tui prospectio
tres²] om. *W* prerogative] add & enuoie *P6* 183 pueple] pays *Nc(c)* ce] om. *P1P7* du
tout] vn pou *P7* humaine] honnestete *W* 183-184 conversacion] conuersion *Bb* 184
l'acroissement...ses] ses saintes *Ab* 184 merchier] faire penser *Nc(c)* *LgA* 184-185 mer-
chier...pueple] consignare vicinum *LgA* 185 grans] om. *P3Ab* honorer] loer *M*
186 pueples] pueple *P1* 186-187 souffisoient] souffroient *W* 187 a semer] asonner
NB1 croiance] croissance *C* comme en volant] alatis quasi vestigiis 188 contrees]
om. *P3* terres des] om. *Ab* Yndoies] yndes *Nc(c)* entra] empetra *P3* compagnie]
multitude *Ab*, quantite *Bb* 189 response] ramembrencce *Nc(c)* 190 l'aouroient] la estoient
F, les oiroient *Bb* 191 saine] om. *P1* Ha] om. *QB2Bb*, Et *Fb* tres²] om.
CFMQRNB1B2BbP2SZDbFbHbJbNc(c) 192 il fist] il fust *Nc*, om. *Q* l'ennemi de] om. *RNB1*
ydole] ymage *Q* 192-193 et...noient] om. *P6* 194 pour loer] cujus ut miraculis fidem
commodaret certissimam *LgA* ses] add merites et *Db* vint] add la *C* 195 deable] add tout
CbEb, add lie et *P3* entaillié] mis *Q* 196 signe] add de la croix *Z* Nostre Seigneur] la
crois *QP6* 196-197 le roy...citez] fist baptizier le roy et tout son pueple *Q* 197 la gent] tout
le peuple *NB1* desrenier] derrain *B1Nc(c)* 198 des temples] om. *Db* 199 manieres en]
choses de *P6* en la foi] om. *W* recevoir...mort] om. *CbEb* aigre *P1P3P5WAbGbP6P7*
laide *CFMQRNB1B2BbP2SZDbFbHbJbNc(c)* 200 ot et] not in Latin joie] om. *R*, gloire
P7CbEb 201 estrif] escript *B1* 202 abbé et noble] om. *Q* apostre] add tres ferme *P2*
202-203 entre...choses/en...maniere] trs. *CFMQRNB2BbP2SZDbFbHbJbNc(c)* entre...
choses] om. *NB1* 203 ceste maniere] toutes manieres *P2*, add que vous auez oy dessus then end
NB1

rement en Lachaonie, et aprés en Ynde, et au desrenier en la cité de Albane en
 205 la Greigneur Armenie, et la fu escorchié premierement et puis le chief coupé, et
 la fu enseveli. Et quant il fu envoié a preeschier de Nostre Seigneur, si comme je
 cuide, il oï que Dieu li dist: 'Va preeschier, is hors a toi combatre et emprens les
 peris. J'ai premier accomplit l'uevre de mon pere et sui premier tesmoing. Emple
 210 le vessel qui est neccessaire, ensui ton mestre, aime ton seigneur, met ton sanc pour
 debonnaireté en tes suers, souevté entre les malefices, pacience entre ceulz qui
 perissent.' Et l'apostre ne recula pas, mes comme loial serjant obeissant a son
 mestre ala esjoüssant, et aussi comme lumiere de Dieu, enlumina [les tenebres de
 215 l'uevre de sainte eglise, si comme monseigneur saint Augustin le tesmoingne en
 son livre]. Et aussi comme cultiveur de Jhesu Crist il profitast en l'esperituel
 cultivement. Pierres apostre enseigne les nascions, mes Bertheleimi ensuiable fist
 choses pareilles. Pierres fist moult de grans demoustrances, et Bertheleimi fist
 vaillans miracles. Pierres fu crucefié le / chief embas, et puis que Bertheleimi fu vif 222ra
 220 escorchié ot il le chief coupé. Et a tant de miracles comme Pierres se pot
 comprendre, a autant soffist Bertheleimi emprendre. Et il acrurent semblablement
 l'eglise par les dons du saint Esperit. Et tout aussi comme la harpe donne i. douz
 son de moult de cordes, + aussi touz les apostres donnerent douces melodies de
 l'unité devine et furent crieuers establis du roy des rois, et departirent entr'eulz tout
 le monde. Et le lieu d'Armenie fu la partie de Bertheleimi, c'est de Evilach jusques
 225 a Gabaoth, et la fouoit il les champs non raisonnables de la charrue de la langue
 en muçant dedens le parfont du cuer la parole de foy, et en plantant les vingnes
 de Nostre Seigneur et les arbres de paradis, en entant en chascun les remedes

205 premierement] le premier *Q*, *om. Hb* puis] *add ot Ab* 206 je] il *Gb* 207 is] *vvide Eb*
Nc, & wide (c) 208 J'ai...pere] *om. P5* 209 vessel] messel *Cb*, vaissel crossed out messel *Eb*
 aime] come *Bb* 210 sien] mien *Bb* sa char] la sienne *Z* 211 debonnaireté]
 debonnaires *Nc(c)* souevté] & ouenesce *Q* malefices] malices *P3Ab* 212 recula] receut *R*
 213 mestre] seigneur *R* 213-216 ala...cultivement] pergit gaudens tanquam lux mundi, ut
 tenebros illuminaret, tamquam sal teriae, ut gentes insipidas saliret, tamquam agricola, ut spiritualis
 cultura perficeretur. *LgA* 213 ala] et la *Fb* Dieu] *add les P2FbHbNc(c)* tenebres] en
 tenebres *P3FMQAbGbB2BbP2SDbFbHbJbNc(c)* 213-215 les...livre] ceulz qui estoient en tenie-
 bres *P1* 214 l'uevre] lonneur *C*, lumiere *S* 217 choses pareilles] chascun particulier *Nc(c)*
 moult de] *om. Ab* fist] *add moult de P3Q* 218 le chief] *om. P2* vif] *om. P3R4bP7*
 220 autant] *add de* miracles *P3* soffist] *soffri AbP7CbEb*, souffri *Q* semblablement]
 ensemble *Nc(c)* 221-224 par les dons...Bertheleimi] aequa lance habuit et caetera divina caris-
 mata. Hic ex divino duodenario numero medius ex utraque parte sonum divinae sermocinationis dat,
 sicut in cithara harmoniam. Omnes apostoli universitatem sibi dispertientes pastores regis regum
 constituti sunt. Huic autem est sors et portio Armeniae locus. *LgA* 222+] Et *P1* douces
 melodies] singular *CFMQRWAbB2BbP2SDbFbHbJbP7CbEbNc(c)* 223 l'unité] lun ce *S*
 crieuers] crians *CbEb*, trieurs *P2*, ceulz *Nc(c)* 224 lieu] dieu *S*, roy *Ab* c'est] ce fu *R*, *om.*
P7 225 non] moult *P2* non raisonnables] rationabilia *LgA* charrue] charite *W*, charme
P2, char *Nc(c)* 226 muçant] murant *Gb* parole] *add de la charite Cb, add la charite Eb*
 227 entant] tant *AbGb*, nocant *SZ*, cerchant *BbP2Hb*, cercant *B2*, ostant *CbEb*

medecinables de passions, et esrachoit les espines non entendans, et coupoit les
 230 bois de felonnie a la coingnie, et les clooit entour de ronces d'enseignement. Mes
 quel louier en rendirent les tyrans a leur createur? Il rendirent deshonneur pour
 honneur, maleïçon pour beneïçon, poines pour guerredons et tribulacion pour
 repos, et tres amere mort pour vie. Et puis que cesti ot sousfert moult de tormens
 fu il escorchié d'iceulz et ne morut pas. Et pour ce ne despist il pas ceulz qui
 l'occioient, mes les amonestoit par miracles et recevoit [ses] contraires et les
 235 perdus par demoustrances. Mes il n'estoit chose qui refrainsist leur bestiaus
 pensees ne ne retraïst de mal. Que firent il après? Il se forssenerent contre le saint
 corps, les malades refuserent leur medecine, la cité refusa cil qui la soustenoit, les
 aveugles leur enlumineur, cil qui perilloient leur gouverneur, et les mors cil qui
 222rb rendoit vie. / Et comment le geterent il hors? Certes il geterent le saint corps en
 240 la mer en une arche de plonc, et l'arche s'en vint des regions d'Armenie avec les
 arches de .iiij. autres martyrs, car aussi il faisoient miracles, et furent getees avec
 li en la mer. Et ces .iiij. alerent devant par si grant espace de mer et faisoient servise
 a l'apostre aussi comme serjans en une maniere, tant qu'il vindrent es parties de
 Cecile en une ylle qui est nommee Lyparis, si comme il fu revelé a l'evesque
 245 d'Ostiense qui adonc estoit present. Et ce tres riche tresor vint a une tres povre
 fame, et ces tres precieuses marguerites vindrent a une non noble, le tres res-
 plendissant luminaire vint a une tres triste. Et donc les autres .iiij. vindrent en
 autres terres [et] lessierent le saint apostre en cele ylle et lessa les autres desriere
 li. Et l'un qui avoit non Papien ala en une cité de Cecile, et il envoia l'autre Lucien
 250 par non en la cité de Massenne, et si envoia les autres .ij. en la terre de Calabre,
 et envoia Gregoire en la cité de la Colompne, et envoia Athace en la cité qui est
 dicte Chale. Et encore au jour d'ui resplendissent il par leur merites. Et donc fu
 l'apostre receu a loenges honorablement et li fist l'en une eglise en l'onner de li.

228 coupoit] te poitoit C 229 de felonnie] om. CbEb d'enseignement] dentendement Sc
 231 poines...guerredons] om. Hb 233 et ne morut pas] in morem follis LgA 233-235 Et pour
 ce...demoustrances] nec, postquam migravit ab hoc mundo, neglexit occisores, sed invitabat miraculis
 perditos et prodigiis admittebat adversos. LgA 234-235 recevoit...demoustrances] doctrinoit par
 demonstrances ceux qui mal lui vouloient Nc(c) 234 ses] les PI contraires] om. Fb
 234-235 et les...demoustrances] om. R 234 les²] ses W 235 n'estoit] ne scoit C
 chose] nul Q 236 se forssenerent] sefforcerent Nc(c) 237 leur medecine] plural
 CFMQRB2BbP2SZDbFbHbJb la cité...soustenoit] orbati (respunnt) manuducentem 238
 aveugles] angres Q leur enlumineur] ductorem LgA perilloient] perirent P3 239 Certes]
 om. W il²] les sarrasins Db 240 s'en vint] se mut P3CFMQWB2BbP2SZDbFbHbJbNc(c),
 se vint R, reuint AbCbEb, se nut or mit Gb des regions] singular P3CFMQRB2Bb-
 ZDbFbHbJbNc(c), de la religion P2S 241 car...miracles] quae, similiter dum operarentur
 LgA 242 alerent P1P3P5WGbCbEb] aloient rest si add tres P5 244 nommee]
 appelee FW 246-247 et...triste] om. R resplendissant] add Le noble Q, add homme
 P2SZDbFbHbJb 247 luminaire] lumiere P5AbDbCbEb, debonnaire Hb tres] om. Gb
 248 et¹] si PI 249 cité de Cecile] cite de ce P5, autre cite R. The Legenda aurea names the
 city as Milas. 252 dicte] add & nommee Q

Et la montaigne de Volquan est prochaine a cele ylle, et li estoit moult nuisible
 255 pour ce que ele getoit feu, laquel montaingne s'esloigne de cele ysle par .vij. liex
 sans estre veu de nul, et se souspendi devers la mer, et encore apparoist il au jour
 d'ui a ceulz qui le voient et la forme comment il s'en fui. Je te salue Berthelemi,
 beneoit des beneois, clarté de devine lumiere de sainte eglise, pescheur de poissons
 raisonnables, navre / du deable qui navre le monde par son larrecin. Tu 222va
 260 t'esjoïsses soleil du monde enluminant toutes choses terriennes, bouche de Dieu,
 langue embrasee metant hors sagesce, fontaine decourant bonnement plaine de
 santés, qui saintefias la mer par tes alees non remuables, qui feis la terre vermeille
 par ton sanc, qui repaireras es ciex resplendissant el milieu de la devine compai-
 gnie, cler en la resplendeur de gloire sans flestrir, et t'esjois en la leesce de joie non
 265 saoulable.' Et ce est ce que Theodore dit.

Explicit la vie saint Berthelemi.

<ALL SAINTS>

Ci commença la feste et la sollempnite de touz les sains. La feste de touz sains P1 291rb
 fu estableie pour .iiij. [causes]. Premierement pour la dedicacion d'un temple.
 Secondelement pour souplier les fautes. Tiercement pour oster negligence. Quarte-
 5 ment pour empetrer plus legierement nos prieres.

Ceste feste fu estableie premierement pour la dedicacion d'un temple. Quer quant
 les Romains virent qu'il seignorioient sus tout le monde, il firent i. tres grant

254 nuisible] inuisible *P3P5R* 255 getoit] recoit *CFMQB2BbP2SZDbFbHbJbNc(c)* viij]
 viii *R* 256 et se souspendi devers la mer] quasi...mare suspensus *Lga* 257 et la forme...fui]
 quasi figuratio fugientis ignis. *LgA* 258-259 de sainte eglise...raisonnables] sanctae ecclesiae
 piscator, rationabilium piscium perite capturea, dulcis fructus vividae palmitis *LgA* 258 de sainte
 eglise] om. *CbEb* de²] add toute *Q* 259 navre...qui] om. *R* monde] deable *P3* son]
 add mauues *Q* 261 fontaine] langue *Eb* 262 non remuables] meabilibus *LgA* 263 ciex]
 lieux *B2Bb* 264 cler] de gloire *B2Bb* de gloire] celestiel *B2Bb* sans flestrir] sans fin *Q*,
 om. *P2SZDbFbHbJbNc(c)* joie] gloire *Eb* 264-265 non saoulable] om. *Q* 265 que] add
 le benoit *Q* dit] add du glorieux saint monseigneur saint berthelemy apostre *P2*

All Saints: *AS* is not in *P4*, *Y* or *Fc*. The beginning of *P7* is missing; and it starts at 24 *fondement*.
 Because of an excised initial, *Fb* lacks 2-3 *La feste...* *Secondelement pour* and 38-46 *Boniface...* *estre*.
 (*c*) signifies agreement of *AcSc*.

3 causes] choses *P1QBb* d'un] du *QRNB1Nc(c)* 4 Secondelement] om. *Ab* souplier]
 espier *RB2BbP2SDbHbJb*, edifier *P6*, espurgier *Fb* 6 premierement] principalement *Nc(c)*
 d'un] du *RNB1B2P6CbEbNc(c)* Quer] Quer q *P1* 7 virent] om. *F*, pour ce *M*, veans *Sc*
 grant] om. *Q*

temple et mistrent leur ydole el milieu, et tout entour cele ydole [il] mistrent les faus ymages des autres provinces si que ces ymages regardoient touz drois l'ydole
 10 de Romme. Et estoit si ordenez par art de deable que quant une province se vouloit rebeller contre les Rommains, l'ymage de cele province tornoit le derriere a l'ydole de Romme aussi comme en demoustrant que il s'ostoit de sa seignorie. Et donc
 291va les Rommains tantost menoient tres / grant esfors en cele province et la soumettoient en leur seignorie. Et encore ne souffist il pas as Rommains qu'il eussent en
 15 leur cité touz les faus ymages des province[s], mes firent a chascun de ces faus diex .i. temple aussi comme se ces diex les feissent seigneurs et vainqueurs de toutes les provinces. Et pour ce que toutes les ydoles ne povoient pas en celi temple il firent .i. greigneur temple et plus haut de touz les autres, et pour miex demoustrer leur forssenerie, il le dedierent en l'onnerre de tous leur diex et le nommerent
 20 Pantheon, qui vaut autant a dire comme Tous diex. Et pour plus decevoir le pueple, les evesques des ydoles fainstrent que il leur avoit esté commandé de Tybele, une deesse qu'il apel[oi]ent mere de touz les diex, pour ce que s'il vouloient avoir victoire de toutes gens que il feissent .i. grant temple a touz ses filz. Et le fondement de celi temple fu + jeté par le spere pour ce que par cele forme la
 25 pardurableté des diex fust demoustree, et por ce que la leur de la widenge de dedens estoit veue estre aussi comme non soustenable, si tost comme l'uevre se demoustra aucun pou sus terre il emploient le crues de dedens de terre et mesloient les deniers avec la terre, et f[i]rent tout ainssi tant que le dit temple fu tout accompli. Et donc donnerent congé que qui c'onques voudroit oster la terre que toute la
 30 peccune que il trouveroit avec la terre fust seu. Et donc vint hastivement grant compagnie de gens et widierent tantost le temple. Et en la parfin les Rommains firent .i. pin de cuivre doré et le mistrent en .i. haut lieu. Et si comme l'en dit toutes

8 temple] om. P3 leur ydole] plural NB1 il] om. P1 les] leurs NB1 9 des autres] de toutes les Nc(c) autres] om. Bb provinces] add dentour Bb ces ymages] ceux CbEb ymages²] ydolles WAbGbNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbNc(c) l'ydole] lymage RNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb, limage de lydole W 10 de deable] dauenu Q 11 contre les PIQP6Db] aux rest l'ymage] lydole FM province] contree Q l'ydole] lymage P6 12 de Romme] des Rommains Hb 13 tres P1P3P5CFMQ] om. rest 13-14 soumetoient] soustenoient P2SZFbHbJb 15 cité] seigneurie FMWP6CbEbNc(c) ymages] om. P3 des provinces] om. Gb provinces] province P1 16 ces] add faux R ces diex] il NB1 17 toutes] om. W 17-18 il...temple] om. Z 18 plus haut] greigneur Nc 19-20 et...diex] om. P5 20 Pantheon Bb a dire] om. NB1 plus] mieulx WZ 21 des ydoles] om. Q 22 apeloient] apelent P1P5CFMQ 23 grant] om. Nc 24+] add fonde et P1 le spere] lesperes Nc(c) 25 leur] largeur Nc 25-26 de dedens] om. Eb 26 veue estre] om. S estre] om. P6ZEb tost] om. QNc 27 le crues] le cruer Q, les treux RS, les creux Z 27-28 mesloient les deniers] les mesloient de mers Db 28 firent] furent P1B1 tout¹] tost P3, om. Q tout ainssi] om. P5 dit] om. QB1Bb tout²] om. QWBbP6 accompli] assouui (?) Db 29 oster la terre] cueillir la terre et oster Bb 30 avec] dedens Q seu] leur CP6 32 pin] puy P5 cuivre] coeure NcAc, oeuvre Sc en .i.] ou plus M, en vn tres Nc(c)

les provinces estoient entailliees dedens ce pin / merveilleusement, si que touz 291vb
ceulz qui venoient a Romme povoient veoir en ce pin quel part sa province estoit.
35 Et ce pin aprés ce chaï par lonc temps et remaint el plus haut lieu du temple la
place ou il estoit.

Et el temps de Focas emperiere, que Rome et le pueple avoient ja pris la foi de
Nostre Seigneur, Boniface pape le quart aprés + Gregoire le grant environ l'an de
Nostre Seigneur .vj. .C. et .v. si empetra a avoir ce temple de Focas emperiere, et
40 donc fist oster et effacier l'ordure de toutes ces ydoles. Et en la quarte yde de May
il consecra ce temple en l'onour de Nostre Dame sainte Marie et de touz martyrs
et apela celi lieu Sainte Marie as Martyrs, et maintenant ele est apelee du pueple
Nostre Dame la Ronde. Car adonc l'en + ne faisoit nule sollempnité des confes-
seurs. Et pour ce que grant multitude de pueple s'assembloit a ceste feste et l'en
45 ne povoit pas trouver habondance de vivres pour le pueple qui venoit, pape
Gregoire establi ceste feste a estre es kalendes de Nouembre, car il devoit adonc
estre greigneur habondance de vivre quant les blés estoient queillis et les vingnes
vendengiees. Et si establi celi jour estre celebré par tout le monde en l'oneur de
touz sains. Et ainssi le temple qui avoit esté fait a tous les ydoles est orendroit dedié
50 a tous les sains, et la ou le cultivement des ydoles estoit celebré illec est loee la
multitude des sains.

Secondement ele est establie pour supplier les choses trespassées et lessiees, car
nous avons trespassé et lessié moult de sains de quoi nous n'avons fait ne
sollempnité ne memoire. Nous ne povons pas faire feste de chascun saint par soi,
55 tant pour le mouteplie/ment des sains qui sont sans nombre tant pour nostre 292ra
enfermeté, quer nous sommes foibles ne ne porrions a ce souffire, tant pour la
brieté du temps quar le temps ne souffroit pas a ce. Si comme Jeroisme dit en une

33 entailliees] entailliees *P1* 34 estoit] om. *Bb* 35 chaï] *trs. RNB1* par lonc temps] om.
P6, add apres M remain] demoura *B2P2HbJb, add* par long temps *P2* lieu] om. *NB1* du
temple] om. *P6* 37 que] de *SZ* foi] *loy P3* de²] add ihesu crist *Hb* 38 +] Saint *P1*
39 .vj. .C.] .vj^e *P2* et .v.] om. *P2SZHbJb* 40 oster...toutes] effacier et oster toute lourdure
de *NB1* yde] kalende *FMWAbGbP7CbEbNc(c)* 41 touz] add sains *Q* 42 et¹...Martyrs]
om. *P5RWAbGbNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbHbJbP7CbEbNc(c)* du] de tout le *W* pueple] temple
P2SZ 43 l'en ne faisoit] om. *P6* +] len *P1* 43-44 confesseurs] confessions *B1* 45
habondance de] om. *RNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbHbJb* qui] add y *P2SZHbJb* venoit] add la
CMWAbGb, add le *QP7* pape] le pueple *Cb*, le pape over erasure *Eb* 46 ceste] add chose
R feste] om. *P5* a estre] om. *P6* 46-47 il...estre] a donc il deuoit auoir *P6*, adont il y auoit
CbEb 47 greigneur] grant *Bb* vivre] vins *SFbJb* quant] om. *QBb* vingnes] add
estoient *Q* 48 celebré] establi *WSZ* 49 orendroit] maintenant *Hb*, om. *Jb* 50 illec] la *P3*
la²] add grant *Q* 52 Secondement] seconcondement *P1* with con subpuncted choses]
faultes *Z* trespassées] passeees *Eb* et lessiees] om. *RNc(c)* 53 trespassé, lessié] *trs. NB1P6*
et lessié] om. *Q* 54 feste] sollempnite *NB1P6*, solempnite & feste *Db* chascun saint] tous
les sains non pas chascun *Q* saint] chose *P6* 55 pour le] om. *P6* sains] add que sont
suruenuz *P6* sans] grant *P6* 56 foibles] fresles *R* tant] om. *B2Eb* 56-57 tant...ce]
om. *W* 57 quar le temps] om. *Q* souffroit...ce] pourroit a ce souffire *R4bGb-*
NB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbP7CbEbNc(c) comme] add saint *Nc(c)*

epistre qui est mise au commencement de son Kalendier: 'Il n'est nul jour excepté le jour des kalendes de Jenvier qui ne peust estre trouvé chascun jour ennobli [du nombre] de .v. .M. martyrs.' Et pour ce que nous ne povons pas faire singuliere-
60 ment feste de chascun saint, a ordené Jeroisme pape que nous les honorons generalment et ensemble.

Et mestre Guillame de Aucerre met .vj. raisons en sa Somme de la Office pourquoi il fu establi que nous façons en terre sollempnité des sains. La premiere
65 est pour l'oneur de la devine majesté, quar quant nous faisons honneur as sains nous honorons Dieu en ses sains et dison que il est merveilleus en iceulz, quer qui fait honneur as sains il honore celi especiaument qui les a saintefiés. La seconde est pour avoir aide a nostre enfermeté, quer par nous ne povons nous avoir salu, si que pour ce avons nous mestier des proieres des sains et pour ce les devons nous honorer
70 que nous puissions deservir qu'il nous aident. L'en lit el tiers Livre des Rois el premier chapitre que Bersabee qui est exposé puis de saoulesce, c'est a dire l'eglise victoriante, dist a son filz, c'est l'eglise chevauchant, quel avoit eu le regne par ses prieres. La tierce cause est pour l'acroissement de nostre seurté, si que par la gloire des sains qui leur est proposee en leur sollempnité nostre esperance et nostre seurté
75 est acreue. Et se les homes mortés semblables a nous pueent estre ainssi sous-
292rb hauciez par leur merites, il est voir que aussi porrons [nous] / que la poste Nostre Seigneur n'est point apeticiee. La quarte est pour l'exemple de nostre ensuiance, quer quant la feste est recordée nous sommes appelerés pour eulz ensuir, si que par l'exemple d'iceulz nous despison les choses terrennes et desiron les celestie. La
80 [quinte] est pour le deu d'entrechangée voisineté, quer les sains font de nous feste

58 au commencement de] sur R, en NB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb nul] om. Ab 59 trouvé] om. P3 trouvé chascun jour] om. Eb 59-60 du nombre P3P5CFMQWA_bGbP7CbNc(c)] om. rest 60 pas] add chascun iour P6 faire] om. N 61 feste] memoire Q, om. Z saint...pape] Saint Ierome a ordene Db a ordené/Jeroisme pape] trs. BIhb Jeroisme pape] gregoire pape F, leglise P6 63 .vj.] .v. QRB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb 64-65 La...est] Premierement Jb La...sains] om. Q 66 en ses] et ses (c), et les Nc 67 honore...especiau-
ment] fait honneur especialement a celui Sc especiaument] om. Q 69 nous¹] om. Gb des sains] om. P2 honorer] add affin P2SZFbHbJb 70 aident] soient en aide Q 70-
73 L'en...prieres] Legitur enim III. Reg. I., quod Bersabeae, quod interpretatur puteus satietatis, id est ecclesia triumphans, filio suo, id est ecclesiae militanti, regnum suis precibus obtinuit. Lg4 70 tiers] .iiij. RNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb, om. Q 71 premier] om. Nc(c) exposé] a dire P3
puis] pays F saoulesce] sa bonte Nc(c) a dire] assauoir Eb 72 victoriante] victorieuse Fb c'est] add a dire B2BbP2SZFbHbJb eu] en (c) ses] tes Nc(c) 73 l'acrois-
sement...seurté] la seure et acroissement dicelle W nostre] vostre Q gloire] grace Sc 74 leur¹] nobis Lg4 est proposee] propose Nc(c) 75 homes] om. Db semblables] semblens P2Nc(c) estre] om. Db 75-76 soushauciez] hauciez SZ 76 aussi porrons nous que] om. Nc(c) aussi] add ne RB1B2BbP2P6SDbFbHbJb, ne changed to le N nous] om. P1 poste] puissance P5QP2ZJbNc(c) 77 l'exemple] la cause Q, la raison P6 nostre] add seigneur S 78-79 ensuir...d'iceulz] om. S 79 desiron] couuoitons Q les] add choses EbNc(c)
celestie] celestienes P2SZFbHbJb 80 quinte] quarte P1 deu] dieu Nc(c) voisineté]
voisine Db

el ciel, quer les angres de Dieu et les saintes ames ont joie d'un pecheur qui fait penitance, et pour ce est il droit que quant il font feste de nous es cielx que nous façon feste d'eulz en terre. La siste est pour la procuracion de nostre honeur, quar quant nous honorons les sains nous procuron nostre honnor quer leur sollempnité 85 est nostre digneté. Quer quant nous honorons nos freres nous honorons nous meismes, quer charité fait tout estre commun, et nos choses sont celestieix, terriennes et pardurables.

Et sans ces raisons ci, mestre Jehan Damacien met autres raisons el .iiij. livre el septiesme chapistre pourquoi les sains et leur corps + et leur reliques doivent 90 estre honorés. Desqueles raisons aucunes sont prises quant a leur digneté et aucunes quant a la precieuseté des corps. Et la digneté d'eulz est en .iiij. manieres, [quer] il sont amis de Dieu, filz de Dieu, hoirs de Dieu et nos dus. Et propose ces auctorités de saint Jehan pour la premiere, 'Je ne vous di pas [ja] serjans mes amis.'

Du secont Jehan dit: 'Il leur donna poste d'estre fais filz de Dieu.' Du tiers dit 95 l'apostre as Romains: 'Se donc vous estes filz, + vous estes hoirs etc.' Du quart il dit ainssi: 'Quant as laborans, que tu trouveras me/neur qui par mortalité te menera au roi et parlera a li pour toi.' C'est assavoir que il sont dus et graces de tout humain lignage et font pour nous prieres a Dieu. Les autres raisons sont prises quant a la precieuseté des corps. Et celi Jehan Damacien met .iiij. raisons et [un] 100 autre ajouste la quinte par lesqueles est manifestee la precieuseté des cors sains ou de leur reliques, car ces cors sains furent celier de Dieu et temple de Jhesu Crist, il furent alabastre de precieus oingnement, fontaine devine, membre de saint Esperit. Il furent celier de Dieu, quer les sains sont celiers de Dieu et purs aornemens. Secondelement il furent temple de Jhesu Crist, quer il s'ensuit pour ce 105 que Dieu habita dedens els par entendement, dont l'apostre dit: 'Ne savés vous pas

81 les^{1]}] add sains *Fb* ont] add grant *B1* qui] quant il *P3F* 83 siste] feste *B1*
de...honneur] des sains *P3* 84 quant...quer] om. *P6* leur] om. *Gb* 85 quant] om. *Gb*
nos...honorons^{2]}] om. *RS* 88 sans] sur *Fb* autres] trois *Nc(c)* 89 septiesme] vng *P2*,
vn SZFbHbJb et leur corps] om. *Nc(c)* +] et leur corps *P1* 91 des] de leurs *P3* .iiij.]
.iii. *CbEb* 92 quer] Quant *P1*, Premierelement *Q* 92-94 hoirs...Dieu] om. *P2SZFbHbJb* 92
dus] dieux *P6* 93 de] du benoit *Nc(c)* saint] om. *P6* premiere] maniere *B1* ja] om.
PIP6EbNc(c) serjans] add de lui *Nc(c)* 94 poste] puissance *P5Nc(c)* fais] om. *F*, des *Cb*,
dis *Eb* 95 vous estes filz] add vos estes filz *P1*, add de dieu *NB1Nc(c)*, om. *QP7CbEb* vous
estes hoirs] om. *Nc(c)* hoirs] honnorez *NB1* 96 ainssi] en cest maniere *Q* Quant] om.
R laborans] labours *Db* que] ne *B2Bb* 96-97 par mortalité/te menera au roy] trs. *P3*
96 mortalité] moralite *SP7Nc(c)*: so *Z* but corrected 97 au roi] a moy *P6* a li] au roy *Sc*
dus] dur *F* et graces] om. *P6* 98 pour nous/prieres a Dieu] trs. *WAbGbP7CbEbNc(c)*,
trs. with toy for nous *RNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb* sunt] om. *Nc(c)* 99-100 Et...cors] om.
Eb 99 Damacien] add dit et *Nc(c)* raisons] om. *Db* 99-100 un autre] Augustinus *LgA*
99 un] vne *P1*, i. *P3Gb* 100 sains] om. *Nc(c)* 100-101 ou...sains] om. *NB1* 101 ces]
add .iiij. *MWGbCbEb* sains] om. *R* 102 alabastre] arbaleste *Cb*, arlebastre *Eb*, arbalestre *Nc*
devine] de vie *RNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb* membre] menistre *Gb* 103 Dieu^{1]}] om. *Gb*
quer...Dieu] om. *RP2Sc* 103-104 les sains...aornemens] hi enim promtuaria Dei pura
coenacula facti sunt. *LgA* 105 par entendement] om. *Bb* vous] om. *Ab*

que vos cors sont temple du saint Esperit habitant en vous? Et de ce dit Crisothome: 'Home se delicte en l'edification de parois et Dieu se delicte en la conversacion des sains.' Donc David dit: 'Sire, j'ai amé la biauté de ta maison.' Mes cele biauté n'est pas faite par diverseté de marbres, mes est donnee as vivans par
 110 diversetes de graces. La biauté des marbres delicte la char, la biauté de graces vivifie l'ame. La premiere dechiet et deçoit les iex, l'autre edefie pardurable entendement. Tiercement il sont alabastre de esperituel oingnement, donc il est dit: 'Oingnement de bonne oudeur si vient de soi et cesti donnent les reliques des sains.' L'yaue si decourut de la roche et de la pierre ferme el desert, et aussi decourut l'yaue de la
 115 joe de l'asne a Samson qui avoit soif. Donc n'est ce pas chose incredible que il
 292vb decoure des / reliques des sains oingnemens bien odorans a ceulz qui sevent le don et la vertu de Dieu et l'oneur des sains qui vient de li? Quartement il sont fontaines de divinité, donc il dit: 'Ceus qui vivent en verité avec franche precience sont avec Dieu et nous sont fontaines de salu.' Nostre Sire Jhesu Crist donn[a] as reliques
 120 de ses sains arouser benefices en moult de manieres. Quintement il sont membres du saint Esperit. Et ceste raison assigne Augustin el Livre de la Cité Dieu et dit: 'Il ne sont pas a despire mes a honorer forment les cors des sains, desquelz quant il vivoient le saint Esperit usoit ausi comme du sien membre en toute bone oeuvre.' Et l'apostre dit: 'Vous querés experiment de celi qui parole en moi Jhesu Crist.'
 125 Et de saint Estienne est il dit: 'Il ne povoient contrarier a la sagesce et au saint Esperit qui parloit.' Et Ambroise si dit en l'Exametre: 'C'est tres precieuse chose que home soit fait membre de la devine vois et corps par lesquiez il exprime la parole celestiel.'

Tiercement ceste feste fu estable pour le netoientement de nos negligences. Quer

106 vos cors sont] vous estes *Q* 106-107 Et...Crisothome] Dont Crisothome dist *FMQ*
 107 en^{1]} add la conuersacion et *B1* l'edification...en] om. *Bb* 108 conversacion]
 conuersion *F* amé] add moult *Q* 109 faite] parfaitte *SZ* as vivans] est vanis *S* 111
 dechiet et] om. *P2SZFbHbJbNc(c)* dechiet...iex] decoit les iex et si dechiet *WAbGb*
NB1B2BbP6P7CbEb, decoit les iex et si deschiet *R*, so with desir for si *D_b* pardurable]
 pardurablete *B_b*, pardurablement *CbEb*, par double *Nc(c)* 112 Tiercement] la tierce *SZ*
 esperituel] perpetuel *B1*, precieux *P6* oingnement...dit] om. *Fnc* dit] add en written and
 erased *P1* 113 sains] add corps *Q* 114 pierre] terre *CbEb* ferme] om. *Z* el desert]
 om. *CbEb* 115 joe] ioye *JbNc* l'asne] add qui soy *Q* incredible] intendible *P2* il]
 loudeur *Q* 116 decoure] decoule *P3*, add oingnement *CbEb* reliques des] corps *NB1*
 oingnemens] om. *CbEb* a] et *RWNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJb* 117 et la vertu] om.
Nc(c) l'oneur] loudeur *F* sont] om. *Jb* 118 dit] add en ceste maniere *Q* vivent]
 viennent *P5*, viennent et viuent *Q* en] add charite *F* precience] pacience
MWAbGbB1BbSZDbHbP7CbEbNc(c), precieuseste *QP2P6*, praesentia *LgA* 119 Jhesu Crist] om.
P6ZHb donna] donne *P1* 120 arouser] om. *ZDbJb*, donner *RNB1B2BbP2SFbHb*, donnez
 leur *P6* 121 el Livre de] en *P2* dit] add ainssi *Q* 122 forment] moult *Z*, fermement
P7CbEb 123 membre] meismes *F* 126 qui parloit] om. *Bb* parloit] add en lui *MWAbG*
bNc(c), add en moy *P7CbEb* en l'Exametre] om. *NB1* l'Exametre] Hexaëmeron
 precieuse] piteuse *Nc(c)* 127 fait] om. *Q* membre] om. *SZ* corps] corporalibus labiis
LgA 129 fu...netoientement] establiement par le negiectement *Z*

130 ja soit ce que nous façons festes de pou de sains, encore les faisons nous [souvent] negligaument et delesson en ce moult de choses par ignorance et par negligence. Et se nous avons fait as autres sollempnités aucune chose plus negligaument, toutefois en ceste general feste le povons nous supplier et nous purgier de la negligence. Et ceste raison est touchiee en .i. sarmon que l'en recorde a ce jour
 135 par les eglises et si comme il dit: 'Il est ordené que a ce jour memoire soit fait de touz les sains, si que ce que la fragilité humaine ara fait mains que bien par ignoran/ce, par negligence ou par occupement de chose seculiere, en la sollemp- 293ra
 nité des sains que ele soit paiee en ceste sainte feste.'

Il est assavoir que il y a .iiij. differences des sains que nous honorons par le cours
 140 de l'an de ceulz du nouvel testament, lesquelz au jour d'ui nous reueillon ensemble pour supplier ce que nous avons fait negligaument. Ce sont apostres, martyrs, confesseurs et vierges, et sont ces .iiij. senefiés par les .iiij. parties du monde, par orient les apostres, par midi les martyrs, par aquilon les confesseurs, et par occident les vierges. La premiere difference est des apostres, desquelz la
 145 digneté et l'excellence est manifestee par ce que il sormontent touz les autres sains en .iiij. choses. Premierement en souveraineté de digneté, quer il sont sages princes de l'eglise chevauchant, il sont poissans ac[ce]sseurs du juge pardurable, il sont douz pasteurs des ouailles Nostre Seigneur, il sont douz juges. Dont Bernart dit: 'Il apartenoit bien a establir tiex pasteurs et tiex docteurs a l'umain lignage que il
 150 fussent douz et poissans et sages, douz si que il nous receussent souef et par misericorde, poissans pour nous forment desfendre, sages pour nous mener a voie de verité.' Aprés il sormontent ces autres sains en souveraineté de poste, donc saint Augustin dit ainssi: 'Diex donna poste as apostres sus les deables pour eulz destruire, sus les elemens pour muer les, sus les ames pour absoudre les de pechié,
 155 sus la mort pour la despire, sus les angres pour sacrer le cors Nostre Seigneur.' Et tiercement en prerogative de saintee, si que pour [leur] tres grant saintee et la

130 façons] om. S souvent] forment PI, om. P2SZFbHbJb 132 autres] add choses
 P2 negligaument] add et delesson en ce moult de choses par ignorance et par negligence SZFb
 133 nous^{1]}] om. P2SZHbJbNc(c) supplier] publier B2, plublier Bb 134 raison] chose
 NB1 135 par..jour] om. P2 il dit] om. Nc(c) 136 si que] se P2 ce que] om. P5
 137 seculiere] singuliere P3P6 138-139 que...sains] om. P2SZFbHbJb 138 paiee]
 appaisiee MWAbGbP7CbEbNc(c), appaisiee F 140 nous] add sruions WAbGbNc(c), add sruions
 et P7CbEb 142 martyrs] om. Nc martyrs, confesseurs] trs. Ac 142-143 et¹...confesseurs]
 om. Nc 145 digneté] di/grace S [line end di/] 147 accesseurs] acroisseurs PI, assessores. LgA
Godefroy records the spellings of related words with -cc- for -ss-, so doubtless this is a spelling variant.
 148 il sont douz juges] not recorded by Graesse Dont] add Saint QW 149 tiex¹] add iugez
 F a²] add tout F 150 douz²] om. Nc(c) souef] de soif Nc, soif (c) 151 poissans] om.
 Ab forment] puissamment NB1P6 151-152 a voie de verité] ad vitam et per viam...quae
 perducit ad civitatem supernam. LgA voie de] la Bb 152 Aprés] Secundo LgA poste]
 puissance P5P2ZJbNc(c) donc] si comme Q 153 ainssi] en ceste maniere Q poste]
 puissance P5P2ZJbNc(c) 154 destruire] add pooste Q 155 sacrer] om. Nc 156 preroga-
 tive] irrogatiue CbEb, irrogatiuete Nc(c) si que...saintee] om. SZ leur] la PIQR tres] om.
 FMRWAbGbNB1B2BbP2P6DbFbHbJbP7CbEbNc(c) saintee²] add deulz R

293rb plenté de graces la vie et la conversacion Jhesu Crist / reluisoit en eulz comme en
i. mireoir et estoit congneue en eulz comme soleil en sa resplendeur et comme
 rose en son oudeur et feu en sa chaleur. Et de ce dit Crisothome sus Maci: 'Jhesu
 160 Crist envoia ses apostres aussi comme le soleil + ses rais et aussi comme la rose
 son oudeur et comme le feu depart ses estenceles. Et si comme le soleil apparoist
 en ses rais, si comme la rose est sentue en son oudeur, si comme le feu est veu en
 ses estenceles, aussi par les vertus d'iceulz est congneue la poste Jhesu Crist.'

Quartement en la bonté de moult de profit, duquel profit Augustin parlant des
 165 apostres dit: 'Des plus vilz, des plus ydiotes, et des plus petis sont ennoblis, sont
 moutepliés, sont enluminés, les tres douz parlers, les tres nobles engins, et les
 merveilleuses sagesces des aucteurs emparlés et des docteurs et sont souzmis a
 Jhesu Crist.'

La seconde difference est des martyrs, desquieix l'excellence est manifestee pour
 170 ce que il souffrissent en moult de manieres profitablement, fermement et moutepliable-
 blement. Pour ce que sans le martyre de sanc il souffrissent .iij. autres martyres, de
 quoi saint Bernart dit: 'Il est treible martyre sanz sanc, c'est espargnance en
 plenteiveté, laquelle David ot, largesce en povreté, laquelle Thobie demoustra, et
 175 chasteetee de voeve en sa janesce, de laquelle Joseph usa en Egypte.' Et selonc
 Gregoire il est treible martire sans sanc, c'est pacience d'aversités, donc il dit:
 'Nous povons bien estre martyrs sanz fer se nous gardons vraiment pacience en
 nostre courage et avon pitié des tormentés.' Donc il est dit: 'Cil qui a douleur

157 conversacion] conuersion *NB1P6* 158 mireoir] *om. P5* 159 feu en] *om. P6* 160 +]
 enuoie *P1* 161 depart] *om. Nc(c)* 161-162 depart...feu] *rpt. P6* 161-163 Et...estence-
 les] *om. QBb* 163 les vertus *PIP3P5C*] la *Gb*, la vertu *rest* poste] puissaunce *P5QP2ZJbNc(c)*
 164 en] est *P2SZFbHbJb* 165 et...petis] *om. Q* 165-166 sont moutepliés] *om. NB1*
 166 tres¹] *om. Q* tres²] add doulz *Nc(c)* nobles] douz *P3* engins] *om. Ab* 167 aucteurs]
 acteurs *WAbGbP7CbEbNc(c)*, autres *B1*, anciens *Bb* emparlés] éparlant *Ac*, en parlant *NcSc*,
 emples *B1B2BbJb* 170-171 il souffrissent...Pour ce que...] passi sunt multipliciter, utiliter et
 constanter. Multipliciter quoniam... *LgA* The second Multipliciter introduces the next passage, and is
 followed by 179 profitablement and 207 ferment in the French. Vignay obscured this pattern by
 translating the first as en moult de manieres. 170 souffrissent] offrrent *M* fermement] *om. Bb*
 170-171 moutepliablement] add fermement et non moutepliablement *FMSZHbJb* 171 marty-
 re, sanc] *trs. P6* martyres] manieres with en before .iij. *P6* 172 espargnance] largesse
Nc(c) 173 ot] prophecia *Fb* largesce] sagesce *FMP2SZFbHbJb* laquelle²] add chose *F*
 174 chasteetee de voeve] veu de chastete *P7* janesce] viellesce *R* usa] add en sa jounesce
NB1P6 175 sans] add celui de *Q* 175-179 c'est pacience...pensee] scilicet patientia adversorum,
 unde dicit: sine ferro martires esse possumus, si patientiam in animo veraciter custodimus;
 compassio afflictorum, unde dicit: qui dolorem exhibet in aliena necessitate, crucem portat in mente;
 dilectio inimicorum, unde dicit: ferre contumelias, odientem diligere, martirium est in occulta
 cogitatione. *LgA* That the loss of the tripartite division in the French is more than a matter of unclear
 punctuation is shown by 177 avon, which can only link this to the preceding sentence. 176 martyrs]
om. AbNc(c) 177 tormentés] tourmens *WGbEbNc(c)* douleur] dolent *R*, desir *SZ*

d'autrui neccesité porte la crois en sa pensee, et cil qui sueffre laidenges et aime son anemi est martyr secretement en sa pensee.' Secondelement c'est pro/fita- 293va
 180 ble[ment], lequel profit est a ceulz martyrs remission de pechiés, plenté de merites et recevement de joie pardurable. [Et] ces choses ont il achetees de leur precieus + sanc. Et pour ce est il dit leur sanc precieus, c'est a dire plain de pris. Et Augustin el Livre de la Cité Dieu dit du premier et du secont: 'Quel chose est plus precieuse que mort pour laquelle les pechiés sont pardonnés et les merites acreues?' Et dit 185 sus Jehan: 'Le sanc Jhesu Crist si est precieus sans pechié, et toutefois fist il le sanc des siens precieus pour lesquelz il donna son precieus sanc, car s'il n'eust fait le sanc des siens precieus l'en ne deist pas que la mort de ses sains fust precieuse devant lui.' Et Cyprien dit: 'Martyre est fin de pechiés, terme de peril, et duc de salu, mestre de pacience, maison de vie.' Du tiers dit Bernart: '.iij. choses sont qui 190 font la mort des sains precieuse, repos de travail, joie de nouveleté, seurté de pardurableté.' Et quant a nous le profit y est double, quer il nous sont donnés en example pour nous combattre. Dont Crisothome dit: 'Crestien, tu es chevalier delicieus se tu cuides avoir victoire sans bataille. Combat toi haute force[s], combat 195 toi cruelment en ceste bataille, considere le couvenant, entent la condicion, cognois la chevalerie. Considere le couvenant que tu promeis, la condicion que tu preis, la chevalerie a qui tu donnas nom, car par ce couvenant tous se combatirent, il vainquirent touz par cele condicion, et orent victoire par cele chevalerie. + Secondelement il nous sont donnés patrons a nous aidier.' Il nous aident par leur merites et par leur oroisons. + Du premier dit Augustin: 'Ha, la tres grant pitié de 200 Dieu qui veult que les merites des martyrs soient nos aides, il les examine pour nous enseignier, il les assemble pour nous acquerre, il veult que leur tormens 293vb soient nos profis.' Du secont dit Jeroisme contre Vigilancien: 'Se les apostres et

178 d'autrui] daucun qui a *MWAbGbSP7CbEbNc(c)*, daucun *P2SZFbHbJb*, d'autre *Db*
 178-179 et¹...pensee] om. *R* 178 laidenges] om. *P3*, le dangier *P2*, vilonnie *Nc(c)*
 179-180 profitablement] profitable *P1* 180 martyrs] add refroidement et *P6* 181 Et] om.
P1 precieus] propre *Eb* 182+] et digne *P1* Et..precieus] om. *Db* est il] om. *Gb*
 leur] om. *FMP2SZFbHbJb* pris] poix *Nc(c)* 184 laquelle] add chose
RWAbGbNB1B2BbP6DbP7CbEbNc(c) les¹] tous *Q* dit] add en ceste maniere *Q* 185 sus]
 saint *Nc(c)* Le sanc] om. *SZ* 185-186 sans...precieus¹] om. *W* 185 et...sanc] om. *Ab*
 186-187 pour...precieus] om. *CbEb* 187 de ses sains] des siens *F*, des siens sains *R*, des sains
P6 188 terme de] add pechiez *B1* duc] conducteur *Nc(c)* 189 mestre] terme
RNB1B2BbP6Db dit] add saint *Q* 190 des sains] om. *P5* joie] loyer *RNB1B2BbP6Db*
 seurté] repos *P3*, seurance *Fb* 191 quant] om. *P5* 192 Crisothome] saint Iehan
 crisostome nous *Nc(c)* Crestien] om. *Nc(c)* 193 victoire, bataille] trs. *NB1* sans bataille]
 om. *Db* Combat...forces] om. *NB1P6* haute] avec tez *Z* haute forces] fort *R* forces]
 force *P1*, choses *Ab*, choses forces *Gb* 195 cognois] enten *R* la¹] add noble *Nc(c)*
 195-196 Considere...chevalerie] om. *NB1* 195 promeis] preis *B2BbDb* 196 preis] promeis
FM 197 orent] add tous *MWAbGbP7CbEbNc(c)* +] & *P1* 198 nous¹] om. *Bb* 199 +]
 Et *P1* Ha] om. *Nc(c)* 200 nos] om. *Bb* 201 leur] nos *F*, les *S* 202 Vigilancien]
 Villacien *Nc(c)*

les martyrs quant il estoient encore el corps vis povoient prier pour ces autres, comment encore donc en doivent il estre plus curieus aprés les coronnes et les 205 victoires.' Moyses .i. seul home empetra pardon de Dieu a .vj. .C. mille homes armés, et saint Estienne proia pour ses anemis et quant il out commencié a estre avec Jhesu Crist en vaudront il mains non. Tiercement c'est ferment, Augustin: '[L'ame] du martyr est le glaive resplendissant par charité, agu par verité, brandie par la vertu de Dieu combatant, laquelle a sormonté la compaignie des contredisans 210 en eulz reprenant, ele feri les mauvés et abati les contraires.' Et Crisothome dit: 'Les tormentés furent plus fors que les tormenteurs, et les criants vainquirent les ongles par leur membres desrompues.'

La tierce difference est des confesseurs, desquelz la digneté et l'excellence est manifestee por ce qu'il confesserent Dieu en .ijj. manieres, par cuer, par bouche, 215 et par oevre. La confession de cuer ne souffit pas sans la confession de bouche, si comme Crisothome le prueve en [.iiij.] manieres. Et quant au premier il dit ainssi: 'La racine de confession est foi. Confession de cuer est fruit de foi, et aussi comme tant que la racine est vive en terre, il est mestier qu'ele mete hors ses rains et ses fueilles. Et se ele ne les met hors, c'est a entendre que ele est sechier en terre. 220 Et tout aussi quant la racine de foi est entiere el cuer ele gernie tousjours 294ra confess[ion] en la bouche. Et se la confession du cuer n'apparoist en la / bouche, entent que la confession est ja sechier el cuer.' [Quant a la seconde il dit: 'Se il te souffist a croire ou cuer] et non pas confesser devant les homes, donc es tu desloial et ypocrite, car ja soit ce que il ne croie en cuer si profite il a confesser 225 de bouche, et si ne profite a celi qui le confesse sans croire, il ne profite point a toi qui le crois sans confession.' Et quant a la tierce il dit: 'Se il souffit a Jhesu Crist que tu le congnois ja soit ce que tu ne le confesses mie devant les homes, donc te

203 el corps] om. NB1 204 encore] om. NB1P6Nc(c) estre] prier Z 205 de Dieu] om. Nc(c) a] add plus de Eb 206 saint] om. Hb il] add leur F a estre] om. Nc 207 Tiercement, c'est ferment] Tertio constanter. LgA This was intended to mean little more than 'likewise'; but Vignay has translated it too precisely. c'est ferment] aferme Fb ferment] fermement QB1P6DbP7, forment MRWAbGbCbEbNcAc, tourment Sc, add ce dit Q, add dont P7 Augustin] om. P3P6, add dit MWAbGbB1P7CbEbNc(c) 208 L'ame] la maison P1 le glaive] lame Db 210 mauvés] rauuaux S 211 tormentés] tourmens Nc(c) furent...tormen-teurs] om. P5 tormenteurs] tormentans P3FMWAbGbP2SHbJbNc(c) 212 ongles] angeles Nc(c) membres] marteleis RNB1B2BbP6Db 213 des] add choses Ab 215 ne souffit] nest Hb 216 .iiij.] .ijj. P1QRCbEb manieres] om. Bb 217 foi...cuer] soi confesser de cuer et Q Confession...foi] om. Nc(c) 218 hors] om. P6 rains] rais NB1 219 met] om. Db entendre] dire NB1 sechier] fichee Nc(c) 220 tout...quant] aussi comme RNB1B2BbP6Db est] add toute Jb entiere] entree CP5CbEb gernie] greme CP2 221 confession¹] confessession P1 en...confession²] om. Bb n'apparoist] apparoit S 222 entent] add pour vrai Q, en tout P2SZ ja sechier] ia fichee Nc(c), om. Ab cuer] add et en la bouche Q 222-223 Quant...cuer] om. P1 223 confesser] confession SZFb, confess-ant CbEb 224 confesser] confession P2S 225 ne², point] om. Z point] riens Bb 226 toi] celui Q 227-228 te...aussi] souffise ainsi a toy Nc(c)

souffise aussi que il te congnoist, et se tu ne confesses Jhesu Crist devant Dieu. Et se sa congoissance ne te souffist, aussi ne li souffist point ta foi.' Quant au quart
 230 il dit: 'Se la foi du cuer te souffisoit tant seulement, Diex t'aroit creé le cuer seulement, mes Dieu t'a creé le cuer et la bouche pour croire le du cuer et confesser de bouche.' Tiercement il confesserent Dieu par oevre. Et Jeroisme demoustre comment l'en confesse Dieu par oevre ou renie et dit: 'Jhesu Crist est sagesce, droiture, verité, saintee, force. Sagesce est renoiee par folie, droiture par iniquité,
 235 verité par menterie, + saintee par laidure, force par foiblesce de courage, et toutes fois que nous sommes vaincus par vices et par pechiés nous renoions Dieu. Et aussi au contraire toutes fois que nous faison aucun bien nous confesson Dieu.'

La quarte difference est des vierges, desqueles l'excellence et la + digneté est manifestee premierement en ce qu'il sont [espousés] du souverain roi. Et de ce dit
 240 Ambroise: 'Qui puet greigneur biauté que la biauté de cele qui est amee du roi, approuvee du juge, dediee de Dieu, touzjors espouse, toute entiere sanz corruption.' Secondement pour ce que ele est [acomparagiee] as angres virginité sor-
 monte toute condicion de hu/maine nature par laquelle les homes sont accompa- 294rb
 gniés avec les angres. Et la victoire des vierges est greigneur que des angres. Les
 245 angres vivent sans char et les vierges ont victoire en la char. Tiercement pour ce qu'il sont plus nobles des autres bons crestiens, donc Cyprien dit: 'Vierginité est fleur de toute la semence de l'eglise, biauté [et aornement] de grace esperituel, joie liee de loenge et d'onneur, oevre entiere et sans corruption, ymage de Dieu, et de rechief plus noble a la saintee de Dieu et portion du bestail Jhesu Crist.'
 250 Quartement pour ce qu'il sont mises au devant des mariees, et cele excellence que virginité a au regard du couple de mariage aparoist par comparaison moutepliable,

228 il...congnoist] tu le congnois *RNB1B2BbP6Db*, dieu te cognoist *Q* ne] om.
FMWAbGbB1P2SZFbHbP7CbEbNc(c), illeg. *Jb* 229 souffist] add point *Q* 230 foi] *loy Bb*
 cuer²] add tant *MNP6Eb*, add et la bouche tant *B1* 231 creé] forme *Q* 231-232 pour
 ...bouche] om. *P2* 231 et²] add le *P6Nc(c)* 232 de] add la *B1P7Eb*, add ta *Nc(c)*
 232-233 Et...oevre] om. *B2Bb* 233 et dit] om. *Eb* sagesce] saiette *Nc(c)* 235+] & *P1*
 foiblesce de] feble *P3* 237 aucun] om. *Hb* 238+] difference et subpuncted *P1*
 239 manifestee] magnifiee *Nc* premierement] om. *F* il] elles *RWP7CbEb* espousés] ex-
 poses *P1*, espoentes *P3* souverain] sauveur *Hb* 240 puet] add auoir *RP6*, estre *P7* greig-
 neur] plus grant *Nc(c)* que la biauté] om. *GbB2BbP6Z* 241 dediee] om. *Hb* espouse toute]
 om. *QREb* toute] touzjors *FMWAbGbP2SZFbHbJbP7CbNc(c)*, semper *LgA* 242 acom-
 paragiee] accompagniee *PIC* 243 de...nature] humaine *P6*, humaine et de toute corporel nature
 cest la souueraine vertu *Q* 243-244 accompagniés] accompagnagies *NB1P6DbNc(c)* 244 avec...
 angres¹] aux anges et accompagnient avec eux *P6* Et...angres²] om. *P2* des vierges/
 est greigneur] trs. *R* angres²] autres *Nc(c)* 245 angres, vierges] trs. *P6* 247 fleur]
 suer *RNB1B2BbP6DbNc(c)* semence] saintee *N*, saintete *B1* et aornement] atornement *P1*
 248 liee] leesce *R* 248-249 et³...Dieu] om. *P6* 250 Quartement] Quintement *NB1*
 qu'il] quelles *Eb* devant] add des nourries et *P6* mariees] merites *B2Bb* 251 vir-
 ginité] om. *Ab* couple] temple *R* aparoist par] accompaist *NB1* comparaison]
 composicion *WAbGbCbEbNc(c)*

- quar mariage emple le ventre, virginité emple la pensee. Donc Augustin dit: 'Virginité eslut plus noble ensuir en char la vie des anges que + acroistre mortalité de char. Ce est plus plenteive et plus beneuree habondance d'acroistre sa pensee
 255 que de engroissier son ventre, car l'une enfante filz de douleur et virginité enfante filz de joie et de leesce.' Donc Augustin dit: 'Cele continence n'est pas brehaigne mes plenteive, ele est mere des enfans de joie, car ele raemplist le ciel d'enfans, et cele du mari et de la dame raemplist la terre.' Et Jeroisme dit: 'Les noces emplent la terre et virginité emple paradis. L'une est de trop grant curieuseté,
 260 l'autre est de grant repos. Virginité est taisibleté de cures, pais de char, rachatement de vices, seignorie de vertus. Mariage est bonne chose, mes virginité est mesmeilleur.'
- 294va Et Jeroisme escrist a Palmachien: 'Autel difference est entre noces / et virginité comme entre non pechier et bien faire, et comme entre bon et meilleur. Quer continence est accomparagiee as espines et virginité as roses.' Et si dit il a Eustace:
 265 'Je loie les noces, [mais] c'est pour ce que je queil les roses es espines, l'or de la terre et de la carriere pierres precieuses.' Quintement pour ce qu'il joissent de moult de privileges. Car les vierges aront la couronne qui est dicte aureole, eles seules chanteront nouvel chant, eles seront vestues d'un meesmes vestement avec Jhesu Crist et s'esjoïront, il iront touzjors avec celi aignel.
- 270 Quartement et desrenierement, ceste feste fu estable pour empetrer plus legierement nos proieres por ce que aussi comme nous honorons a ce jour touz les sains generalment que aussi il prient pour nous touz ensemble et que ainssi nous empetrons plus legierement la misericorde Nostre Seigneur. Quer s'il est impossible que les prieres de pluseurs ne soient oïes, il est moult plus impossible que les
 275 prieres de touz les sains ne soient oïes. Et ceste raison est touchiee quant l'en dit

252 emple^{2]}] om. Ab 252-253 emple²...Virginité] om. FMP2SZFbHbJb 252 la pensee]
 le ciel R 253-254 Virginité...char] generosus eligit in carne vitam jam imitari angelorum, quam
 in carne numerum augere mortalium. Lg4 253 eslut] est R, add estre P6 plus noble]
 noblement Q, add chose Bb en char] om. NB1 la vie] lame P6 +] a PIQ
 254 plenteive] plenteuse SZ, plenteure Hb plenteive et plus] om. P2 habondance] la bonte Q
 256-257 et...joie] om. RWAbGbNB1B2BbP6DbP7CbEbNc(c) 257 plenteive] plenteuse
 SZ, plenteure Hb de...d'envans] om. P2 258 dame] femme ZP7CbEb 258-259 Et...terre]
 om. P3B2Bb 259 de] add moult Q trop] om. F grant] om. SZ 260 de grant]
 greigneur MWAbGbP7CbEbNc(c) taisibleté] taisible P7Nc(c), cessament Z cures] cuers (?)
 Eb 261 de vices] dediees M chose] om. P6 262 entre] om. Hb 263 non] om. Db
 non...entre] om. Nc 265 mais c'est pour ce que] sed quia mihi virgines generant Lg4
 mais] om. PI 266 terre] pierre B1 carriere] rue Z Quintement] Quartement Nc(c)
 269 s'esjoïront] add tousiours MWAbGbP7CbEbNc(c) il] quil Q, elles WP2HbCbEb, et
 P6ZSc iront] seront Q touzjors] om. P6 270 Quartement] Quintement BbNc(c) fu]
 est RWAbGbNB1B2BbP6DbCbEbNc(c) estable] add premierement Q 272 nous^{1]}] add a ce
 iour Q 273 empetrons] empetrent RWAbGbNB1B2BbP6DbP7CbEbNc(c) la misericorde]
 pardon P3 274 prieres] om. P7 soient] puissent estre P6 oïes] add et ceste raison est B1
 274-275 il...oïes] om. P3 274 moult] om. RBb 275 de] add plusieurs que les prieres de
 NB1 soient] puissent estre P6 touchiee] oye Nc

en l'oroison: 'Sire, donne nous par les moutepliees proieres de tes sains la desiere habondance de ta debonnaireté.' [Et les sains prient pour nous par merite et par voulenté, par merite] quant leur merite nous aide, par volenté quant il veulent nos desirs estre accomplis, et ce ne font il fors pour accomplir la volenté de Dieu. Et que
 280 a ce jour tous les sains s'assemblent a prior pour nous est il demoustré en une vision qui avint au secont an que ceste feste fu establie. Si comme le cleric de l'eglise Saint Pere eust par devotion visité touz les autielz de l'eglise et avoit requis l'aide de touz les sains et puis revint en la parfin a l'autel saint Pierre et la se reposa .i.
 285 pou et la vit / une vision, quar il vit le Roi des rois qui estoit el plus haut siege 294vb assis et touz les angres entour li. Et dont la Vierge des vierges vint couronnee d'une tres resplendissant coronne, et la sivoit grant multitude de vierges sans nombre et de continentes aussi, et tantost le roy se leva contre eles et les fist asseoir en .i. siege qui estoit après lui. Et après vint .i. homme vestu de peulz de cameil et grant multitude de anciens homes honorables le sivoient, et après vint [un autre
 290 en habit d'evesque et une compagnie d'autres le sivoient en habit semblable et après vint] .i. grant multitude de chevalerie sanz nombre que grant compagnie de diverses gens sivoient. Et donc tous vindrent devant le siege du roi et l'aourerent a genoulz. Et donc celui qui estoit en habit d'evesque commença matines et touz ces autres l'ensuirent. Et celui cleric estoit mené d'un angre en cele vision qui li
 295 exposa cele vision et dist que en la premiere compagnie la Vierge mere de Dieu

276 proieres] om. FP3, oroisons P6 de tes] des P5, de tous WAbGbP7CbEb, de tous les Nc(c) 277-278 Et...merite¹] om. P1 et...merite²] om. P2 278 nous] leur P2 nos] leurs R 279 desirs] volentes de desirs donneur Q fors] que Db, add que Q 280 est] et pour ce Q 281 secont] add iour Ab 282 Saint Pere] sancti Petri LgA Pere] pierre FMRP6ZP7CbEbNc(c) par] add grant Q les] add lieux F 282-283 l'aide...sains] tous les sains en aide B1 283 et puis...Pierre] rpt. B1 Pierre] pere P3P5CQNB1, om. CbEb et la] il Sc reposa] add illec Sc 284 et la] adont Nc, et en dormant Sc une] en Fb quar il vit] om. Fb, que Nc 285 assis] om. RNB1B2BbP6Db la] add benoite Nc(c) vint] add qui estoit P6 286 sivoit] add vne tres Q, add tres NBI 287 eles] huic, LgA i.e. singular 288 après¹] empres FMWNB1FbP7CbEb, pres de P2P6, iouste Q homme] add qui estoit QP6 289 homes] om. Nc(c) honorables] om. BbP2P6CbEb sivoient] seruoient Fb, add hono- rablement Bb, add lesquels estoient moult honnourables CbEb 289-291 un...vint] om. P1Sc 289 autre] homme MRWAbGbNB1B2BbP6DbP7CbEbNcAc 290 une] grant FMQRWAbGb- NB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbP7CbEbNcAc compagnie] multitude MRWAbGbNB1B2BbP2P6Db- P7CbEbNcAc d'autres] dommes RNB1B2BbP6Db, add euesques MWAbGbCbEb le si- voient/en habit semblable] trs. RWAbGbNB1B2BbP6DbP7CbEbNcAc en habit semblable] semblablement vestu Bb 290-292 et²...sivoient] om. Nc 291 vint] add la M grant¹] om. P5CFMQRWAbGbNB1B2BbP2P6SZDbFbHbJbP7CbEb(c) chevalerie] cheualiers P3FMWAbGb- P2SZDbFbHbJbP7CbEb(c) compagnie] multitude R 292 diverses] autres P6 gens] om. C du roi] om. RP2 293 commençal commanda B2 294 en...vision] om. M 294- 295 qui...vision] om. FRJb 295 exposa] deuisa toute Q cele vision] tout P6 premiere] add vision ou P5 Vierge] add Marie RWAbGbNB1B2BbDp7CbEbNc(c)

estoit, et le vestu de poil de cameil estoit Jehan Baptiste avec les patriarches et les prophetes, et cil qui estoit aorné de habit d'evesque estoit Pierres avec ses apostres, les chevaliers estoient les martyrs et les autres les confesseurs, lesquiex ne vindrent pas touz devant le roi pour rendre graces de l'onneur qui leur estoit faite en ce jour

300 des gens mortiex et pour ce qu'il orassent pour tout le monde. Et après l'angre le mena en .i. autre lieu et li moustra homes et fames, les uns en lis dorés, les esjoissans en diverses delices, les autres nus et povres et les autres mendians, et li dist que ce estoit le lieu d'expurgatoire. Ceulz qui habondoient estoient les ames qui estoient secourues habondaument par moult de aides de leur amis, les povres
295ra 305 estoient ceulz desquiex les amis / ne tenoient conte. Et donc li commanda il que il deist tout au pape, si que après la feste de touzsains il establisist le jor des ames si que generaus suffrages temporielz fussent fais pour eulz a ce jour quant il ne povoient avoir les esperituelz.

Explicit la sollemnité de la feste de touzsains.

Christ Church, Oxford.

The University of Adelaide.

296 poil de] om. NB1B2BbP6Db estoit²] add Saint P3QRSZ 296-297 et²...prophetes] om. M 297 aorné de] en RNB1B2BbP6Db avec] apostre et P3 ses P1P5FQRNB1P2ZDb-FbHbJb] ces CS, les rest 298-299 ne, pas] there is no negative in the Latin. 299 jour] monde FMWAbGbP2SZFbHbJbP7CbEbNc(c) 300 des...mortiex] om. Eb orassent] aourassent B2BbP6CbEbDb 301 .i.] om. P2DbFbHb fames...en] om. R 301-302 les uns...mendians] LgA alios in stratis aureis, alios in mensis gaudentes diversis deliciis, alios nudos et inopes auxilium mendicantes 301 les uns] om. P3QNB1, qui estoient P6 uns] om. P5CB2Bb les²] eulz HbJb, add vns QRNB1B2BbP6Db, add autres FMWAbGbP2P7CbEbNc(c) 302 mendians] om. P3 303 habondoient] y habitoint Nc(c) 304 qui estoient] om. QB1 habondaument] diligencement Eb par moult] om. FHb amis] om. Z 305 les] leurs FMQRP7CbEb les amis] om. Z amis] ames R il] lange P6 306 tout] om. Db la feste] le iour Q de touzsains] om. Z touzsains] tous les sains Nc(c) le jor] la feste P6 307 si que] om. Q temporielz] corporelz F, om. M 308 avoir] om. Q esperituelz] specialia LgA

NICHOLAS HEREFORD'S ASCENSION DAY SERMON, 1382*

Simon Forde

THE text here edited for the first time bears witness to little documented activities of notaries public in Oxford and through this to a type of official *reportatio* rarely found in the field of English sermon studies. The preaching that it records is itself of more than passing interest. It is one of the clearest statements of the beliefs of Wyclif's followers in the turbulent year of 1382. The urgency of the call in this sermon for disendowment of the Church and for a return by the clergy to apostolic poverty has led Beryl Smalley to describe it as marking a step in the direction of revolution.¹

When Wyclif had retired to Lutterworth from Oxford soon after May 1381, Nicholas Hereford remained as the most outspoken campaigner at Oxford on issues of concern to Wyclif. The sermon Hereford gave at the preaching cross in St. Frideswide's churchyard, Oxford, on Ascension Day (15 May) 1382, perhaps more than any other single incident, heightened tension between those promoting Wycliffite ideas and their opponents. Within six weeks Hereford and his associates, Philip Repyngdon and John Aston, were excommunicated.² Three similar sermons from that year, two given by Repyngdon, one in Lent by Hereford,³ have been

* I am most grateful to Dr. Anne Hudson for giving me the opportunity to edit this text first and also to Dr. Hudson and Fr. P. Osmund Lewry, O.P., for their comments on this paper. I am indebted also to Fr. William J. Dohar, C.S.C., for checking on my behalf a number of points in the Oxford codex.

¹ In her 'Introduction' to the guidebook for the Bodleian exhibition *Wyclif and His Followers. An Exhibition to Mark the 600th Anniversary of the Death of John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1984), p. 5. This booklet introduces Hereford's Ascension Day sermon under item 46 and contains plates (p. 32) of two columns of the extant *reportatio* from pages 848b and 850a of the codex.

² See D. Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae...* 4 vols. (London, 1737). 3.160-66, 167-68. See also *Fasciculi Zizaniorum magistri Johannis Wyclif cum tritico*, ed. W. W. Shirley (RS 5; London, 1858), p. 290 (hereafter cited as *FZ*). For a discussion of the relative seniority of Hereford and Repyngdon see S. N. Forde, *Writings of a Reformer. A Look at Sermon Studies and Bible Studies through Repyngdon's 'Sermones super Evangelia dominicalia'*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. thesis, Birmingham, 1985), 1.36-37. The events of the spring and summer of 1382 are considered in A. Hudson, 'Wycliffism in Oxford, 1381-1411' in *Wyclif in His Times*, ed. A. Kenny (Oxford, 1986), pp. 67-84.

³ See *FZ*, pp. 296-97 for the sermon at Brackley earlier in 1382, pp. 297, 299 and 306 for the Oxford Corpus Christi sermon, and p. 305 for Hereford's. Also Forde, *Writings* 1.13-15.

reported in summary form but none of them has been preserved as extensively as this Ascension Day sermon of Hereford. The *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* gives many reported accounts from this date of the beliefs of Hereford, Repyngdon and Aston together with broadsheets circulated by them and their confessions and statements to the Blackfriars Council.⁴ But these documents offer defensive and circumspect statements. Hereford's sermon by contrast comes from an earlier, more assertive stage when the initiative lay with these 'Wycliffites'. It is preserved in the unusual form of a *reportatio* made by a notary public who claims to have been present when the sermon was preached. However what has survived in the sole manuscript is a version that represents neither the notary's original minute (or *protocollum*) of the event nor the official document (*instrumentum*) which he would have cast *in publicam formam* but rather a copy of the latter.

The four principal *dramatis personae* of this episode appear to have been Nicholas Hereford, the preacher, Peter Stokes, a Carmelite friar, John Fykies, a notary public commissioned by Stokes to make a report of the sermon, and Robert Rygge, the chancellor of Oxford University under whose authority the sermon was preached. A fifth protagonist, namely the person later responsible for making the copy of the notarial instrument that lies behind the extant version, may tentatively be identified with a Benedictine theologian from Bury St. Edmunds called John de Gosford. We shall meet him later when we come to examine the codex Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 240 (SC 2469).⁵

Nicholas Hereford had incepted as Doctor of Theology shortly before this incident.⁶ His period at Oxford would necessarily have long predated 1382: the theology faculty alone required at least nine years' attendance.⁷ Hereford had been

⁴ FZ, pp. 319-30; for vernacular versions of Aston's broadsheet and a similar one distributed by Hereford see *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnithon, monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby, 2 vols. (RS 92; London, 1889-95), 2.170-72.

⁵ F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, eds., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 2.1 (Oxford, 1922), pp. 384-85 (hereafter this manuscript is cited as B). B is paginated, not foliated, and hence p. 848a and p. 848b refer to left and right hand columns of its pages.

⁶ In the context of John Ball's 'confession' of 1381 Hereford is described in FZ, p. 274 as M.A. By Feb. 1382 he is described as 'magister Nicolaus de Hereford, paginae sacrae professor' (FZ, p. 294, and similarly at pp. 296, 298, 303, 305 etc.). Likewise if Hereford had not been a doctor in theology by Ascension Day this fact would have been used against Rygge as a sign of favouritism, whereas in fact his doctoral status is implied by the reference here to his opponents as 'aliis doctoribus' (p. 306).

⁷ See for instance H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936), 3.158-60; J. I. Catto, 'Theology and Theologians 1220-1320' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1: *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto (Oxford, 1984), pp. 471-517, especially pp. 475-79; A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. A.D. 1282-1302* (Oxford Historical Society [hereafter cited as OHS] 96; Oxford, 1934), pp. 25-56; A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (OHS 20; Oxford, 1892), pp. 29-54, and his 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century', *Archivum francisca-*

a fellow of the Queen's College in 1369 and in 1374-75, when Wyclif was also a resident. FZ drew on another notarised document to implicate Hereford with having influenced John Ball prior to 1381. We hear that by 1382 Hereford had written some books that were circulating in Oxford.⁸ This has sometimes been taken to refer to the earliest, highly literal translation of the Old Testament as far as Bar 3:20, ascribed to Hereford at the latter point in several manuscripts of the Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible. It is more plausible that he was merely one of several contributors engaged from this date on the project.⁹ Hereford's antimendicant activities were well-known before this sermon took place. A document dated 18 February 1382, a letter sent to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by the four priors of the mendicant houses in Oxford specifically names Hereford who, with his 'accomplices', was allegedly proclaiming to clergy and laity alike that friars were to blame for the 1381 Uprising.

This letter is extant in the collection of Carmelite documents relating to Wycliffite controversies, Lollardy and antimendicant disputes, which constitutes FZ (pp. 292-95). Since the letter was written or sent by ('per') Stephen Partrington, at that time prior of the Oxford Carmelites, we may also suspect the close involvement here of Stokes, the more senior Carmelite theologian (FZ, p. 289), for throughout 1382 Stokes acted as Archbishop Courtenay's spy against Hereford and other students deemed to show Wycliffite leanings.¹⁰

The expectations of the audience and the content of Hereford's sermon reflect in part the circumstances surrounding the occasion at which it was delivered while the extant report of the sermon also reflects the demands of the commissioning

num historicum 19 (1926) 803-874; P. Glorieux, 'L'enseignement au moyen âge. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire au moyen âge* 35 (1968) 65-186.

⁸ A. B. Emden, ed., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), 2.913-15 at p. 913 (hereafter cited as BRUO); FZ, pp. 273-74 and 313-14 (the notary in the former case being John Prophet, BRUO 3.1521-23). The account given here is heavily summarised and should be treated cautiously given the duress being applied to Ball prior to his execution. Nonetheless the term 'magistros in artibus' (FZ, p. 274) applied to Hereford, Aston and Bedeman is correct for a date before 1382.

⁹ A summary of the debates on the stages of translation in the Wycliffite Bible is given in A. Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 162-64, and the evidence for Hereford's role (p. 157). However it is unlikely that so much of EV could have existed by 1382; moreover, recent studies have shown much of Wycliffite scholarship was a collaborative effort in which a considerable number of people were at some point involved. Hence it is inappropriate to seek a single translator for such a considerable part of the Bible. I am indebted to Dr. Hudson for drawing these points to my attention. For the possibility of his authorship of the Apocalypse-commentary, the *Opus arduum*, see A. Hudson, 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29 (1978) 257-79.

¹⁰ FZ, pp. 296, 316. Stokes was instrumental too in opposing Repyngdon before his Corpus Christi Day sermon (5 June 1382) and subsequently in university debates. He was evidently close to William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury (pp. 275-82 and 304).

agent, Stokes, and techniques used by the notary public. It is necessary therefore to describe university sermons (part I) and the notarial craft (part II) before analysing the sermon's content (part III). The extant manuscript is described (part IV) and then examined for the light it sheds on the use and diffusion of the original notarised instruments (part V). Finally, the sermon *reportatio* is edited.

I

University sermons were the occasion for the discussion of Wycliffite topics not only by Hereford and Repyngdon in 1382 but by others later. The practices and procedures governing official Oxford preaching in this period should therefore be outlined. The provisions of the statutes must always be interpreted in the light of other evidence, such as the better documented practices of Paris, and extant manuscripts of university sermons, for instance those recording the sermons at Oxford in 1290-93.¹¹

Firstly, the official university sermon from 1303 onwards was delivered on Sunday mornings (except during Long Vacation) at the university church of St. Mary's.¹² Hereford's Lent sermon was probably one such sermon since it was delivered at St. Mary's, was in Latin and was preached solely to the clergy (*FZ*, p. 305). Before this date the Sunday sermons had taken place at the Dominican house in Oxford; feastday sermons were at the Franciscan house. As part of the settlement of the dispute between the university and the Dominicans (1311-14), from 1314 Sunday sermons were reinstated at Blackfriars and thereby supplemented the St. Mary's sermon. Each bachelor in theology who had completed his lectures on the *Sentences* had to preach one Sunday sermon at Blackfriars before graduating, though the numbers of bachelors at that stage would not have provided for every Sunday of full term as had been the case before 1314. No mention, however, is made of feastday sermons continuing at Greyfriars from this time.

The procedure for allotting preachers to these university sermons is clearly stated in statutes of 1313 and 1431.¹³ Each year two bachelors in theology who

¹¹ See Catto, 'Theology', 473, Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology*, pp. 149-215 and especially pp. 167-72 for Paris preaching; for which see also M. M. Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231. Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Études de philosophie médiévale 15; Paris, 1931).

¹² See *Statuta antiqua vniuersitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. S. Gibson (Oxford, 1931), pp. 52-53, 116 and 236-38. For the dating of the documents edited here from 'Registrum A' see G. Pollard, 'The Oldest Statute Book of the University', *The Bodleian Library Record* 8 (1967-72) 69-92.

¹³ The same procedure is found at Cambridge: *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (London, 1852), 1.295-416, especially pp. 397-98. See also M. B. Hackett, *The Original Statutes of Cambridge University. The Text and Its History* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 242. At Paris the selection of bachelor preachers appears to have been under the control of the respective

had recently completed the stage of lecturing on the *Sentences* and who were preferably seculars were selected to work alongside the university chancellor as *collatores*. They were responsible for giving the designated preacher at least forty days' notice (by 1431, two months) before he was required to preach and for instructing him that he had to provide a substitute if he were unable to do so in person. On occasions when these substitutes were at the last moment also unavoidably prevented from preaching, the *collatores* had to take it in turns to stand in for them. The *collatores* were able to call on all doctors of theology and bachelors who were in their final three or four years' study before inception, that is having completed their lectures on the *Sentences* but having their biblical lectures and other exercises still to complete. The duty to preach was as much enshrined in a tradition that made it integral to medieval university training as in any formal codification. In Peter the Chanter's famous allegory *praedicatio* was the roof which rested athwart *lectio* and *disputatio*.¹⁴

Certain of these Sunday and feastday sermons were given particular emphasis as *sermones generales*. The two principal Sunday sermons were on the first Sunday in Advent and Septuagesima Sunday, and by 1291 Ash Wednesday was of a similar status too.¹⁵ On these occasions only doctors of theology were permitted to preach, but the choice of preachers at Oxford in 1290-93 has further suggested that by that time these sermons were customarily reserved to the chancellor or to regent masters. At Cambridge by the following century (*c.* 1303) Corpus Christi (which was first instituted in 1264, but only became a principal feast in Canterbury Province in 1317) was recognised as a fourth day of special observance.¹⁶ The charge levelled at Chancellor Rygge in 1382 (*FZ*, p. 306) that he and his proctors had allotted the Corpus Christi sermon to Repyngdon even though he was not yet a doctor and other suitably qualified doctors were available suggests that the Cambridge practice also obtained at Oxford. Like other public acts of the universities, the sermons so far mentioned were delivered in Latin.

After 1303 the Oxford statutes offer no information on the location or language of feastday preaching. However, as we have seen, Repyngdon's Corpus Christi sermon in 1382 was delivered at St. Frideswide's.¹⁷ We know too that Rygge was

Dominican and Franciscan regents and *magistri studencium* while four masters selected by the Faculty of Theology assigned the *sermones magistrales* (Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology*, p. 169).

¹⁴ *Verbum abbreviatum* 1 (PL 205.25) cited in B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1983), p. 208 and Davy, *Sermons*, pp. 23-24. Indeed the need to regulate preaching requirements in the 1431 statute seems in part to be a response to a breakdown in the willingness to fulfil these duties. Compare, for instance, the frequency of sermons by individual masters in Paris 1230-31 with the later Oxford reluctance to preach more than once per year.

¹⁵ See *Statuta antiqua*, p. 244 and Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology*, p. 177.

¹⁶ See *Documents...Cambridge* 1.398. For the dating see Hackett, *Original Statutes*, p. 242.

¹⁷ *FZ*, p. 300. But note John de Aswardeby's Corpus Christi sermon delivered at St. Mary's probably *c.* 1384-93. I owe this dating to Dr. V. J. Edden of Birmingham University from her study

found guilty in 1382 of allotting Hereford ‘praecipuum sermonem anni in lingua Anglicana, scilicet in die Ascensionis’ (FZ, p. 306). This sermon was also delivered at St. Frideswide’s, at the preaching cross in the churchyard, the likely venue also of Repyngdon’s sermon.¹⁸ The St. Frideswide’s cross was used by the Austin canons during their provincial chapters, whether at Osney or St. Frideswide’s itself, but the extent to which it was also used by the university is unclear.¹⁹ The Ascension Day sermon was clearly under university auspices, since those who objected to the choice of Hereford took the matter to the university chancellor. Yet it would appear that its special features have their origin at least as early as 1268 and involve the city of Oxford as well as the university. The presence of the mayor and townspeople at this sermon would explain the use of the vernacular. It sets apart this sermon from the others so far described at Oxford, Cambridge or Paris. It was distinguished too by its location: in 1268 it was preceded by a procession of the parish clergy of Oxford to their mother church, St. Frideswide’s, and an account of an incident in that year tells us that this practice was long-established. The importance attached to the celebration is evident from the fact that it was the chancellor who preached. The incident is related thus:

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo octavo, die Ascensionis Domini,
Magistro Nicholao de Ewelme, Universitatis Oxoniae tunc Cancellario, clero et

of Richard Maidstone’s *Determinatio*, which describes and answers some anti-mendicant points raised by Aswardeby in this sermon; see V. Edden, ‘The Debate between Richard Maidstone and the Lollard Ashwardby’, *Carmelus* 34 (1987) 113-34. The location may be connected with the fact that Aswardeby was vicar there, in which case it may not represent an official university sermon (BRUO 1.70).

¹⁸ See the mention of publishing the condemned Wycliffite theses at the cross before Repyngdon’s sermon: ‘ad publicandum illas conclusiones damnatas, et hoc in cruce S. Fredeswyde in festo Corporis Christi ante sermonem Philippi’ (FZ, pp. 306-307). After the sermon Rygge is alleged to have entered the Church, presumably from the churchyard, with twenty armed men in order to intimidate Stokes. Repyngdon too appears to have retired from the cross and ‘expectavit cancellarius in ostio ecclesiae’ (p. 300) from whence they moved elsewhere. The report of Repyngdon’s sermon given at this point (pp. 299-300) appears to confuse it with the content of Hereford’s sermon. There is the intriguing reference to the notarial instruments produced to record the content of the sermon (p. 300). As we shall see, this corresponds to the procedure undertaken for Hereford’s sermon, though of course Stokes may well have acted similarly against Repyngdon. Secondly, the two other reports of Repyngdon’s sermon only mention Eucharistic discussions which are not mentioned here, and the Eucharist is the more appropriate subject for Repyngdon’s Corpus Christi day sermon (see FZ, pp. 297, 307). I am grateful to Dr. Hudson for pointing this out to me; it supersedes some comments made in my thesis (*Writings* 1.47).

¹⁹ H. E. Salter, ed., *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, exists in two identical editions (The Canterbury and York Society 29 [London, 1922] and OHS 74 [Oxford, 1920]). See the account of the 1443 Osney chapter (in the Canterbury and York Society edition pp. 84-105 at pp. 85-86) where the Sunday afternoon sermon at St. Frideswide’s cross was in the vernacular, followed by mass in the church. The university chancellor and other university students were present. See further Forde, *Writings* 1.55-108.

populo sermonem publice in coemeterio S. Frydeswydae faciente, casus quidam mirabilis juxta locum nunc dictum supervenit et inopinatus, videlicet quod, cum ab antiquo ordinatum fuisset et institutum, ut die illo [secundo ed.] annis singulis omnes presbyteri parochialium ecclesiarum civitatis Oxoniae cum solemni processione ecclesiam Beatae Frydeswydae tanquam matrem devote visitarent, ibidemque clerus et populus ad audiendum verbum Domini unanimiter convenirent, quidam Judaei sceleratissimi daemoniaco spiritu arrepti, in Crucifixi vituperium et totius Ecclesiae scandalum, quandam crucem portatilem dicto die in processione solemniter delatam a manibus deferentis abstulerunt, quam exsecrabiliter fregerunt eandemque humo contemnabiliter prostraverunt.²⁰

The statutory regulations adduced so far serve to define the role and responsibilities of Chancellor Rygge with regard to university sermons. In turn, the prayers Hereford offered in his sermon for Rygge partly reflect the favour Rygge had shown Hereford in allotting him this prestigious sermon and having dismissed the opposition of ‘several other doctors’ in order to do so (*FZ*, p. 306).

Finally, a statute of 1432 testifies to the demand for records of general and examination sermons. It enjoined upon the preachers at St. Mary’s at the two principal Sunday sermons (Advent 1 and Septuagesima) and upon bachelors who preached examination sermons there to provide within a week ‘a true and complete copy’ of their sermon from a registered scrivener. This had to be handed to the proctors, who within a fortnight were to present it to the common library of the university.²¹ Reporting of lectures and other academic exercises including sermons was, of course, a regular practice of university life. A customary means of reading other scholars’ notes, sermons or writings must have existed in Hereford’s day since he is criticised for being miserly in not offering such access to others (*FZ*, p. 296). In Italy, *reportationes* made by notaries were available for copying, but there appear to be no other instances from England of a notary being commissioned for such a specific purpose as we find here.

²⁰ H. Anstey, ed., *Munimenta Academica, or Documents Illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford*, 2 vols. (RS 50; London, 1868), 1.36-37. Following this incident we are told that the Jewish community was forced to replace the old wooden processional cross by a new silver one and was also obliged to erect at St. Frideswide’s a permanent marble cross, which apparently had a golden plaque commemorating the circumstances surrounding its construction (1.37). This would make it one of the earliest permanent preaching crosses in England; the one at St. Paul’s, London dates from before 1241 (G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England. An Introduction to the Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought; Cambridge, 1926], p. 198).

²¹ See *Statuta antiqua*, p. 244.

II

The increasing demands put upon note-takers of university sermons leads us to the role of Fykyes, the notary, while a look at the notary's craft is a necessary prelude to an evaluation of a reported sermon such as Hereford's. By the fourteenth century bishops in England normally employed at least one notary public on a permanent basis.²² It is clear too that major monasteries also used notaries but less attention has been given to their role in that regard. Certainly, however, the abbot of Osney by 1397 and St. Frideswide's priory by 1427 had the use of a notary public.²³ Similarly Oxford University was provided with a notary to meet the increased demand for their employment in university business. This facility was only granted to the university after a concerted lobby of bishops and cardinals in 1338.²⁴ The university claimed then that

... paucos apud nos iam esse notarios, et illos nimium sumptuosos, et in cotidianis negociis in quibus notarii requiruntur difficultates assiduas patimur et expensas apponimus nimis graves.²⁵

Little is known of the university notarial appointees for a century.²⁶

Freelance notaries formed a further category apart from those with regular employment and in Oxford the 1338 university complaint implies that this category was quite sizeable. They were nonetheless still often dependent to some extent on patronage from bishops or institutions.²⁷ Fykyes was probably a freelance, if only because in the climate of discord between Stokes, the Carmelite, and Chancellor Rygge and his proctors it seems unlikely that a university official under the latter's control would have undertaken work for Stokes. Neither does Fykyes's statement that he was 'of Rochester diocese' imply that he was employed there or that this was his area of practice, but simply that this was the diocese from which he came.

²² See C. R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1972), and also G. Barraclough, *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia. A Calendar and a Study of a Formularium notariorum curie' from the Early Years of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1934), J. S. Purvis, *Notarial Signs from the York Archiepiscopal Records* (The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research; London, 1957) and R. M. Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1965), pp. 133-36.

²³ See Cheney, *Notaries*, p. 42; for St. Frideswide's see *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters. Vol. 7. A.D. 1417-1431*, ed. J. A. Tremlow (London, 1906), p. 542 and for Osney see BRUO 3.2026, s.v. 'William de Weston'.

²⁴ See H. E. Salter, W. A. Pantin and H. G. Richardson, eds., *Formularies Which Bear on the History of Oxford c. 1204-1420*, 2 vols. (OHS N.S. 4-5; Oxford, 1942), 1.98-101.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 1.100.

²⁶ See BRUO 1.41, s.v. 'Robert de Appelby'. For a notary employed by New College in 1500-1502 see 1.222-23 (s.v. 'Robert Borow'). See *Statuta antiqua*, pp. xx and 285-86 for the duties of the university registrar.

²⁷ See Cheney, *Notaries*, pp. 64-70.

Whilst the official reporting of sermons is not known to have been one of the notary's principal activities in England, the skills required for this are not different from those required for reporting *acta* of convocations or lawsuits. The method adopted by a notary for producing such a public document was twofold. Notaries always state that they were present at the event they record though it is not entirely certain whether this was always the case.²⁸ While their practices have been described in detail by Cheney, certain points are particularly relevant here for establishing the status of the present *reportatio* in B. A notary would have to record in advance, or at least directly after the event, details concerning the date, place and less commonly the hour, list the principal people present and those prepared to witness and verify the notarial account. He could then proceed to take down the pertinent points and statements as the event happened, though he was perhaps guided in this by the terms of his commission. Some aspects might be committed to memory. These notes or minutes constituted the *protocollum*.

With the information thus collected the notary would retire and prepare the public instruments, referring probably to his personal notebooks for examples of appropriate formulae to be employed. The formulae governing the presentation of the facts concerning the date, place and witnesses and the notarial eschatocol, the authenticating clause at the end, were particularly rigid in order to satisfy legal requirements. The *reportatio* of the event itself could be more idiosyncratic as it was more dependent on the demands made upon the notary and the personal response in which he deployed his skills. By the end of the fourteenth century it was becoming more common for notaries to make their deputies write the official instrument, presumably direct from the *protocollum*. It was even possible for the *protocollum* to be written by the notary's deputy. However, in such cases the notary was still obliged by law to write the eschatocol in his own hand and confirm the document with his customary signs. In most cases in England where notaries were working for bishops or institutions the instrument was copied into an official register and the *protocollum* discarded. Likewise with Stokes's commission of Fykyes it was the original instrument, rendered *in publicam formam*, which was important and could be copied. This would have been presented to Stokes. The *protocollum* was thereby made redundant although the notary would probably have kept a personal record of his various compositions for different clients.

The appearance of the completed instruments makes them readily identifiable.²⁹ Examples of their format and their signs and initials can be found in Purvis's collection taken from the York archiepiscopal records.³⁰ However, the extant

²⁸ Cheney, *Notaries Public*, pp. 95, 99-102, 106, 125, 131-32.

²⁹ Cheney, *Notaries Public*, pp. 102-106, 108.

³⁰ Purvis, *Notarial Signs*, especially plates 5, 9 and 38 (no pagination), the last of which from 1396 shows the difference in hands between a deputy and the notary's own eschatocol. For illustrations of other notarial documents and particularly their signs see also H. D. Emanuel,

version of the report of Hereford's sermon in B conforms to none of the characteristics of an original instrument. It is not on a single membrane but starts on the right hand column of a folio verso and ends midway down the right hand column of the following folio verso. The hand is the same as that which has written the preceding and following entries in this manuscript, neither of which are notarial documents. The report here is written in two columns and the eschatocol is not set off from the remainder of the text at the bottom right of the document. Nor is there any evidence of Fykyes's notarial sign and name although these are mentioned in the final sentence and would have followed in the original. That original would also have been written in two hands as Fykyes indicates that the introduction and sermon report were copied by his deputy whilst the eschatocol must necessarily have been in the hand of the notary himself; B, however, is the work of a single scribe. It may be concluded therefore that B must represent a copy.

The form of the version that is extant is nevertheless entirely consistent with its being a notarial instrument. The formulae for the beginning of the instrument, the 'datum' or 'actum' clause and the eschatocol correspond to the forms described by Cheney.³¹ The notary's testament that this is a faithful record authenticated by his sign and signature is accompanied in our example with the explanation that the writing of the instrument was given to a deputy because he was 'busy with other arduous tasks' (see below, lines 149-150).

The formal character of this conclusion lends credibility to the view that the extant copy in B is itself a faithful record of its exemplar as is suggested, too, by a comparison of the wording of its eschatocol with that of another example, from 1397, of a notary signing an instrument drawn up by his deputy.³²

B, p. 850b

Et ego Iohannes Fykyes, clericus
Roffen' diocesis, publicus auctoritate
apostolica notarius, premissis omnibus
et singulis dum sic ut premittitur, age-
rentur et fierent, vna cum prenominatis
testibus presens interfui ea que omnia et
singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, aliis
arduis negociis occupatus, per alium

St. Paul's Cath. Libr.,
Mun. A/75/1973

Et Ego Thomas Cottynghwyth' clericus
Eboracensis publicus auctoritate
apostolica notarius premissis omnibus
et singulis dum sic ut premittitur age-
bantur et fierent sub anno, indiccione,
pontificatu, mense, die, et loco predictis
una cum prenominatis testibus presens

'Notaries Public and Their Marks Recorded in the Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford', *National Library of Wales Journal* 8.2 (1953) 1-17, E. Freshfield, 'Some Notarial Marks in the "Common Paper" of the Scriveners' Company', *Archaeologia* 54 (1895) 239-54 and M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500* (Oxford, 1969), especially plates 9-10 at pp. 9-10.

³¹ Cheney, *Notaries Public*, pp. 104-107, 115-23.

³² Cheney, *Notaries Public*, p. 110.

scribi feci et in hanc publicam formam
redegi, signoque meo et nomine signauis
rogatus in fidem et testimonium o-
mnium premissorum.

interfui eaque omnia et singula sic fieri
vidi et audivi, aliis arduis negotiis
multipliciter occupatus, per alium scribi
feci, publicavi, et in hanc publicam for-
mam redegi, signoque et nomine meis
consuetis signavi in fidem et testimo-
nium omnium premissorum rogatus
specialiter et requisitus.

While independent evidence supports the factual details given by Fykyes concerning the date, place and language (FZ, pp. 296, 306), it is more difficult to judge the veracity of his report of the sermon itself. As Cheney has written:

The problem of veracity was particularly likely to arise when a notary public was not merely called upon to exemplify the copy of a document or prepare an appeal, a proxy, and so forth, in authentic form, but commissioned to give a long narrative account of legal or quasi-legal proceedings in court, council, or convocation. Then the need to abridge produced the temptation to conflate. The wish to lend an air of verisimilitude to a bald narrative encouraged the notary not only to be precise about times and places but to report in direct speech the more significant oral exchanges. Conflation and invention of this sort were not necessarily fraudulent in intent; but they must if possible be recognized for what they are, and they undermine the faith which all this parade of notarial exactitude might otherwise stimulate in the unwary.³³

Several instances have been examined of a single event being reported by several notaries or of several versions of an event by a single notary. This has indicated that these reports are digested accounts of the event, albeit in a technically correct form and without wilful falsification of the account, but which nevertheless reflect the interests of the commissioning agent.³⁴ This should be borne in mind when examining the present *reportatio*.

III

The report of Hereford's sermon in its extant form can scarcely be verbatim. Some statements have been attributed in the first person to Hereford.³⁵ But elsewhere the notary included a précis of his arguments. The fact that the report

³³ Cheney, *Notaries Public*, p. 132.

³⁴ Cheney, *Notaries Public*, pp. 132-34, summarising the conclusions of E. L. G. Stones, 'The Records of the Great Cause of 1291-92', *Scottish Historical Review* 35 (1956) 89-109.

³⁵ See below, lines 21-24, 40-42, 78-79, 119-120 and 136-138.

consisted of a selection of extracts is acknowledged in certain sentences which link the extracts. For example: 'Item, in eodem sermone recomendauit status Ecclesie sub hac forma' (line 28) or 'Deinde in processu eiusdem sermonis dixit idem magister Nicholaus quod...' (line 35). Selective treatment is evident also if we compare the length of the accounts of Hereford's criticisms of, on the one hand, the laity and secular clergy, which was quite cursory, with his criticisms, on the other hand, of the monks, canons and friars. For the threefold divisions which related to monks and canons were fully developed in Fykyes's account. Similarly the criticisms of the friars, whilst not being so neatly framed as in the previous examples, nonetheless ran to twice the length of the criticisms of the monks and canons.

The two preliminary sections extracted Hereford's views on his personal debt to FitzRalph and on the primacy which should be given in prayer to secular rulers. The sermon proper, or *processus*, follows with his generalised statement that he was willing to suffer great troubles for the benefit of the whole commonwealth. Yet the lack of clear logical links between these passages in their current form reinforces the appearance of the *reportatio* as a series of extracts drawn out of the sermon. Moreover, during the second of the 'preliminary' extracts the notary added his own comment, disclosing in this way the considerations that lay behind his selection of material. He says of Hereford's list of people for whom one should especially pray: 'Et in tota recomendacione non fecit mencionem de summo pontifice speciale' (lines 33-34). That is to say, the selection highlights those statements that would be taken as indicative of heterodox beliefs and those where Hereford's exegesis brought him to discuss political and ecclesiological issues of current concern. The lengthy report of Hereford's views on the shortcomings of the mendicant friars may reflect Stokes's own interests and instructions as much as Hereford's bias. But it should be noted that sermons in 'modern form' do not always grant equal space to each of the promised arguments, nor do texts which deal with the different ranks of society. The unevenness of treatment in this sermon may therefore reflect a preoccupation with friars and ecclesiology that is expressed elsewhere by Hereford and the Wycliffites. Finally, we may notice that there is an instance of Fykyes reporting some gestures made by Hereford. Having made the case for disendowment it was said of Hereford: 'Et ad hoc faciendum obsecrabat comunitatem extensis manibus' (line 123). Such incitements and the exclamations that followed would be later used against Hereford by Stokes, for as the *FZ* account of this sermon relates: '... in festo Ascensionis praedicavit multa nefanda et detestabilia publice in coemeterio S. Fredeswyde excitans populum ad insurrectionem, et excusans et defendens Wycclyff' (p. 296).

It is difficult to reconstruct the exact framework of Hereford's sermon from this selection of extracts. The account as we have it would have taken less than twenty minutes to deliver, although as has been noted the discussions of the faults of the

laity and seculars have been compressed. Even so, only a fraction remains of what would have been a lengthy sermon on a particularly auspicious occasion. It is time now to discuss each paragraph of the *reportatio* in turn, as indicated in the edition below. I shall attempt to show that the first three correspond to the protheme and shall discuss at this juncture possible sermon forms available to a preacher such as Hereford. The remaining sections of the sermon correspond to the *processus* and the content of this central portion will be evaluated by comparison with the views of Wyclif.

The sermon *thema*, or the inspiration for the protheme, may have been: 'Dominus... adsumptus est in caelum et sedit a dextris Dei' (Mc 16:19) taken from the Ascension Day gospel in the Sarum rite.³⁶ This may be inferred from the opening extract of this *reportatio*, which appears to allude to this text: 'Sicut Cristus sedens ad dexteram Patris in celis...' (line 16). However, the extract continued by alluding to the central import of the entire pericope, that of Jesus's Great Commission to the Eleven and the miracles that would accompany their preaching (Mc 16:14-20): 'Sicut Cristus... potencius, forcius et efficacius operabatur in suis discipulis post Ascencionem suam quam prius operatus fuerat in seipso...' (lines 16-18). Hereford then referred to his 'business' against the friars and the inspiration he drew from Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh. FitzRalph's concern to protect the parish clergy led him in the 1350s to attack the friars' *raison d'être* through a number of sermons and several works of which the most significant are the *Proposicio* and *De pauperie Salvatoris*. He denied that a life of voluntary poverty was meritorious and catalogued the inconsistencies in the friars' practice of it. At the Avignon Curia he challenged their juridical status, particularly opposing the pastoral activity of the friars which lay outside the parochial system and was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. FitzRalph's theory of dominion and grace together with his denial of the friars' right to gain income by begging or at the expense of the parish clergy were assimilated and developed in new directions by Wyclif.³⁷ Wyclif indicated his growing antimendicantism by calling FitzRalph 'sanctus Ricardus' or 'sanctus Armachanus' in those two works which, in 1382, represented his most authoritative formulations on these subjects for someone such as Hereford, namely his *De civili dominio* (c. 1375-76) and his *De blasphemia* (c.

³⁶ See J. Wickham Legg, ed., *The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916), p. 156. With regard to this theme it is worth noting that the notarial account mentions neither the sermon's theme nor its confirming *auctoritates*. In so doing, the legal purpose of the *reportatio* is again emphasised. For, in other circumstances, such as in chronicles and episcopal records, even the most cursory notices of sermons usually indicate the theme, while any serious scholastic refutation of Hereford's theses would need to take account of his authorities.

³⁷ K. Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate. Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 349-451, especially pp. 377-80.

1381).³⁸ For his part, Hereford's antimendicantism was acknowledged, it will be recalled, by the complaint made specifically against him by the priors of the Oxford mendicants in February 1382. Hereford referred on Ascension Day to 'omnibus illis qui mecum laborant in eodem negocio' (line 24). Undoubtedly this alluded to his companions from the university in extramural teaching and preaching activities, theologians such as John Aston, Robert de Alyngton and Laurence Stephen (*al.* Bedeman).³⁹ Hereford's reference to FitzRalph as 'sanctus Ricardus' (line 21) would therefore be both indicative of his personal stance and provocative to the friars. It was probably to such anti-mendicant preaching activities that the unidentified narrator in *FZ* remarked: 'Magister Johannes Wyclyff in multis excessit; sed ipse Nicolaus superbissimus intolerabilia et nefandissima dixit in sermonibus; et semper commovendo populum ad insurrectionem' (p. 296).

The following extract contains Hereford's exhortation to pray for the realm and also his commendation of Chancellor Rygge and the mayor and townspeople of Oxford. Hereford firstly offered prayers for Richard II, his newly-wed queen, Anne of Bohemia, and the queen mother, Joan of Kent.⁴⁰ The following petition for prayers for John of Gaunt 'ut Deus det ei graciā obediendi regi suo et alliciendi eum ad bonum' (line 30) reflect both the political power of the duke of Lancaster during Richard II's minority and his defence and patronage of Wyclif in the 1370s.⁴¹ Hereford's perception that John of Gaunt sympathised with his views and

³⁸ Walsh, *FitzRalph*, p. 457. For vernacular satirists' use of the term see C. Erickson, 'The Fourteenth-Century Franciscans and Their Critics', *Franciscan Studies* 35 (1975) 107-35 and 36 (1976) 108-47. The datings of Wyclif's writings are taken from W. R. Thomson, *The Latin Writings of John Wyclif. An Annotated Catalog* (Subsidia mediaevalia 14; Toronto, 1983).

³⁹ See BRUO 1.30-31, 1.67 and 3.1772 for Alyngton, Aston and Stephen respectively. A preaching tour prior to May 1382 by these three and Hereford is known to have taken place in the vicinity of Odiham, Hants.; for which see *Wykeham's Register*, ed. T. F. Kirby, 2 vols. (Hampshire Record Society; London, 1896-99), 2.337-38: '...inter se per mutua ipsorum illicita conventicula facientes, facies siquidem diversas habentes set caudas adinvicem colligatas...utpata de sacramento corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Ihu Christi, baptismate, peccatorum confessione, et aliis ecclesiasticis sacramentis dicte nostre diocesis utriusque sexus subditos aliter sentire, et in ecclesia predicta de Odyham et aliis eiusdem nostre diocesis ecclesiis publice docere et predicare non metuunt...' Stephen is known to have conducted similar preaching tours in Exeter diocese (see BRUO 3.1772) but the extent to which this group formed a coherent body and organised such meetings or schools and 'missions' is still unclear at this date. But see Henry Knighton's observations, entered for the year 1382 in his *Chronicon* and discussed in A. Hudson, 'John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for His Life and Writings', *Viator* 12 (1981) 355-80 at pp. 379-80.

⁴⁰ See F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, eds., *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edition (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 2; London, 1961), pp. 36-37. For Anne's piety and possession of vernacular scriptures see A. Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?' in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews (Studies in Church History 18; Oxford, 1982), pp. 261-83 at p. 274. For Joan of Kent see Thomson, *Latin Writings* p. 255.

⁴¹ See K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (London, 1952), pp. 69-70, 74-83 and *passim*.

would thereby be an influence for good on the young king proved premature. For when Hereford and Repyngdon sought John of Gaunt's help in the days after they had been suspended for their preaching in Oxford, his help was not forthcoming.⁴² The feature of note in these petitions was the omission of prayers for the pope and the inversion of the conventional order of offering such prayers. That is to say, petitions for the secular nobles and lords were dominant and were mentioned ahead of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The report attributed in *FZ* to Repyngdon's sermon, but which was suggested above in fact refers to Hereford's, states that '... domini temporales debent prius recommendari in sermonibus quam papa vel episcopi; et qui sic non recommendat facit contra Scripturam sacram' (p. 299). This referred the academic audience to Wyclif, who had provided the scriptural basis (1 Tim 2:1-2) and the reasoning behind this practice in his *De civili dominio*. The adoption of this practice is linked closely to the ideal of the primitive, disendowed Church which Wyclif propounded recurrently in the 1370s in his theological writings.⁴³

These two extracts reflect the functions of the traditional, scholastic prothème. Charland describes the prothème as a means of introducing the prayer, or invocation of divine assistance, which followed the statement of the theme and preceded the expansion of the sermon proper. The prothème develops the theme, he says, 'en rapport avec le besoin de la grâce soit pour le prédicateur, soit pour l'auditoire, soit pour l'action de prêcher; de manière à amorcer finalement une invitation à prier en vue d'obtenir cette grâce'.⁴⁴ Hereford's statements about FitzRalph correspond to these reflections during the prothème on the preacher's task while the petitions for the national and local figures correspond to the prayer at the end of the prothème. The significance of this observation lies in the fact that prothèmes such as this have not otherwise been associated with the sermon-collections composed in 'ancient' form which will be described below. One contemporary analyst, 'Henry of Hesse', seems to have found it difficult to analyse prothèmes in such collections since they were not in the formal 'modern' style. In the 'oldest' sermon form, such as Wyclif followed, no prothème or introduction was provided at all. In what he termed the 'old' method 'Henry' observed that there were a number of alternative introductions which could be adopted and simply concluded that in this form 'quicquid dicitur inter thema et eius divisionem vel

⁴² See *FZ*, p. 318 and Forde, *Writings* 1.18.

⁴³ For example, John Wyclif, *Tractatus de civili dominio* 1.26, ed. R. L. Poole, 4 vols. (Wyclif Society [hereafter WS] 2; London, 1885), 1.192.

⁴⁴ Th.-M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi. Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa 7; Paris and Ottawa, 1936), p. 135. I owe to Fr. P. O. Lewry, O.P., the observation that these opening extracts represent a prothème of a conventional type.

distinctionem prothema est'.⁴⁵ In this way many of Repyngdon's sermons were given loose prothemes which served to explain the liturgical context of the sermon or gave an historical background to the feastday. But they were neither based on a text specific to the protheme nor did they conclude with a prayer. Such introductions, or an initial list of the constituent stages of the pericope, were normally drawn by Repyngdon from the *Sermones dominicales* of Guillaume Peyraud and Iacopo da Varagine or even Nicolas de Gorran's gospel commentaries.⁴⁶ But none of these sermon-cycles represent *reportationes* of delivered sermons. Instead they were works primarily intended for reading or study. Hereford's practice suggests, however, that when sermons were delivered, even by those who otherwise followed 'ancient' form, certain scholastic conventions, such as a formal protheme, may have been adopted.

The phrase 'Deinde in processu eiusdem sermonis' (line 35) indicates that, with the introductory remarks completed, the development of the *thema*, or the pericope, can now follow. The term 'processus' is indeed a more appropriate term for a verse-by-verse commentary of a pericope than the terms 'divisio' or 'distinctio' which, by this date, were associated with sermon analyses based on single, short phrases from the lection. Indeed, 'processus' is a term favoured by Wyclif and Repyngdon.⁴⁷

The sermon form which we might expect Hereford to have adopted is one constructed according to 'ancient' models.⁴⁸ This would have contrasted with the 'modern' format associated with the friars and commonly found in university preaching. The latter consisted of an expansion of a single phrase from the lection which constituted the *thema*. The *thema* was developed firstly by a protheme and

⁴⁵ H. Caplan, "'Henry of Hesse' on the Art of Preaching', *Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America* 48 (1933) 340-61 at p. 353 (rpt. in H. Caplan, *Of Eloquence. Studies in Ancient and Mediaeval Rhetoric*, ed. A. King and H. North [Ithaca, N.Y., 1970], p. 151).

⁴⁶ Forde, *Writings* 1.203-213, 269-70.

⁴⁷ See Wyclif, *Sermones*, ed. J. Loserth, 4 vols. (WS 7; London, 1887-90), 1.55 and passim and Forde, *Writings* 1.213-15. For the earlier use of the term see C. Cenci, 'Il Commento al Vangelo di S. Luca di Fr. Costantino da Orvieto, O.P. Fonte di S. Bernardino da Siena', *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 74 (1981) 103-145, especially pp. 130-33, and also J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Études augustiniennes; Paris, 1983), pp. 184-85. One instance of the term being used in a modern sermon occurs in *Three Middle English Sermons Edited from the Worcester Cathedral Manuscript F.10*, ed. D. M. Grisdale (Leeds, 1939), p. 5: 'For þe processe of this sermone these thre wordis may openliche be schewid þre diuers thingus'. Note also that Wycliffite sympathisers did not invariably avoid modern form and that for an occasional sermon such as Hereford's it was perhaps more appropriate to employ the usual and proper academic forms.

⁴⁸ For a full description of these various sermon forms including contemporary views about them see H. L. Spencer, *English Vernacular Sunday Preaching in the Late Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century with Illustrative Texts*, 2 vols. (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1982), and also A. Hudson and H. L. Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work: The Sermons of MS Longleat 4', *Medium aevum* 53 (1984) 220-38 at pp. 223-28.

then by an elaborate series of divisions and verbal *distinctiones*. The ‘ancient’ method was of two kinds. The most ancient form was the one found in patristic sermons, namely a running commentary on successive verses of the pericope: in late medieval terminology, postillation *secundum ordinem textus*. The form that had continued in use until the fourteenth-century also expounded the whole lection and avoided *exempla*, *curiosa* and any division of the text according to verbal means. Instead the pericope was organised thematically and usually followed the narrative order. It differed from the patristic model in having a simple framing device around which the scriptural verses were discussed. Wyclif’s own sermons correspond to the most ancient form and many subsequent vernacular sermon cycles adopted this format. Repyngdon’s Latin sermon collection, for its part, used the thematic ‘ancient’ model. The vernacular ‘standard’ Wycliffite sermon-cycle adopted in several instances the additional practice of translating the entire pericope before proceeding to postillate each verse in turn, while certain derivative collections used this practice more consistently. It should, however, be recognised that Wycliffite sympathisers did not invariably avoid modern form, as we find for instance in the long eschatological sermon, *Memorare novissima*, from the codex Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.751 (SC 12594), fols. 1-25.⁴⁹

In his Latin sermons Wyclif was forcefully opposed to the ‘modern’ form of preaching which he saw as imposing an external logic and alien material onto Scripture and crushing its internal narrative order. He wrote:

Nunc enim si quis loquitur non quasi sermones Dei sed gracia exemplandi, predicabit gesta, poemata vel fabulas ext[r]a corpus scripture, vel predicando scripturam dividet ipsam ultra minima naturalia et alligabit more zizannico per colores rhythmos quoisque non appareat textus scripture, sed sermo proprius predictantis tamquam auctoris et inventoris primarii. Et ex ista affeccione diabolica qua quilibet appetit a se ipso et non ab alio habere talia insurgit tota viciosa novitas huius mundi; propter hoc autem fiunt divisiones sermonum, divisiones ornamento-rum et aliorum artificialium ultra solitum; et non dubium quin iste divisiones vel causant vel prenosticant divisiones in moribus.⁵⁰

Wyclif could not resist noting the close connexion of this form with the friars. Such preachers ‘nolunt ewangelium predicari ex integro, sed curte, ut faciunt fratres, ne Christi conuersacio cognoscatur’.⁵¹ Whilst we would therefore expect Hereford to

⁴⁹ See Wyclif, *Sermones* (WS 7), Spencer, *Sunday Preaching* 1.233-42 and Hudson and Spencer, ‘Sermons’, 223-26, Forde, *Writings* 1.203-215 and 265-71 and A. Hudson, ed., *English Wycliffite Sermons* 1 (Oxford, 1983-) respectively. For other cycles see Spencer, *Sunday Preaching* 1.242-54. The sermon in the Rawlinson manuscript is being edited by Gloria Cigman for the Early English Text Society, volume 294, scheduled for publication in 1989.

⁵⁰ *Sermones* 4.31 (WS 7.4.265-66).

⁵¹ Wyclif, *Tractatus de officio pastorali*, ed. G. V. Lechler (Leipzig, 1863), p. 35.

follow an 'ancient' model it is clear that this *reportatio* provides evidence that a traditional, scholastic protheme was also used when delivering this sermon.

The development of Wyclif's social thinking either in its origins or in its steps from the theoretical *De civili dominio* through the catalogue of abuses in, say, *De blasphemia*, the last work of his so-called *Summa theologie*, has not yet been fully studied.⁵² Such a study is an essential preliminary for evaluating the content of Hereford's sermon. Hereford's criticisms and statements are nonetheless clear.

Hereford stated, according to the opening extract of the sermon *processus*, that Jesus put the needs of the whole community before those of any of its members. It is difficult to connect this with a particular verse from the lection. It may be that the instructions left to the apostles at this time (Mc 16:15-19) were interpreted here as a model of the apostolic Christian lifestyle and thereby as a standard against which to criticise the contemporary Church. The thesis which is the basis for the remainder of the reported sermon, namely that all sectors of the Church prefer carnal or temporal things to spiritual ones, is not a straightforward extrapolation from the gospel. This further suggests that many stages of Hereford's exegesis and argument have been omitted.

This opening statement also drew (lines 35-38) on Wyclif's distinction between the 'religiones private' of the monks and friars and the 'comunis religio cristiana' of the predestined.⁵³ This opposition, which is central to Hereford's thinking, can be seen in Wyclif's *De blasphemia* where it is argued that the endowment of the monks and friars took wealth from the secular arm and thus indirectly impoverished the realm and thereby fomented divisions in society.⁵⁴

⁵² The fullest works are still H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif. A Study of the English Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1926), McFarlane, *John Wycliffe*, E. D. McShane, *A Critical Appraisal of the Antimendicantism of John Wyclif* (Diss. Rome, 1950), and A. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford, 1988). However, the psychological motivations ascribed to Wyclif by the last author at least now seem inadequate and discredited. While Wyclif's philosophical *summae* have attracted their scholars this has been less the case with his *Summa theologie*, for which see the recent study by A. Kenny, *Wyclif* (Oxford, 1985), especially pp. 42-79. But see also M. Wilks, 'Predestination, Property and Power: Wyclif's Theory of Dominion and Grace' in *Papers Read at the Second Winter and Summer Meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. G. J. Cuming (Studies in Church History 2; London, 1965), pp. 220-36 and M. Wilks, 'Reformatio regni: Wyclif and Hus as Leaders of Religious Protest Movements', in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History 9; Cambridge, 1972), pp. 109-30. The term *Summa theologie*, adopted by Thomson (*Latin Writings*, pp. 44-45), gives to Wyclif's theological writings a sense of coherence and preplanning which is not wholly justified. Several works, notably *De civili dominio* and *De ecclesia*, respond to current political events while others insert material to reply to criticisms by contemporary Oxford theologians on his earlier propositions (e.g. in *De civili dominio* against William Woodford). Similarly the exclusion of *De dominio divino* and *De eucharistia* from this 'Summa' could not be supported by an analysis of their subject-matter.

⁵³ See, for instance, Wyclif, *Tractatus de blasphemia* 15, ed. M. H. Dziewicki (WS 13; London, 1893), p. 229.

⁵⁴ For example, Wyclif, *De blasphemia* 3 (WS 13.47).

Hereford's subsequent assertion ('pro comunitate sum paratus ferre labores et pati molestias et penas insuper si oportet' [lines 41-42]) indicates three tendencies which appear to characterise his behaviour at different stages of his life. Firstly, we may distinguish an impulsion to action. This is reflected, for instance, in the practical initiatives Hereford undertook to implement his beliefs, namely, the preaching tours, Bible translation and his activities against the friars. This impulse appears linked to a stubbornness or rashness which can be observed in his immediate recourse to Rome once he was excommunicated. Secondly, the expectation of suffering which he mentioned in this sermon is also found in the comment which he seems to have freely volunteered to his inquisitors at the Blackfriars Council. Concerning the sixth condemned Wycliffite conclusion Hereford held that God might obey the devil not out of necessity but out of love. But 'ad hoc probandum se obtulit sponte sua magister Nicolaus sub poena incendii' (FZ, p. 328). This apparent desire for, or expectation of, martyrdom could only be reinforced by the prison sentences Hereford subsequently suffered. Anne Hudson has indicated that the Wycliffite commentary on Revelation, the *Opus arduum*, which was written in prison between Christmas 1389 and Easter 1390 may be Hereford's composition. Several statements in it exhibit an awareness not only of the possibility of martyrdom but also an acute sense of persecution.⁵⁵ This appears to be connected with the third tendency in Hereford's assertion above, namely an inclination to isolation. The Carmelites alleged that Hereford took the first step in isolating himself within the Theology Faculty by not allowing other scholars the customary access to his notes and writings. If this is so then we may feel that his later entry into the Coventry Charterhouse may also be expressive of this tendency.⁵⁶

The extract which follows (lines 43-49) introduces the central thesis of the sermon. Firstly, Hereford argued that the laity and the secular clergy preferred temporal or carnal things to spiritual ones. The criticism of the former group is so brief and generalised as to be indistinguishable from such comments found in almost any late medieval sermon.⁵⁷ The secular clergy were criticised for dealing in benefices and exacting spiritual dues to the neglect of their pastoral responsibilities.⁵⁸ Curates who were negligent pluralists and the prelates who acquiesced

⁵⁵ Hudson, 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text', 272-75, 278-79.

⁵⁶ See BRUO 2.914, 915.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England. A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters & of the English People*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1961), pp. 375-470. For some comments by Wyclif on this subject see also *De civili dominio* 1.22 (WS 2.1.159).

⁵⁸ For a survey of clerical income see J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1945), especially pp. 110-37, A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947) and P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1969), especially pp. 147-63.

in these abuses had been criticised from Grosseteste's time to Wyclif's.⁵⁹ But this notarial *reportatio* offers no further evidence to indicate whether Hereford expanded these comments into a denunciation of the entire system of benefices and the abuses connected with it, or of a beneficed clergy whose income was assured and not dependent either on their own work or voluntary gifts from the laity.⁶⁰

Hereford moved from here to a denunciation of the 'possessors', that is the monks and canons. Their preference for temporal things was shown by three arguments, the second of which in turn contained three proofs. Each argument and proof is given here which suggests that we have a full summary of this part of the sermon. Hereford argued firstly that the possessors unjustly and wrongfully acquired temporal goods (lines 52-58). This statement was justified by citing their practice of appropriating churches and lands. Appropriations led to priests from the monastic house being promoted into the appropriated parish with the profit from the parochial feudal dues accruing to the monastery. There is no indication in this *reportatio* that Hereford explained, or needed to explain, this allegation of wrongful and unjust acquisition. For this we need to turn to Wyclif. In his *De simonia*, c. 1380, the endowed Orders were broadly indicted for appropriations and for offering the Crown or Papacy money to obtain them. Wyclif stressed the harm this practice did to the teaching and preaching ministries of poor, secular priests.⁶¹ But he also saw an economic dimension to this. As dissipators of national wealth as well as neglectors of the pastoral care, Wyclif called the possessors 'filios dyaboli'⁶² in terms reminiscent of Hereford's 'fures et predones falsissimi,

⁵⁹ Grosseteste's views on this are summarised in Moorman, *Church Life*, pp. 30, 33, 43. See also S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 160-232, particularly Dicta 3, 72, 101 and 135 at pp. 216, 224, 227 and 231 respectively and cited by Wyclif (p. 227) and Repyngdon (Forde, *Writings* 2.132-33, 137, 145, 214-15). Further discussions are found in B. Smalley, 'The Biblical Scholar' in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop. Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), pp. 70-97, especially 95-96, and particularly W. A. Pantin, 'Grosseteste's Relations with the Papacy and the Crown' in Callus, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 178-215. More recently see F. A. C. Mantello, 'Bishop Robert Grosseteste and His Cathedral Chapter. An Edition of the Chapter's Objections to Episcopal Visitation', *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985) 367-78 and R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986).

⁶⁰ The scriptural basis for supporting the latter view derived from the example of Paul who practised his trade as a maker of tent cloth, or tent-maker, even during missions in order to earn his own living and preserve his financial independence (cf. Act 18:3; 1 Cor 4:12, 9:15; 1 Thess 2:9 and 1 Tim 5:18). In 1382 the most recent formulation by Wyclif on these matters was in *De blasphemia* 2 (WS 13.36) and 12 (WS 13.172-87).

⁶¹ See Wyclif, *Tractatus de simonia* 7, ed. [S.] Herzberg-Fränel and M. H. Dziewicki (WS 16; London, 1898), pp. xxxiii-xxxv, 84-98, especially p. 88: 'Cum enim ecclesiarum parochialium elemosinis sustentarentur seculares clerici qui libere docerent et predicarent in parrochiis suis et alibi ewangelicam veritatem, per appropriaciones tales clericis talibus secularibus necessarium instrumentum subtrahitur...'.

⁶² Wyclif, *De simonia* 7 (WS 16.88). On this aspect of pastoral care Wyclif here quoted

sequaces inde Proditoris' (line 57). Moreover, Wyclif considered it unlikely — he said 'miraculous' — that the papacy would implement the reforms that he desired. He conceived instead of the secular power resuming all endowments, but added: '...remedium de quo magis confido: quod populus subtrahat decimas et oblaciones et alias privatas elemosinas ab indignis antichristi discipulis quos vident circa bonorum suorum sacrilegas rapinas sic mercari...'⁶³ This, of course, was the solution Hereford urged upon his audience. The possessioners' fault lay not so much in individual misdemeanours or abuses but in their assimilation to a model of the Church that Wyclif and Hereford opposed. Indeed, Wyclif concluded his discussion of the way possessioners committed simony by urging monks to leave the urbanised areas which were properly the concern of the parish clergy and return to the wildernesses ('ad loca deserta') from where they had originated.⁶⁴

The unjust tenure of temporal possessions was developed in the second argument against the possessioners. Hereford argued that they were using these appropriated goods against the intentions and wishes of the secular lords through whom many monasteries and canonries had been founded. The original purpose of these foundations, he maintained, was to enable the monks and canons 'ut perfeccius suam regulam obseruarent, vt magis humiles forent, et ut se minus negociis secularibus implicarent' (lines 61-63). On all three counts Hereford claimed the converse was then true. Though Wyclif was principally concerned with establishing the thesis that any endowment to the clergy was necessarily conditional and might be revoked by the secular power, he too made the point that making these endowments conditional would encourage the service of God:

Item, nec imperator nec aliquis dominus secularis potuit sic dotasse clericos nisi sub condicione tacita vel expressa, quod ex hinc promptius Deo serviatur, sed potest esse de quacunque parte clericorum quod ista condicio dissolvatur, ergo potest esse quod quecunque talis civilis possessio legittime auferatur...⁶⁵

Hereford was attempting in his sermon to demonstrate that by their conduct the monks and canons had indeed forfeited their right to such endowments. Wyclif argued more fundamentally, however, in *De blasphemia* that these endowments were to be revoked regardless of the founders' intentions. He argued from a precedent described by Augustine and cited in the decretal *Quicumque vult* that ecclesiastical property might be returned to the heirs of the founders 'iure poli', since to disinherit an heir in favour of the Church was wrong.⁶⁶ Hereford does not

Grosseteste's sermon to Pope Innocent IV at the Council of Lyon (1250); for which see Thomson, *Grosseteste*, pp. 141-42, 171.

⁶³ Wyclif, *De simonia* 7 (WS 16.94).

⁶⁴ Wyclif, *De simonia* 7 (WS 16.97-98).

⁶⁵ Wyclif, *De civili dominio* 2.10 (WS 2.2.107) and see also 1.37 (WS 2.1.271-72).

⁶⁶ See Wyclif, *De blasphemia* 4 (WS 13.55) and 13 (WS 13.199) and for the decretal: Gratian, C.17 q.4.c.43.

appear to take this step. Instead he substantiated his theme of the temporal greed of the monks and canons by pointing out the number of lawyers which they employed in order to acquire new properties and protect their ancient holdings.⁶⁷

Hereford's third argument against the possessioners consisted in their alleged misuse of the goods entrusted to them. The contrast was drawn between their spending on rich and powerful people, retinues and lawyers and their spending on the poor. Hereford saw this in terms of a misappropriation both of alms and wealth. This derived firstly from the Thomist position that whatever personal wealth was surplus to one's essential needs should be given as alms, though it should only be given to those in need.⁶⁸ This position was also held by Wyclif and Repyngdon.⁶⁹ Secondly, the excessive spending of the possessioners appeared more perverse still when seen in the light of the involuntary alms rendered to them through tithes by the poorest people in society and which, through appropriated churches, provided a significant portion of the monasteries' current wealth.⁷⁰ This third point concluded in the same way as the previous two with the statement that the possessioners were 'fures pessimi (*al. falsissimi*) et predones' (lines 80-81; cf. lines 57, 74).

The remainder of the sermon *reportatio* concerns Hereford's attempt to show that the mendicants, too, preferred temporal to spiritual things. The *reportatio* indicates that Hereford concentrated on the abuses associated with those friars who were limiters, chantry-priests or at university. Underlying his criticisms were the beliefs that among friars everything should be held in common and nothing held individually and that, secondly, all Christians, particularly the religious, should follow a simple lifestyle and therefore not become involved in secular affairs. The former was a norm for the religious life found, for instance, in the Augustinian Rule which was followed by the Dominican and Augustinian friars.⁷¹ Hereford asserted that these three categories of friars were breaking this part of their Rule. The latter belief drew partly on the vow of poverty common to all religious. But it was interpreted in the rigorist, Wycliffite way which lay in the tradition of the Spiritual Franciscans, and from which perspective Hereford accordingly claimed that the

⁶⁷ For figures of university-trained lawyers in religious houses see T. H. Aston, 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', *Past and Present* 74 (1977) 3-40, at pp. 11, 19, and also T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans, 'The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past and Present* 86 (1980) 9-86, at pp. 60-61, 67-68.

⁶⁸ See Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2-2.32.5.

⁶⁹ See Wyclif, *Tractatus de ecclesia* 13, ed. J. Loserth (WS 4; London, 1886), pp. 286, 288-89, and for Repyngdon see Forde, *Writings* 1.306-10.

⁷⁰ When Wyclif talked of alms he normally referred to these involuntary offerings in favour of the Church, e.g. *De ecclesia* 13 (WS 4.274-99), *De blasphemia* 5 (WS 13.77-78) and the extract cited above, n. 63, from *De simonia* 7 (WS 16.94).

⁷¹ Wyclif's admiration specifically for the Franciscan ideal of common ownership can be seen in *De civili dominio* 1.18 (WS 2.1.129).

friars were breaking their vow. The avoidance of secular involvement was a position even more distinctive of Wyclif,⁷² and is evident in his interpretation of the demands of the friars' 'rule' which he drew from the papal declaration, *Exiit de paradiiso* (1312).⁷³ The significance of selecting this interpretation by Clement V of the Franciscan Rule lies in the bull's attempt to persuade the Franciscans to adopt a stricter lifestyle in which poverty became a reality. It attempted to incorporate the issues raised by the Spirituals but proved unsuccessful in the light of John XXII's bull, *Cum inter nonnullos* (1323), which declared heretical the assertion that Christ and his apostles had no lawful right of possession or the use of possessions. But these issues and the Spirituals' ideal were adopted by Wyclif as a yardstick against which the Conventuals of his day were to be judged, but one which he applied elsewhere, somewhat unjustly, to the other mendicant Orders:

8°, regula beati Francisci declarata in Clementinis, ca° 'Exiit de paradiiso', a parte continet preceptorie quod fratres minores non utantur nisi vilibus pannis, scilicet, et que iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeat reputari; non misceant se execucionibus testamentorum et dispensacionibus bonorum; quod non faciant aut fieri sustineant ecclesias vel alia quecunque edificia que, considerato fratrum inhabitacionis numero, excessiva in multitudine et magnitudine debeat reputari, sed temperatis et humilibus edificiis sint contenti; nec habere debent apparamenta vel preciosa vasa non conveniencia statui paupertatis.⁷⁴

In his concluding remarks (lines 127-130) Hereford not only judged the friars but also the possessioners, with respect to their dress and their churches, according to this strict interpretation of poverty.⁷⁵

⁷² See, e.g., *De civili dominio* 1.27 (WS 2.1.195), *De blasphemia* 15 (WS 13.222) and *De officio regis* 2.3, ed. A. W. Pollard and C. Sayle (WS 8; London, 1887), pp. 27, 62. Wyclif perceived the world in terms of separate secular and spiritual dominions, e.g. in *De civili dominio* 1.42 (WS 2.1.350) and throughout *De officio regis*. His ideal was that of the disendowed, and therefore 'free', church and drew the analogy with the contrast between a pilgrim and the secure lifestyle of the secular lord; see *De civili dominio* 1.18 (WS 2.1.129) and 1.35 (WS 2.1.254-55). Repyngdon thought likewise; see Forde, *Writings* 1.300-302.

⁷³ Clem., 5.11.1. On this see J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 203-204 and see Walsh (*FitzRalph*, pp. 351-58) for a survey of the mendicant problem. Wyclif's ambivalent attitudes towards the mendicants derived from his admiration of this high ideal, but one which was not universally practised by them; see, for example, *De officio regis* 8 (WS 8.216-17).

⁷⁴ Wyclif, *De blasphemia* 15 (WS 13.237). Perhaps the most satisfactory study by Wyclif of the friars' right to existence is in the post-1382 tract, *De fundatione sectarum*, where he works systematically through the New Testament in order to undermine their status; see *John Wyclif's Polemical Works in Latin*, ed. R. Buddensieg, 2 vols. (WS 1; London, 1883), 1.13-80.

⁷⁵ See Wyclif, *De blasphemia* 6 (WS 13.84) and 14 (WS 13.213-14, 215), and see Walsh, *FitzRalph*, p. 418. For criticisms in vernacular literature, see Erickson, 'Fourteenth-Century Franciscans', 35 (1975) 114, 119-20. See also P. R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, 1986).

The limiters⁷⁶ were criticised firstly by Hereford (lines 89-91) for keeping the proceeds of their begging for themselves once they had satisfied the needs of their house. Hereford then blamed those mendicants who held chantries (lines 91-96) for receiving benefactions and, specifically, for undertaking for a year to celebrate masses for particular benefactors, an endowment known as an 'annual'. This practice was always open to the charge of simony.⁷⁷ These two categories of friars, the limiters and chantry-priests, were those with which the laity had greatest contact since they operated in a parish setting. The method by which money and endowments (in the following case, the 'trentals' or monthly equivalent of 'annuals') were acquisitively sought by mendicants during sermons and confessions was despised by Chaucer's Summoner:

... ther wente a lymytour aboute,
To preche, and eek to begge, it is no doute.
And so bifel that on a day this frere
Hadde preached at a chirche in his manere,
And specially, aboven every thyng,
Excited he the peple in his prechynge
To trentals, and to yeve, for Goddes sake
Wherwith men myghte hooly houses make.⁷⁸

Hereford addressed the lay section of his audience, telling each of them 'tu es fatuus qui das fratri vnum annale stipendium ad orandum pro te' (lines 96-97). As with his final exhortation in this sermon he attempted to persuade the laity to withdraw their funding of the religious.

The most detailed criticisms by Hereford concerned the friars at university (lines 99-114). This treatment of university matters reflected the composition of his audience as well as the personal antagonism that evidently existed between Hereford and the mendicants. The wealth and influence of the mendicants at Oxford University irritated the secular masters and students, such as Wyclif and

⁷⁶ A term, common in Chaucer for instance (cf. glossary in *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 6 vols. [Oxford, 1894], 6.152), referring to itinerant friars whose lawful areas of begging were delineated in order to defend the parochial clergy's influence (see Owst, *Preaching*, pp. 72-75 and his *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 6). For other instances of the use of the term in medieval literature see *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1933), 6.301 and the *Middle English Dictionary*, eds. H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor, 1952-), Part L.2, pp. 1059-60.

⁷⁷ See K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 135-36 and for the abuses, pp. 190-95. For further evidence of the friars' attraction to benefactors see K. L. Wood-Legh, *Studies in Church Life in England under Edward III* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Cambridge, 1934), p. 79.

⁷⁸ *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 94 (III [D] 1711-18).

Hereford.⁷⁹ Hereford ironically presented the mendicants' excuse: 'plus indige... quia oportet me habere ad expendendum secundum statum meum' (lines 101-102, 103-104) and used this as a rod with which to beat them. For he contrasted this with the humility which should have been their ideal. This humility was not simply an internalised virtue since, for Hereford, it involved a frugal lifestyle: 'status eorum est status perfectionis et virtutis, et quanto status eorum est alcior tanto deberent esse humiliores et parcus ac striccius vivere et paucioribus esse contenti' (lines 104-106). In applying the same ideal to the monks and canons he stated that their possessions were the obstacle which prevented them being humble (lines 59-66). Furthermore, we see that when, in these statements on the university-friars, Hereford talked of common ownership this entailed for him equal distribution of the possessions: 'superiores non debent habere plus de bonis communibus, immo minus quam inferiores eorum' (lines 109-110). This communism, derived from the example of the apostolic Church, was proposed by Wyclif also.⁸⁰ Hereford concluded by reiterating his opposition to the friars' involvement in secular, in this case university, affairs and stated that by receiving 'gradum secularem et mundanum honorem' (line 113) they were apostates. In his earlier sermon to the university clergy in Lent 1382 he is reported to have made the same statement, that '... nullus religiosus de privata religione debet sumere gradum in universitate, sub poena apostasiae; sic quod omnis talis religiosus sic sumens est apostata...' (FZ, p. 305).

The concluding exhortations of the sermon, as reported, called for a reformation of the possessors and mendicants to the Wycliffite model which had been implied in Hereford's criticisms. That is to say, the financial support for these Orders was to be radically altered with the effect and intention of setting them apart from the secular dominion. The monks and canons were to be disendowed and both they and the friars were to be set to manual work. The reliance on manual work was not stated in this *reportatio*, but we know from elsewhere that this was the course envisaged by Hereford and was recognised as such by contemporaries.⁸¹ It should be noted, however, that Hereford did not advocate abolition of these Orders, at least not in the realm of the spiritual dominion: 'remanerent domi in claustris et viuerent ut deberent' (line 116). The benefits from this course would be twofold in Hereford's opinion. Firstly, peace would return to the country and, secondly, there would be no need for tallage since wealth would neither leave the country nor be squandered on the upkeep of the monks and friars and the revenue

⁷⁹ See, for instance, R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The Franciscans and Books: Lollard Accusations and the Franciscan Response' in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. A. Hudson and M. Wilks (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 5; Oxford, 1987), pp. 369-84. Wyclif discusses the wealth of graduate friars in *De blasphemia* 16 (WS 13.242-47).

⁸⁰ See Kenny, *Wyclif*, pp. 11, 46-47.

⁸¹ See FZ, pp. 303, 323-25 and Wyclif, *De blasphemia* 14 (WS 13.211).

diverted to the king would give him greater financial independence.⁸² This is not the place to consider at length Wyclif's, or the 'Wycliffite', involvement in the 1381 Uprising, but these final remarks by Hereford clearly refer to it. At the least he saw the fiscal system which supported the existing Church structures as the principal cause of the Uprising. But in his concluding exhortation Hereford shows too that he did not envisage the secular arm being capable of enacting the necessary reforms. He is alleged to have stated that 'rex non habet aliquos iusticiarios in regno suo ad hanc iusticiam exequendam, et ex quo non sunt alii iusticiarii ad hoc specialiter ex officio deputati' (lines 133-135). This referred partly to the role several judges had played in attempting to quell the 1381 riots, a revolt which Wyclif saw as legitimate despite subsequently decrying certain excesses carried out by the peasants.⁸³ But the comment should also be seen in the light of the important place judges held in the Platonic republican state by which Wyclif appears to have been influenced.⁸⁴ Accordingly, Hereford turned instead to the 'fideles Christiani', a by-word for like-minded followers of Wyclif and an epithet ('trewe men', 'trewe prechours') later adopted by the Lollards.⁸⁵ Hereford talked of his own anti-mendicant initiatives in urging these people: 'oportet vos... manum apponere vt vos saltim hoc negocium ad finem debitum perducatis' (lines 135-136). Here we find a parallel to Wyclif's 'remedy' by which the laity should withhold their tithe-alms⁸⁶ and in this 'non-violent direct action' lies the revolutionary character which Beryl Smalley identified in Hereford's sermon.

IV

John de Gosford was named earlier as the fifth and final protagonist in this episode. If this identification is correct then it can only be made by examining the history of B, Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 240 (SC 2469). This manuscript has been described several times, but never entirely satisfactorily since it contains more than one hundred items.⁸⁷ This is not the place to undertake a detailed analysis of it. However, the contents can be summarised as follows:

⁸² See Wyclif, *De blasphemia* 17 (WS 13.264-70).

⁸³ See *De blasphemia* 13 (WS 13.193-98) and for the role of judges in 1381 see R. H. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free. Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London, 1973), pp. 151-52.

⁸⁴ See Wyclif, *De civili dominio* 1.27-28 (WS 2.1.192-206) where the Old Testament judges also constitute an influential model for Wyclif.

⁸⁵ A. Hudson, 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?' in M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels, eds., *So Meny People Longages and Tonges. Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 15-30 at pp. 16-17.

⁸⁶ Cited above, n. 63.

⁸⁷ In addition to the *Summary Catalogue* entry (2.1.284-85) see the list of some of the saints' lives found in B in T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain*

- i-vi: flyleaves from a fourteenth-century Latin canon law tract; the first folio recto is pasted against the frontboard and hence excluded from the pagination (the same occurs for the final folio verso flyleaf of B);
- vii-xl: Index to John of Tynemouth's *Historia Aurea*, part 2 (p. xl is blank);
- xli-xliv: leaves with shelfmarks, fifteenth-century prayers, ownership marks, etc. (pp. xlili-xliv comprise two sides of half a folio, the outside half being cut away);
- 1-582b: John of Tynemouth's *Historia Aurea*, part 2, in about seven hands with, on p. 582a: 'Explicit historia aurea Johannis Anglici' and, in a later hand, 'vel potius Guidonis Dionisiam abbatis gallici'; p. 582b consists of a 1369 poem entitled *De fortuna Anglie* and described by Horstmann;
- 583a-623a: John of Tynemouth's *Martyrologium* or *Sanctilogium de sanctis Walliae et Scociae*, in two hands (pp. 583-616 and pp. 617-64); the beginning is imperfect;
- 623b-77b: A continuation of the previous section, starting with three bulls regarding the feast of St. Edmund, and at p. 624b the *Vita et passio cum miraculis sancti Edmundi*, a Bury compilation; a new hand covers pp. 665-77b;
- 677b-898: Miscellaneous short pieces, starting midway down p. 677b in a new hand; four further hands cover the quire at pp. 837-52, one for the two quires at pp. 853-84 and one for the five-folio quire at pp. 885-94a. A *Commendatio artis musice* continues on pp. 894b-98b in a much later hand;
- 899-902: Flyleaves from the aforementioned canon law tract.

The Nicholas Hereford sermon *reportatio* (pp. 848b-50) therefore belongs to the end of the manuscript. The eight-folio quire in which it belongs is curious for

and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII, 3 vols. in 4 (RS 26; London, 1862-71), though this is largely superseded by Carl Horstmann's study of the collections of saints' lives in B (MSS. Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 15, London, British Library Cotton Tiberius E.1 and Lambeth Palace 10-12, Capgrave's *Legenda nova Angliae* and Wynkyn de Worde's edition of it). His study shows how John of Tynemouth's work was given additional material and reworked (*Nova legenda Anglie*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1901]). The material relating to St Edmund is described in T. Arnold, ed., *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, 3 vols. (RS 96; London, 1890-96), and the fourteenth-century miracles are transcribed (1.358-77, from B, pp. 662-67). This and other material was reedited in Horstmann (*Legenda*, 2.538-688; taken largely from B, pp. 623-77). He also gives a valuable detailed breakdown of the material in the miscellaneous section, though it is not always entirely accurate (1.lvii-lxv). Also see W. A. Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises on the Origins of Monasticism' in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), pp. 189-215, at pp. 194-96, where he discusses B, pp. 765-69.

the disproportionate number of hands at work in it. The embellishment of initials is also much more refined than in the preceding quire. The first hand here (pp. 837a-47a) deals with stories of saints and the origin of the 'Salve Regina'. A few lines are left blank at the end, then on p. 847b a two-column 'exhortatio' on preaching and St. Paul follows in a new hand. After this there are further lines left blank on p. 847b, separating that material from a short treatment of virtues (pp. 847b-48a), ending sixteen lines short of the end of p. 848a. The Hereford sermon follows on pp. 848b-50b. It is introduced by what may be a different hand who writes at the foot of the preceding column, p. 848a: 'Sermo Magistri Nicholai Herford', *sacre theologie professoris, contra omnes status et gradus ecclesiasticos, locus et a<...>*'; the remainder being cut off. In the margin it is numbered 'Capitulum 150', but this was a muddled attempt to continue the chapter divisions of John of Tynemouth's works into the miscellaneous section. Fykyes's notarial eschatocol on p. 850b was recognised by the scribe to be separate from the sermon *reportatio* since he left a two-line gap at the foot of the preceding column (p. 850a). This feature is entirely consistent with the suggestion that the scribe had had access to an original *instrumentum*. After the eschatocol there follows an eight-line space before the first of three papal bulls (pp. 850b-52): one giving friars leave to hear confessions and preach without the consent of parish curates, a second doing likewise but additionally permitting them independent schools at Paris University, and the third condemning Jean de Pouilly's view that parishioners should be obliged to repeat their confession to their parish priest if they had previously confessed to a friar.⁸⁸ These documents are followed by a poem on the history of the Fall and Redemption entitled *Speculum humane salvationis* (pp. 853-94a) and a *Commendatio artis musice* ascribed to a certain Gregory (pp. 894b-98). Neither of these works has been identified.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ The first bull, not mentioned by Horstmann, starts midway down B, p. 850b and is Clement IV, *Quidam temere* (1265) (J. H. Sbaralea, ed., *Bullarium franciscanum romanorum pontificum*, 4 vols. [Rome, 1759-68], 3.14); on which see P. Gratien, *Histoire de la fondation & de l'évolution de l'Ordre des frères mineurs au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1928), pp. 280, 340. In B in the top margin of p. 850b this bull has been ascribed to Pope Nicholas. The second bull is Alexander IV, *Non sine multa* (1257) (C. Cocquelines, ed., *Bullarum, privilegiorum ac diplomatum romanorum pontificum amplissima collectio*, 28 vols. [in 14] [Rome, 1739-44], 3.1.380-81, and see L. Wadding, ed., *Annales minorum*, 3rd edition, 28 vols. [Quaracchi, 1931-47], 4.511-13). The final document is John XXII's bull (*Vas electionis* [1321], *Extrav. Io.*, 5.3.2).

⁸⁹ The proemium and beginning of the verse summary of the former's contents is given in Horstmann (*Legenda* 1.lxv). But see J. M. Murray, 'The Easter Table Annals of Missenden Abbey: An Annotated Text', *Medieval Studies* 46 (1984) 476-86 where a similarly-named pre-1382 work from Missenden Abbey is noted. The latter is unidentified in W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica. A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin-Liturgical MSS. of the Middle Ages Preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols. (London, 1894-1932; rpt. Hildesheim, 1967), 1.133, item 394.

That the manuscript is from the great Benedictine library at Bury St. Edmunds is clear from an *ex libris* statement, a classmark corresponding to the Bury cataloguing system (H55; H for 'Historia') and from the contents, for it contains a great deal of material relating to the life, shrine and miracles of St. Edmund. It also contains material from other East Anglian monasteries, Oxford and London, which has been inserted both into the John of Tynemouth books and the following miscellaneous section.⁹⁰ The manuscript itself was originally undertaken at the expense of Roger of Huntingdon in 1377 but clearly, since the Hereford document cannot be earlier than 1382, it took several years to complete. At the dissolution of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in 1539 the codex came into the possession of Sir John Prise, the Welsh book-collector who lived in London and had a particular interest in works relating to British history. The codex later passed to his son, Richard, and then to Richard's nephew, Thomas Prise. It was acquired by the Bodleian Library c. 1605-1611.

For the logic behind the collection of documents in this codex and particularly those in the miscellaneous section we need to look at the activities and interests of Henry of Kirkestede (alias 'Boston of Bury'). From a study of Henry's marginal and bibliographical notes in Bury manuscripts from this period it is clear that Henry was a subprior, novice-master and librarian at the abbey from c. 1361-79.⁹¹ His duties were those of the precentor. Among his responsibilities, therefore, were supervision of the keepers of the shrine to St. Edmund, instruction of the novices and custody of the manuscripts, which he also catalogued and to which he gave classmarks. Richard Rouse has clearly shown, too, that Henry was personally interested in the cult of St. Edmund and the history of the abbey and that he was an assertive defender of traditional monasticism. Henry's interest in St. Edmund would account for the legendary material from John of Tynemouth and the Bury hagiographical material.⁹² The long miscellaneous section in B contains more

⁹⁰ See *Summary Catalogue* 2.1.385, Horstmann, *Legenda* 2.538-44 and M. R. James, *On the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Publications 28; Cambridge, 1895), pp. 61-62. For the following details of the post-Dissolution history of B see N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', *The Library*, 5th Ser., 10 (1955) 1-24, especially 7, 22.

⁹¹ R. H. Rouse, 'Bostonus Buriensis and the Author of the *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*', *Speculum* 41 (1966) 471-99, at pp. 480-93 and R. H. and M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons. Studies on the 'Manipulus florum' of Thomas of Ireland* (Studies and Texts 47; Toronto, 1979), pp. 24, 217, 220-22. For Henry's *Catalogus* see the partial edition in T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, ed. D. Wilkins (London, 1748), pp. xvii-xliii. For the library list Henry adopted see M. R. James, 'The List of Libraries Prefixed to the Catalogue of John Boston and the Kindred Documents' in *Collectanea franciscana* 2, ed. C. L. Kingsford (British Society of Franciscan Studies 10; Manchester, 1922), pp. 37-60.

⁹² See Rouse, 'Bostonus Buriensis', 482-85. An episcopal ordinance enforcing the observance of the feast of St. Edmund's Translation is copied in B with the comment: 'originale istius est ad feretrum in cistula cum literis indulgentiarum et bullis' (James, *Abbey*, p. 62, from B, p. 624).

legendary material from East Anglian monastic chronicles but also much elementary teaching suitable for novices, extracted from the Fathers and more recent authors. The tenor is staunchly traditionalist in keeping with the marginal comments Henry made elsewhere. It seems likely that the John of Tynemouth works and the subsequent miscellany were collected by and copied at the instigation of Henry. But since it is probable that Henry died in 1379 we have to look to a likeminded successor from Bury for the final documents in this manuscript. An examination of the scribal hands and gatherings of the manuscript discounts the possibility that these final documents originally formed a separate booklet and were only later combined with the earlier material.

V

Before attempting to identify this successor to Henry of Kirkesteede it may be useful to consider what circulation the notarised instrument which had been provided for Peter Stokes might have had. *FZ*, it will be recalled, is a collection of documents gathered by Oxford Carmelites, relating to antimendicant and heterodox theologians. Three of the conclusions drawn by James Crompton from studying this work are relevant here. Firstly, he showed that the work was based on 'a set of papers accumulated by and for the use of successive Priors Provincial of the Carmelite Order and probably kept at the London Whitefriars. Between the years 1379 and 1444 there were five Priors Provincial: Robert Ivory, John Kenningham, Stephen Patrington, Thomas Netter and John Keninghale'.⁹³ Then he added: 'it was probably during the years when Ivory was Prior Provincial that the collection of materials seriously began. It was natural that the Order should wish to keep a record of Kenningham's bold stand against Wyclif and also of the part played by Carmelites like Peter Stokes in 1382.'⁹⁴ During Kenningham's period as prior (1393-99) the documents seem to have been ordered and provided a narrative link. Patrington (1399-1414) added some new documents and this was continued till after the Council of Constance. Finally, Crompton suggested that 'the MS. of *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* was copied in 1439 for John Keninghale, Prior Provincial of the Carmelite Order from 1430-44, that on his retirement to the Norwich Carmelite Priory he took the book with him and placed it in the library which he founded there.'⁹⁵

⁹³ J. Crompton, 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum I and II', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 12 (1961) 35-45 and 155-63, at p. 163.

⁹⁴ Crompton, 'FZ I and II', 163. Not all the documents thus collected made the final compilation: the notarial instrument of John Ball's confession was evidently available for the writer of the narrative links but is not now extant in *FZ* (pp. 273-74).

⁹⁵ Crompton, 'FZ I and II', 161.

The original documents were witnesses to the heresies and errors against which the Carmelites in particular campaigned, but they were gathered with an eye to posterity. The notarial report of Hereford's sermon fits clearly into this Carmelite programme. But it was omitted from the 1393-99 narrative and hence from the later book called *FZ*. This may have been because the instrument's prime purpose was to secure the condemnation of Hereford and that once this end had been achieved it was felt by the later compiler(s) of *FZ* to lack value for posterity. An additional reason is suggested by the comment in *FZ* which suggests that Hereford was unwilling to give other Oxford theologians the customary access to his writings or notes to enable them to dispute points with him: 'Sed ille Nicolaus, velut miser fugiens, nunquam voluit librum vel quaternum communicare alteri doctori...' (p. 296). Since several monks from Bury St. Edmunds studied at Oxford⁹⁶ and the house had access to libraries at Oxford and London,⁹⁷ the question of the date at which the notarial instrument may have been transferred to London need not trouble us here. For it could have been copied by a Bury monk from either Whitefriars house. But since the second of the papal bulls immediately following Hereford's sermon in B is introduced by a letter from the bishop of Lincoln and since Oxford lay under his jurisdiction, we may suspect that the Oxford archive was used.

Was there a Bury monk who, after Henry of Kirkstede's presumed death, shared some of his interests, had the authority to add to the material collected for B, who would have known about Hereford's antimendicancy and could have obtained a copy of the notarial document? While this must remain speculative, the candidate with means, motive and opportunity was John de Gosford. Gosford was an Oxford theologian, a contemporary of Hereford, though perhaps a year his senior.⁹⁸ Gosford was sufficiently interested in the theology of Richard FitzRalph to procure for Bury abbey his *Summa de questionibus Armenorum* (now Cam-

⁹⁶ See the list of absented student-monks at visitations in W. A. Pantin, *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540*, 3 vols. (Camden Society, 3rd Series 45, 47, 54; London, 1931-37), 3.221-22, 229. At an earlier date, namely 1364, there is also evidence of a Bury monk studying at Cambridge (A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* [Cambridge, 1963], p. 112). In addition to Gosford, Edmund Bromfield studied at this period at Oxford (BRUO 1.275-76). But he was in prison in the crucial years of 1380-82. Robert Iklingham, the prior at Bury from 1399, may have studied theology, and very likely at Oxford, though Pantin does not cite his evidence (*Chapters* 3.347).

⁹⁷ Rouse, 'Bostonus Buriensis', 492, believes Henry of Kirkstede had access to a manuscript at the Oxford Greyfriars, now Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 11 and B, p. 708 mentions a life of St. Christina 'cuius uita originalis est apud London' inter monachos cartusie' (James, *Abbey*, p. 62 and Horstmann, *Legenda*, p. lxi).

⁹⁸ Admitted B.Th. in 1375-76 (BRUO 2.794), something that normally took place four years before receiving the doctorate. Hence Gosford would by this reckoning have graduated a year before Hereford and nearly eighteen months before Repyngdon.

bridge, Pembroke College 5).⁹⁹ This purchase probably predates 1390 for he styles himself in this manuscript simply 'monachus' of Bury St. Edmunds and by 1390 he was in fact prior there. Indeed this purchase probably goes back to his time at Oxford. In 1381 Gosford, having presumably gained his doctorate, was almoner at Bury.¹⁰⁰ This was one of the highest jobs in the abbey and one which involved him in 'scripta et armoriala' in the almonry and possibly teaching in the school too.¹⁰¹ This post accounts for his known literary activity of keeping a chronicle for 1380-82 concerning the four-year vacancy and disputed abbatial election of John of Timworth.¹⁰² While Gosford cannot be likened to such a monastic apologist as Thomas Walsingham his chronicle does show him to have been an opponent of the papal nominee, Edmund Bromfield. Rather than papal nomination, the danger, in the eyes of a traditionalist Benedictine, was the fact that Bromfield seems to have been strongly supported by the citizens of Bury in the expectation that he would relinquish many of the abbey's feudal controls and taxes over the town.¹⁰³ The dating of these activities may seem to put Gosford outside Oxford in the crucial years for our study. Yet he would certainly have known the views and activities of Hereford and there were always at least three Bury student-monks at Oxford from whom he could elicit information and gain transcripts of documents if he were unable to do so in person. And, as was observed earlier by comparing the formulaic passages in the introduction and eschatocol with contemporary notarial documents, this extant version appears to be a close copy of an original instrument.

* * *

In presenting the Latin text below our task is eased by the absence of variant readings from other manuscripts. The orthography (except for differentiation between 'i' and 'j') and the word-divisions of the manuscript have been retained unless indication is given to the contrary. Abbreviated place names have not been expanded in order to retain the ambiguity of the medieval forms, as is the case here

⁹⁹ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 5-6. A manuscript relating to Gosford's duties as prior (overseeing the kitchen) is Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 553; see *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1849-85), 6.347-49.

¹⁰⁰ See Arnold, *Memorials* 3.141-42 (and p. 181 in a French version).

¹⁰¹ These 'writings and bookshelves' were both destroyed by the rioters in the 1381 revolt, but these were kept in the almonry under the supervision of a sergeant of the almoner whose ultimate responsibility they were (Arnold, *Memorials* 3.141). For the almonry school in Benedictine houses see M. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1948-59), 2.294-96.

¹⁰² See *Memorials* 3.113-37, copied in a 1426 collection.

¹⁰³ See M. D. Lobel (*The Borough of Bury St. Edmunds. A Study in the Government and Development of a Monastic Town* [Oxford, 1935]) where she also shows the extent of the property and income held by the almoner (pp. 17-18) and thereby explains why the rioters in 1381 sought out Gosford.

with Oxford, but where the form is expanded in the manuscript, as in the example of York (line 145), this expansion is followed. Modern capitalisation, punctuation and paragraphing have been adopted to point the sense. Abbreviations have been silently expanded in a manner consistent with other forms in the text. The principal editorial problem concerns the sections of direct speech and whether they should be indicated thus. Since we have seen above that there must be doubt over the authenticity of such passages, we have decided against marking them out too rigidly for this would ascribe an undue authority to these statements. The exception concerns *inquit*; when found in an extract of direct speech it is placed in parentheses.

SERMO MAGISTRI NICHOLAI HERFORD' SACRE THEOLOGIE PROFESSORIS, p. 848a
CONTRA OMNES STATUS ET GRADUS ECCLESIASTICOS, LOCUS ET A<...>¹

- / In Dei nomine, Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cuntis² pateat euidenter p. 848b
quod anno ab incarnatione Domini secundum cursum et computacionem Ecclesie
5 Anglicane millesimo trecentesimo octogesimo secundo, indiccione quinta, pontificatus
sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Vrbani diuina prouidencia Pape sexti
anno quinto, die quintadecima mensis Maii, hoc est in die Ascensionis Dominice, apud
crucem in cimiterio sancte Frideswide in villa Oxon' Linc' diocesis, in mei notarii publicet
testium subscriptorum presencia, et coram venerabili viro magistro Roberto Rugge, Sacre
10 Pagine Professore, Cancellario Vniuersitatis Oxon', iam prefate assistente non modica
multitudine³ clericorum et laicorum regularium et secularium tunc ibidem ad audiendum
verbum Dei personaliter congregata, magister Nicholaus de Herford, Sacre Theologie
Professor, sermonem ad populum faciens in vulgari ydeomate Anglicano, inter alia multa
diuersos Ecclesie status et gradus tangencia specialiter ista dixit, asseruit, docuit et publice
15 predicauit.

In primis dixit quod: Sicut Christus sedens ad dexteram Patris in celis potencius, forcius
et efficacius operabatur in suis discipulis post Ascencionem suam quam prius operatus
fuerat in seipso et ipsi apostoli maiora miracula fecerunt postmodum quam ipse Christus
ante Ascencionem fecerat in seipso, sic et sancti nunc glorificati in celo multo efficacius
20 operantur per eos qui sequntur eorum vestigia hic in terris quam fecerunt dum viuerent per
seipsos. Vnde et sanctus Ricardus qui gessit hoc negocium quod ego nunc habeo contra
fratres licet modicum uel nichil profecerit contra eos dum vixit, modo tamen sum certus
(inquit) quod ipse instanter et efficaciter orat apud Deum pro me, et non solum pro me
set etiam pro omnibus illis qui mecum laborant in eodem negocio. Et totum celum cum

¹ Sermo...a in inf. marg. a. m. MS.

² Capitulum 150 in marg. add. MS.

³ multitudine MS.

25 eo clamat pro isto negocio contra eos. Et in signum quod eius causa fuit iusta et bona modo Deus ipse per eum operatur miracula. Et hoc (inquit) in ista causa magnam fiduciam prestat michi.

Item in eodem sermone recomendauit status Ecclesie sub hac forma: Orabitis (inquit) primo pro domino Rege, domina Regina et domina Matre. Et pro domino Duce (inquit) 30 orabitis ut Deus det ei graciā obediendi regi suo et alliciendi eum ad bonum. Et deinde orabitis pro omnibus dominis temporalibus huius regni. Post hec autem orabitis (inquit) pro omnibus illis qui sunt spirituales postpositi Dei. Et tandem recomendauit Cancellarium et studium vniuersitatis et maiorem et comunitatem ville Oxon', et in tota recomendacione non fecit mencionem de summo pontifice speciale.

35 Deinde in processu eiusdem sermonis dixit idem magister Nicholaus quod: Sicut Cristus diligit plus totam comunitatem quam aliquam eius personam, sic deberet quilibet homo plus diligere et zelare totam comunitatem et eius profectum quam particulare comodum alicuius persone singularis eiusdem. Set aliqui mali et iniqui sunt (inquit) qui de comunitate et eius utilitate non curant quia totum estimant perditum quod fit pro comunitate uel eius 40 profectu. Sic autem non facio⁴ ego, quia totum illud ego facio et totus labor quem ego p. 849a sustineo est propter zelumcomunitatis et pro comunitate sum paratus / ferre labores et pati molestias et penas insuper si oportet.

Post hec intulit quod omnes status hominum plus diligunt carnalia seu temporalia quam spiritualia. Et hoc nitebatur ostendere primo de laicis, quia ipsi sunt dediti gule et lasciuie 45 corporali et ceteris huiusmodi viciis et peccatis. Deinde nitebatur idem probare de clericis secularibus ut de prelatis et curatis Ecclesie, quia ipsi, inquit, vendunt et emunt beneficia ecclesiastica et cetera spiritualia non curantes quantum acceperint⁵ uel dederint pro eisdem, et isti Deum contempnunt et de illo non curant quia sic⁶ vendunt et emunt ipsum Deum et graciā eius et animas hominum et curas earum.

50 Deinde hoc idem nitebatur probare de religiosis et primo de religiosis possessionatis. Et hoc expresse dixit tam de canonicis quam de monachis. Quod enim illi plus querunt et diligunt temporalia quam spiritualia conabatur ostendere triplici ratione: primo, quia iniuste et false adquirunt bona temporalia. Nam illi non curant, inquit, quantum argentum et aurum promittant et conferant ad apropiandum sibi ecclesias false et dolose et 55 conducunt falsas duodenas ad apropiandum sibi terras et predia per eorum periuria fallacias atque dolos. Et quia sic falso titulo et iniuste adquirunt bona temporalia, ideo sunt veraciter fures et predones falsissimi, sequaces inde Proditoris et non Cristi cuius se discipulos esse dicunt.

Secundo, nitebatur idem probare de ipsis per hoc quod detinent bona temporalia sibi 60 appropriata contra intencionem et voluntatem suorum fundatorum, quia fundatores eorum propter hunc finem tantum eos dotabant possessionibus temporalibus ut perfeccius suam regulam obseruarent, vt magis humiles forent, et ut se minus negociis secularibus implarent. Set iam contra primum punctum: propter suas possessiones multo peius regulam

⁴ post facio *del. au(?) MS.*

⁵ acceperint *MS.*

⁶ sic] diligunt temporalia quam spiritualia conabatur ostendere triplici ratione *add. et del. (cf. lines 69-70) MS.*

suam obseruant. Contra secundum: propter suas possessiones sunt magis superbi, quia
 65 olim in sua prima fundacione non deditabunt vocari et esse serui et rustici set iam
 volunt vocari domini et equitare in magnis equis et apparatu sollempni. Contra tertium:
 iam propter suas possessiones magis implicant se negotiis secularibus quia illi sunt ita
 prudentes in rebus pertinentibus⁷ ad mundum sicut quicunque alii seculares. Et non sunt
 70 contenti dotacionibus fundatorum suorum, set ultra eas fraudulenter et dolose perquirunt
 bona aliena, et ad hoc detinent secum iuristas vt seruent ab antiquo quesita et false noua
 adquirant, et ut possessa peruerse defendant contra Deum et proximum, contra regem et
 regnum. Et quia sic detinent et occupant bona que habent contra intencionem et voluntatem
 fundatorum suorum qui eos dotauerunt, ideo ea possident iniuste et inuitis dominis quorum
 erant. Et sic sunt falsissimi predones et fures alienorum bonorum.
 75 Tercio, idem conabatur ostendere quia ipsi abutuntur bonis sibi collatis. Quecunque
 enim habent ultra necessitatem, victum et vestitum sunt bona pauperum, set / illi non p. 849b
 expendunt ea circa pauperes quibus debentur, set circa alias diuites et potentes qui eis non
 indigent ut puta circa milites armigeros et iuristas. Et sum (inquit) securus quod non est
 80 aliqua magna abbathia in Anglia quin sic facit. Et quia sic abutuntur bonis sibi collatis ad
 sustencionem pauperum ideo, inquit, indubie constat quod sunt fures pessimi et predo-
 nes.

Deinde contra religiosos mendicantes.⁸

Deinde nitebatur hoc idem ostendere contra religiosos mendicantes, id est de fratribus
 quod ipsi plus diligunt temporalia quam spiritualia quia illi non mendicant propter
 85 spiritualia set propter temporalia tantum. Et hoc patet, inquit, quia quantumcumque
 dederint eis homines 'ipsi nunquam dicunt "sufficit"' [Pr 30:15]. Quando enim mendicant
 a pauperibus, dicunt se non posse viuere sine adiutorio eorum. Quando mendicant a
 diuitibus, dicunt se non posse⁹ viuere sine ope ipsorum. Et sic ab utrisque per sua mendacia
 bona eorum extorquent. Et preter hec cum eorum limitatores satis mendicauerint pro sua¹⁰
 90 comunitate, statim mendicant iterum pro seipsis, et sic falsi praui monstrant se esse
 apostatas, et frangunt regulam et votum quo professi sunt nichil habere in proprio. Et ille
 qui est sacerdos inter eos ultra illa bona que habet ex sua comunitate mendicat sibi
 quandoque vnum annale, quandoque duo, quandoque tria uel quatuor, immo quinque. Et
 95 in hoc se monstrat apostamat quia recipiendo vnum annale specialiter pro seipso trans-
 greditur suum votum quod emisit de non habendo quicquam in proprio. Et sic decipit eum
 cum quo conuenit. Nam tu (inquit) es fatuus qui das fratri vnum annale stipendum ad
 orandum pro te apud Deum, quia tu facis inimicum Dei mediatorem inter te et illum, et
 ex hoc Deus aduersum te magis irascitur quam placatur.

99 Illi eciam qui sunt graduati inter eos, ut magistri et bachularii, ultra ea que sufficienter
 habent de sua comunitate mendicant amplius pro seipsis, et talis dicit 'Ego sum bachula-
 riis, et plus indigeo quam alii quia oportet me habere ad expendendum secundum statum

⁷ pertinentibus corr. ex -nentes MS.

⁸ Deinde...mendicantes in marg. MS.

⁹ posset MS.

¹⁰ post sua del. necessitate MS.

- meum'. 'Ego sum magister, et plus indigo ceteris quia oportet me habere ad expendendum secundum statum meum'. Et isti sunt falsi mendaces quia, quod illi plus habeant quam ceteri, hoc non secundum statum eorum set est contra statum eorum, quia status eorum est status perfectionis et virtutis, et quanto status eorum est alcior tanto deberent esse humiliores et parcus ac striccius viuere¹¹ et paucioribus esse contenti. Et cum omnes sint eiusdem professionis et vnius communitatis, ex quo inferiores contenti sunt modica parte bonorum communium quare non essent contenti superiores tam modico sicut illi? Et ex hoc conclusit quod illi qui sunt superiores non debent habere plus de bonis communibus, immo minus quam inferiores eorum. Set modo, inquit, quia superbiunt de gradu suo vendicantes p. 850a sibi plus ceteris, ideo non sunt / magistri theologie set magistri vanitatis, falsi praui, lurdici et loselli. Et propter hanc vanitatem veniunt ad vniuersitatem secularem ad accipendum gradum secularem et mundanum honorem contra votum et professionem suam, et per hoc sunt apostate manifesti.
- 15 Et hic simul copulauit religiosos omnes priuatos, tam scilicet possessionatos quam eciam mendicantes, dicens quod si illi remanerent domi in claustris et viuerent ut deberent, tunc pax et tranquillitas regni potissime staret per eos. Set modo quia illi inter omnes homines sunt regno maxime onerosi, ideo ipsi maxime perturbant regni tranquillitatem et pacem. Et audeo (inquit) secure asserere quod nunquam bene erit in hoc regno quam diu 20 isti sic tollerantur in eo. Quia monachi et possessionati nunquam erunt humiles donec auferantur possessiones eorum, nec fratres mendicantes vniquam erunt boni donec impediантur mendicaciones eorum.
- Et ad hoc faciendum obsecrabat communitatem extensis manibus. Et ideo (inquit) pro eo qui moriebatur in cruce vos qui estis hic congregati, tam clerici quam laici, iuuetis vos singuli pro vestris viribus ad hoc negocium in effectu complendum.
- 25 Et ut suo consilio fauerent libencius hac racione precipue animabat eos ad perficiendum in actu quod dixerat. Quia, videlicet, isti religiosi non solum possessionati set eciam mendicantes ultra necessitatem, victum et vestitum superhabundant immensis thesauris absconditis quibus edificant et construunt altas domos et sollempnes ecclesias, quod est 30 contra statum et professionem eorum expresse, vnde si rex et regnum vellet eis auferre possessiones¹² et thesauros eorum superfluos ut deberet, tunc non oporteret regem spoliare pauperem communitatem regni per talagia sicut solet.
- Et hic finaliter exclamans dicebat: Set, heu! (inquit), heu! et ve! quod rex non habet aliquos iusticiarios in regno suo ad hanc iusticiam exequendam, et ex quo non sunt alii iusticiarii ad hoc specialiter ex officio deputati. Ideo oportet vos, O fideles Cristiani, manum apponere vt vos saltim¹³ hoc negocium ad finem debitum perducatis. Et tunc firmiter spero quod bene procedet, quia scio certissime quod ipse Deus omnipotens vult quod fiat.
- 35 Super quibus omnibus et singulis religiosus et discretus vir, frater Petrus Stooches, Sacre 40 Theologie Professor de Ordine Fratrum Carmelitarum, vna cum aliis pluribus religiosis

¹¹ viuere *in marg. a. m. add. (?) MS.*

¹² post possessiones *del. eorum MS.*

¹³ saltum *MS.*

tunc ibidem presentibus requisuit me notarium publicum vnum aut plura conficere instrumentum uel eciam instrumenta.

Acta sunt hec omnia et singula prout suprascribuntur sub anno, indicione, pontificatu,
mense, die et loco predictis, presentibus discretis viris Thoma Kesteven, Roberto Mylot,
45 Ricardo Rasyn, et aliis clericis Eborum diocesis ac pluribus aliis testibus ad premissa
vocatis specialiter et rogatis./

p. 850b

Et ego Iohannes Fykyes, clericus Roffen' diocesis, publicus auctoritate apostolica
notarius, premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premittitur, agerentur et fierent, vna cum
prenominatis testibus presens interfui ea que omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, aliis
50 arduis negotiis occupatus, per alium scribi feci et in hanc publicam formam redegi,
signoque meo et nomine signauit rogatus in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum.

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THE 'IMAGINATIVE SYLLOGISM' IN ARABIC PHILOSOPHY:
A MEDIEVAL CONTRIBUTION TO
THE PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF METAPHOR*

Deborah L. Black

IN Book 2, chapter 23 of the *Prior Analytics*, Aristotle makes the bold, and somewhat controversial, claim that the syllogistic theory he has discovered encompasses every process and method by which humans attain belief: 'For every belief comes either through syllogism or from induction.'¹ Whatever view one may take of the Stagirite's confidence in this matter,² in all likelihood the acceptance of his claim by the major Greek commentators of the sixth century A.D. played

* A version of this paper was presented at the Twenty-First International Congress on Medieval Studies, University of Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, 8 May 1986, and at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Society for the Study of Islamic Philosophy and Science, Baruch College, City University of New York, 26 October 1986.

¹ *APr.* 2.23 (68b13-14), trans. A. J. Jenkinson in volume one of *The Works of Aristotle Translated into English*, ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford, 1928). All further citations are from the Oxford translation.

² It is common for those logicians who have attempted to give a systematic explication of Aristotle's syllogistic theory to note the inadequacy of the syllogism for the universal role that Aristotle here claims for it. The main reason for this criticism is that the formal apparatus of the syllogism is not suited to proving the laws of propositional logic that govern syllogistic validity itself, nor is it capable of expressing formally the processes, such as conversion, by which the other figures can be reduced to the first. For discussions of these difficulties, see especially G. Patzig, *Aristotle's Theory of the Syllogism. A Logico-Philological Study of Book A of the 'Prior Analytics'*, trans. J. Barnes (Dordrecht, 1971), pp. 132-37; L. E. Rose, *Aristotle's Syllogistic* (Springfield, Ill., 1968), pp. 55-56, 89; and J. Lear, *Aristotle and Logical Theory* (Cambridge, 1980), p. ix.

Fortunately, the medieval Islamic developments of Aristotle's claim do not have any direct connection with the more technical issues discussed by the modern commentators just mentioned. This is because the Islamic philosophers tended to appeal to the definition of the syllogism given by Aristotle in *APr.* 1.1 (24b18-20), which is broad enough to apply to arguments that do not follow the formal apparatus of the syllogism in any strict sense: 'A syllogism is a discourse (*logos*) in which, certain things being stated, something other than what is stated follows of necessity from their being so.' Avicenna, for example, appeals only to this definition in his defense of the syllogistic status of sophistical, poetical, and hypothetical syllogisms in his *Qiyās* (Syllogism), the Arabic equivalent of the *Prior Analytics*. See *Al-Shifā* ('Healing'), vol. 1 *Al-Mantiq* (Logic), pt. 4 *Al-Qiyās* (Syllogism), ed. S. Zayed (Cairo, 1964), p. 54.6-7, and in general pp. 54-58.

an important role in the development of the theory with which we are here concerned. For the Arabic-speaking philosophers of the Middle Ages inherited from their Greek predecessors a conception of logic that was well-suited to the task of securing the syllogism's dominion over all human cognitive activities. This conception took the form of an expansion of the scope of the *Organon* itself, through the appending to the six treatises that today are assumed to constitute the Aristotelian logical corpus — the *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior and Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistical Refutations* — Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and his *Poetics* as well.³

The general implications of this peculiar taxonomy of logic are quite obvious: if the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* treat of matters that are in any way directed towards the attainment of a cognitive end, they must to that extent fall under the purview of logic, and hence be founded upon some kind of formal, syllogistic procedure. In the case of the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle's close association of its goals with those of dialectic, and the explicit links he elaborates between the enthymeme and the syllogism, and between the example and the induction, make the application of the *Prior Analytics'* sweeping claims to its doctrines fairly easy to accomplish. But such obvious parallels in the *Poetics* are not quite so forthcoming.⁴ Hence, when the philosophers of the Islamic world adopted the legacy of the expanded *Organon* from the Greek commentators, they attempted to fill this lacuna themselves. The 'imaginative' or 'poetic' syllogism is the product of this effort, the formal response of the Islamic philosophers to the demand that all logical disciplines partake in

³ The Greek versions of this taxonomy for the *Organon* were first documented in an article by Richard Walzer, 'Zur Traditionsgeschichte der Aristotelischen Poetik', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* N.S. 11 (1934) 5-14; rpt. in R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic. Essays on Islamic Philosophy* (Oriental Studies 1; Oxford, 1962), pp. 129-36. For the Greek commentators' allusions to this taxonomy, see Ammonius, *In 1 APr.*, Prooemium (CAG 4.6), p. 11.22-38; Philoponus, *In Cat.*, Prooemium (CAG 13.1), pp. 4.23-5.14; Olympiodorus, *In Cat.*, Prolegomena (CAG 12.1), pp. 7.24-8.28; Elias, *In Cat.* (CAG 18.1), pp. 116.29-117.14; and L. G. Westerink, 'Elias on the *Prior Analytics*', *Mnemosyne* 4th Ser. 14 (1961) 126-39.

⁴ See *APr.* 2.27 (70a10-13); *Rh.* 1.1 (1354a1-3); 1.2 (1356a35-b26). There have been several attempts to locate the Aristotelian texts that may have inspired the notion of a poetic syllogism, with suggestions ranging from the offhand allusions to syllogisms and paralogisms in the *Poetics* to the structural parallels that can be observed between the syllogism and Aristotle's analogical metaphors. A summary of various such attempts can be found in G. Schoeler, 'Der poetische Syllogismus. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der "logischen" Poetik der Araber', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 133 (1983) 82-89. It is my view that such attempts are fundamentally misguided, inasmuch as the poetic syllogism must be explained as part of the attempt to make philosophical sense of the expanded *Organon* itself. And neither the extant Greek nor Arabic references to a poetic syllogism give any indication that the doctrine is intended to play an exegetical role with respect to specific Aristotelian passages. In fact, the only explicit development of the poetic syllogism along formal lines that occurs in the Arabic tradition, that of Avicenna's *Qiyās*, is found, not in a commentary on the *Poetics*, but in a discussion of the definition of the syllogism given in the *Prior Analytics*.

some way of the syllogistic method. The aim of the present discussion is twofold: 1) to elucidate the formal structure and the epistemological role that was assigned to this innovative concept in the philosophical writings of al-Fārābī (870-950) and Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, 980-1037); and 2) to examine the implications of their doctrines for an issue that continues to interest contemporary writers on the philosophy of language, namely, the question of the nature and purpose of figurative or metaphorical discourse, and its relation to the literal use of language in the assertion of truth-claims.

I

Imagination, Assent, and Truth

As the name itself given to the poetic syllogism suggests, the characteristic that the Islamic philosophers identified as constituting the specific nature of poetic syllogisms was the fact that they were composed from premises designated as ‘imaginative’ (*mukhayyilah*),⁵ that is, whose content was drawn from and directed towards the power or faculty more or less equivalent to Aristotle’s *phantasia*.⁶ The understanding of this designation is thus central to any attempt to explain how the Islamic philosophers were able to construe the structure of poetic discourse as fundamentally logical.⁷

⁵ It should be noted, however, that the actual phrase ‘imaginative syllogism’ (*al-qiyās al-mukhayyil*) does not occur in most of the discussions of the poetic syllogism by al-Fārābī and Avicenna. However, in the *Iḥṣā'-al-'Ulūm* (Catalogue of the Sciences), ed. U. Arribá, 3rd edition (Cairo, 1968), Fārābī does use the adjective *mukhayyilah* to refer to the poetic syllogism in his final listing of the five types of syllogisms: ‘So these are the kinds of syllogisms and syllogistic arts, and the kinds of discourses which are used to verify anything in all matters; and in total they are five: the apodeictic (*yaqīniyah*), the opined (*zanniyah*), the fallacious, the persuasive, and the imaginative’ (p. 85.9-11). The Latin translation of this text by Gerard of Cremona is edited in A. G. Palencia, *Catálogo de las ciencias*, 2nd edition (Madrid, 1953), pp. 140.30-141.2. Moreover, both Fārābī and Avicenna describe the *premises* of the poetic syllogism as ‘imaginative’ (or, more accurately, as ‘productive of imagining’, since the second form of the verb KHYL is usually used in its causative sense). This provides sufficient justification for transferring the adjective to the syllogism composed from these imaginative premises.

⁶ The basic features of the power of *phantasia*, in particular its distinction from, and relations to, sensation and intellection, are discussed by Aristotle in *De an.* 3.3 (428a1-429a9); the role of this power in cognition is further developed in 3.7 (431a14-20, 431b2-10), and 3.8 (432a7-14).

⁷ The reference of poetic premises to the imaginative faculty is somewhat complicated by Avicenna’s psychology, because he subdivides the basic Aristotelian faculty of *phantasia* into five separate but related ‘internal senses’. It is not clear to which one of these five faculties in particular the poetic syllogism is intended to be directed. Given the general nature of the allusions to the imagination in discussions of the poetic syllogism, it seems best to take the term in its broadest sense, encompassing the internal senses in general, in contrast to both the intellectual faculties and the five external senses. This has the added advantage of allowing us to treat Fārābī and Avicenna in the same

The distinguishing features of these imaginative premises are especially evident in the writings of Avicenna, owing to their relationship to the fundamental epistemological concept of assent (*taṣdiq*).⁸ According to Avicenna, all syllogistic arts aim at producing assent to the content of the propositions that form their conclusions, that is, they aim at causing belief in the truth of propositions, according to a variety of degrees of conviction. However, in the case of poetic, and only poetic, syllogisms, Avicenna notes that assent itself is not sought as an end. Rather, the poet utilizes a substitute for assent, namely, the production of an act of the imaginative faculty (*takhyīl*) which ‘follows the course of what is assented to, due to an impression (*ta’thīr*) of it in the soul, this impression in some way taking the place of what causes assent to occur’.⁹ As to the nature of this imaginative substitute itself, a concise description is presented in Avicenna’s opening statement in his shorter *Poetics* commentary from the *Kitāb al-Majmū‘* (Comprehensive Book):

Poetic premises are premises whose role is to cause acts of imagination, and not assent, to befall the soul, whenever they are accepted. And the production of imagination is the arousal (*infiṭāl*) of wonder, aggrandizement, down-playing or belittlement, grief, or delight, without the purpose of what is said being to establish conviction (*iṭiqād*) at all. And it is not one of the conditions of these premises that they be true or false, or widely accepted or repugnant, but rather that they be imaginative (*mukhayyilah*).¹⁰

terms, since Fārābī groups all the functions of internal sensing under the scope of a single imaginative power (*al-mutakhayyilah*). In the present context, then, we will not attempt to give a detailed account of the diverse developments of *phantasia* by the two Islamic philosophers, but will instead confine ourselves to those aspects of the imaginative faculty that are actually alluded to in their discussions of poetic premises. For a discussion of the various connections between imagination and poetics in the works of Fārābī, see W. Heinrichs, ‘Die antike Verknüpfung von phantasia und Dichtung bei den Arabern’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 128 (1978) 252-98.

⁸ The role of *tasdiq* and its concomitant notion *tasawwur* in medieval philosophy is discussed by H. A. Wolfson in ‘The Terms *Tasawwur* and *Tasdiq* in Arabic Philosophy and Their Greek, Latin and Hebrew Equivalents’, *The Moslem World* 33 (1943) 114-28. For the Avicennian discussions of *tasawwur* and *tasdiq*, see especially *Al-Shifā‘*, vol. 1, pt. 1 *Al-Madkhāl* (Isagoge), ed. G. Anawātī, M. al-Khudayrī, F. al-Ahwānī, and I. Madkour (Cairo, 1952), pp. 16 ff.; *Al-Najāh* (Deliverance), ed. M. S. Kurdi, 2nd edition (Cairo, 1938), pp. 3-4, 60-61; *Al-Ishārāt wa-al-Tanbīhāt* (Le livre des théorèmes et des avertissements), ed. J. Forget (Leiden, 1892), pp. 3-4; English translation by S. C. Inati, *Ibn Sina Remarks and Admonitions. Part One: Logic* (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 28; Toronto, 1984), p. 99. All further citations are from this translation.

⁹ *Al-Shifā‘*, vol. 1, pt. 5 *Al-Burhān* (Demonstration), ed. A. E. Affifi and I. Madkour (Cairo, 1956), p. 63.4-5. *Burhān* is the Arabic equivalent of the *Posterior Analytics*.

¹⁰ *Kitāb al-Majmū‘* aw *al-Hikmah al-‘Arūdiyah fi Ma‘āni Kitāb al-Shi‘r*, ed. M. Salīm Sālim (Cairo, 1969), pp. 15.4-16.2. Cf. *Qiyās*, p. 5.4-10; *Burhān*, p. 63.4-13; *Najāh*, pp. 4.15-5.1 and p. 64.14-18; and *Ishārāt*, p. 63.5-9 and p. 63.11-16 (Inati, *Remarks*, pp. 127-28).

In the characterizations of poetic premises by both Fārābī and Avicenna, the part emotive, part cognitive status of the imaginative syllogisms composed from them is always prominent. In the passage just cited, the aim of imaginative statements is characterized explicitly as the arousal of various emotions; in the longer *Poetics* commentary of the *Shifā'* (Healing), Avicenna speaks of the soul as reacting 'psychologically' (*nafsāniyan*) rather than 'cognitively' (*fikriyan*) and of responding to the images presented 'without deliberation (*rawiyah*), reflection (*fikr*), or choice (*ikhtiyār*)'.¹¹ Similarly, Fārābī tells us that poetic utterances seduce the hearer to seek the object depicted imaginatively, either because he has no capacity at all to deliberate (*lā rawiyah la-hu*), or because the deliberation of which he is capable is overtaken by the imagination, so that this hearer 'embarks on this act, and it is [performed] by him quickly, before he apprehends through deliberation what its consequence will be'.¹²

The assignment of poetic premises to the imaginative faculty thus provides for poetry a uniquely affective appeal, while at the same time ensuring its kinship with the cognitive aim requisite for logical status. For in an Aristotelian psychology, the activities of imagination play a central role both in the intellective activities of the soul, and in its emotive and appetitive movements. Moreover, as was suggested earlier, Avicenna's explicit use of assent in reference to the other logical arts further bridges any gap between the affective and intellective aspects of logic, for in focusing upon the degree of willing acceptance accorded to the proposition by the knower, even the strictly intellective arts also take on appetitive overtones. In fact, a kind of generic unity obtains between assent (*tasdīq*) and imaginative acceptance (*takhyīl*), founded on this common affective basis. Hence, Avicenna notes in the *Poetics* commentary of the *Shifā'* that both assent and imagination are forms of 'acquiescence' or 'acceptance' (*idh̄'ān*), the former to the propositional content of the statement, insofar as it is focused upon some object, the latter to the beauty and wonder of the imaginative utterance itself:

Imagination is a [form of] acquiescence, and assent is also a [form of] acquiescence; but imagination is an acquiescence to the wonder and delight of the utterance itself, whereas assent is an acquiescence to accept that the thing is as it is said to be. For the utterance produces the act of imagination on account of what is proper to [the utterance itself], whereas it produces the act of assent by means of what is spoken about within it. That is, one

¹¹ *Al-Shifā'*, *Al-Shi'r* (Poetics), ed. A. R. Badawi, in *Aristūtālis Fann al-Shi'r*, 2nd edition (Beirut, 1973), p. 161.16. There is an excellent translation of this work by I. Dahiyat, *Avicenna's Commentary on the 'Poetics' of Aristotle. A Critical Study with an Annotated Translations of the Text* (Leiden, 1974). I have preferred to provide my own translations of this text, however, in order to maintain terminological consistency with my translations of Avicenna's other logical writings.

¹² *Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm*, p. 85.3-5 (Palencia, *Catálogo*, p. 140.21-24).

considers [the utterance] with respect to the condition of that which is spoken about.¹³

In the cognitive order, moreover, the prominence of assent in Avicenna's logic and epistemology has an important consequence, one that distinguishes rather sharply his construal of the logical aspects of poetics from that of Fārābī. In several places within his logical writings, Avicenna curtly dismisses a certain scheme for delineating the various logical arts according to the modalities of the propositions with which they are suited to deal:¹⁴

As for what is said to the effect that premises are either necessary, and these are demonstrative [premises]; or most possible, these being those [premises] that are dialectical; or equally possible, these being rhetorical; or least possible, these being sophistical; or impossible, these being the poetical—one should not pay any attention to this, nor give any consideration at all to these divisions.¹⁵

In the *Ishārāt wa-Tanbīhāt* (Remarks and Admonitions) Avicenna adds to this the firm denial that Aristotle in any way accepted such an outlook: 'This is not the [proper] consideration, nor did the father of logic [i.e. Aristotle] indicate it.'¹⁶

There is no direct evidence that it is al-Fārābī whom Avicenna has in mind when making such criticisms; in fact in its overall tenor Fārābī's outlook is much closer to the Avicennian view of logic than it is to the rather inchoate theory outlined in these passages, a theory most closely reflected in the views of the sixth-century Greek commentators.¹⁷ Nonetheless, in his *Risālah fi Qawānīn Ṣinā'ah al-Shi'r* (Epistle on the Canons of Poetry),¹⁸ Fārābī does appeal to similar schemes in his attempt to locate the place of poetics within the scope of logic.¹⁹

¹³ *Shi'r*, p. 162.10-13. In the *Qiyās*, p. 7.16, Avicenna also speaks of the non-poetic arts aiming at 'contentment' (*qanā'ah*), and contrasts this notion with *takhyīl* in the same manner as he elsewhere contrasts *takhyīl* and *taṣdiq*.

¹⁴ This principle for dividing the various arts of logic is prominent in the writings of the Alexandrian Greek commentators, and Fārābī's employment of it in his own writings may reflect in part his closer historical ties (at least in some texts) to the school of Alexandria.

¹⁵ *Qiyās*, p. 4.7-11. Cf. *Ishārāt*, p. 81.2-4 (Inati, *Remarks*, p. 149).

¹⁶ *Ishārāt*, p. 81.4-5 (Inati, *Remarks*, p. 149).

¹⁷ There is evidence, however, that Avicenna has uppermost in his mind his philosophical contemporaries, or at least his more recent predecessors. See *Ishārāt*, p. 81.18-19 (Inati, *Remarks*, p. 150): 'Nothing but this has been stated by earlier scholars (*min muḥassiliy al-awwalīn*), but in a manner overlooked by recent ones (*al-mutakhibhīrūn*).'

¹⁸ The *Qawānīn al-Shi'r* is edited and translated by A. J. Arberry in an article entitled 'Farabi's Canons of Poetry', *Rivista degli studi orientali* 17 (1937-38) 266-78.

¹⁹ Schoeler's statement ('Der poetische Syllogismus', 55) that the Arabic philosophers in general 'did not retain' ('nicht beibehalten') this essentially Alexandrian scheme of dividing types of premises, and that Fārābī in particular 'had already given up' ('Schon ... aufgegeben') the views of the *Qawānīn* in his *Iḥsā' al-`Ulūm* and his *Kitāb al-Shi'r* (Book of Poetry), is misleading, especially

In the aforementioned text, Fārābī presents three different divisions of the genera that comprise the subject-matter of logic, the first and third of which employ truth-values as the primary criteria for differentiation. In the first of these divisions, Fārābī invites the rather contentious comparison of poetry and sophistic. Fārābī himself is well aware of the pitfalls of such an approach, and seems to be using the temptation to dismiss poetry as sophistical as a means for emphasizing its uniqueness. He begins here with the genus of expressions (*alfāz*), and proceeds to dichotomize this genus into the following divisions: significant/non-significant; simple/composite; statement/non-statement, assertoric (*jāzim*)/non-assertoric. Poetry is said to fall under the class of assertoric statements, which is in turn divided into the true and the false. Here, poetry shares with sophistry the classification of 'false, assertoric statements', but Fārābī is quick to point out that there is an important distinction between these two arts. Rather cryptically, Fārābī defines sophistical statements as false statements that 'bestow on the mind of the hearer something expressed (*mu^cabbar*) by [the statement] in place of the [true] statement'; these are contrasted with the poetic, which cause instead the occurrence of 'an imitation of the thing'.²⁰ Fortunately, in his eagerness to avoid conflating poetics and sophistic, Fārābī explains how the two forms of false assertions are distinct. The difference, we are told, is primarily one of intention or

in the absence of any reliable chronology of Fārābī's works. In neither the *Iḥṣā'* nor the *Kitāb al-Shi'r* does Fārābī explicitly repudiate such schemata in the way that Avicenna does; both texts simply refer to the imaginative character of poetic premises, showing no explicit interest in the questions of modality or truth-values. It is still quite possible that Fārābī viewed the two sorts of classification as alternative but harmonious taxonomic possibilities. Indeed Schoeler himself later admits that the failure to mention truth-value considerations in these contexts does not mean that Fārābī had forsaken his 'earlier' views (p. 74).

The edition of Fārābī's *Kitāb al-Shi'r* used for this article is that of Muhsin Mahdi in *Shi'r* 3 (1959) 90-95. The text is also edited by Muhammad Salim Sālim as *Jawāmi^c al-Shi'r* (Short Commentary on the *Poetics*), as an appendix to his edition of Averroes' middle commentary on the *Poetics*; see *Talkhis Kitāb Aristūtālis fi al-Shi'r* (Cairo, 1971), pp. 166-75.

²⁰ *Qawāniⁿ al-Shi'r*, p. 267.11-14. Fārābī's use of the phrase 'something expressed by [the statement]' (*al-shay' mu^cabbar 'an-hu*) in this context is rather obscure, but seems to be rooted in the sophist's use of equivocation as a means of deception. That is, equivocation involves exploiting the ambivalence of a statement or term, tricking the audience into accepting the less obvious meaning expressed by some utterance in place of the more obvious sense to which they believe they have assented. Avicenna's syllogism in the *Qiyās*, p. 56.2-4, based on the equivocity of 'ayn (source/eye), illustrates Fārābī's point:

- m. Water has an 'ayn
- M. Whatever has an 'ayn can see
- Therefore, water can see.*

The listener who is confounded by such a sophism assents to the minor premise in virtue of its obvious meaning, in which 'ayn signifies 'source'. But insofar as he is led to give his assent to the syllogism as a whole, he has unwittingly accepted instead the alternative meaning of the minor premise, in which 'ayn means, not 'source' but 'eye'.

purpose (*gharad*). The sophist deliberately deceives his audience into accepting the contrary of what is in fact the case, causing them wrongly to suppose that what is non-existent exists, and vice versa, whereas the poetic imitator causes, not the contrary of what is in fact the case, but something resembling the thing, to be imagined. To make the distinction clear, we are given an everyday analogy: the sophist is like someone who attempts to create a deliberate optical illusion, but the poet is more like a man who holds up a mirror, and causes one to see a reflective imitation.²¹

This division suggests that, if we are permitted to speak of degrees of falsehood, the sophistical speech is wholly illusory, being the exact opposite of what is the case, whereas the poetical is less false, to the extent that there is at least some element of resemblance between its real object and what it in fact presents. However, it is important to keep in mind that the analogy Fārābī gives is based on the deceptive *purpose* of the discourse, and not merely on its correspondence with reality. Both poetics and sophistic remain for Fārābī false in the strict sense, that is, they are false as *assertions*. In place of the literal truth of what is said, they substitute an intended appeal to something else, which, in the case of poetics, Fārābī has identified as a reflective imitation of the explicit object of the assertion. The suggestion of a substitution thus does imply an essential kinship with the Avicennian construal of imaginative acceptance that we saw earlier, despite Fārābī's attempt to explicate this process with truth-value criteria for which Avicenna would have little use.

It is, however, Fārābī's third division of the subject-matter of logic, which also rests on the assignment of specific truth-values to the statements governed by each logical art, to which the Avicennian critique most obviously applies. Here, in contrast with the overtones of the first division, Fārābī accords an element of truth to sophistic that is denied to poetics. In this third division, which Fārābī says can apply both to statements and to syllogisms (i.e. to the propositions that form their premises and conclusions), an echo of the position chastised in the Avicennian texts in readily discernible:

Syllogisms, and statements in general, can be divided in another way. For statements are said to be absolutely true in all respects (*sādiqah lā maḥālah bi-al-kull*), or absolutely false in all respects, or true for the most part and false for the least, or the opposite of this, or equally true and false. And that which is absolutely true in all respects is the demonstrative, and what is true for the most part is dialectical, and what is equally true [and false] is the

²¹ *Qawānīn al-Shi'r*, pp. 267.17-268.5 (trans. p. 274). This more 'Platonic' construal of poetic imitation, in terms of mirrored reflections, is also found in Fārābī's *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, pp. 94.20-95.5.

rhetorical, and what is true for the least part is the sophistical, and what is absolutely false in all respects is the poetical.²²

Like the proponents of the view chastised by Avicenna, Fārābī seems to have in mind a system for delineating the different kinds of syllogisms according to a predetermined modality which is proper to all, or at least to the most characteristic, statements used by the art in question. While Fārābī does not use explicitly the modal terminology of necessity and possibility that is prominent in the Avicennian critique, his assignment of truth-values itself represents an essentially modal classification. For it is difficult to conceive of a better definition for a necessary statement than that which is absolutely true in all respects; similarly, a statement that is possible is aptly defined as one which is true for the most part and false for the least, and so on for the rest of the categories used by Avicenna and Fārābī respectively. Indeed, it is somewhat misleading to say that Fārābī's scheme is one based simply on truth-value assignments, since any classification that goes beyond designating propositions as merely 'true' or 'false' is already modal in some way, insofar as it qualifies the mode and extent in which its assigned truth-value adheres to any proposition. And since Fārābī has indeed qualified the precise respect in which truth and falsehood apply to each given class of propositions, he has, in this third division of the *Qawānīn al-Shi‘r*, committed himself to the general kind of theory that his successor Avicenna so harshly criticizes.

In this third division, moreover, the explanation of the relationship between poetics and sophistic is somewhat different from the explanation offered in the first division. Sophistical statements, as we noted earlier, are here assigned a grain of truth that poetics does not share. The sin of the sophist, it is suggested, is due as much to that deceptive grain of truth that his statements contain, as it is to the objective falsehood itself. For it is this grain of truth that accounts for the dissimulating character, the false wisdom, that is traditionally associated with the sophist.

But it should be noted that in assigning poetics the status of absolute falsehood in this third division, Fārābī is clearly motivated by the desire to ensure for poetics a place among the logical arts, without thereby confusing it with the other branches of logic and judging it by their standards. As we have already suggested, this is also the function that the designation of poetic premises as imaginative is intended to

²² *Qawānīn al-Shi‘r*, p. 268.10-15 (my translation). A similar truth-value division of premises is found in the *Risālah fi mā yanbaghi an yuqaddama qabla ta‘allum al-falsafah* (Epistle Concerning What Must Precede the Study of Philosophy), edited in F. Dieterici, *Alfarabi's Philosophische Abhandlungen* (Leiden, 1890), p. 52.8-15. It also occurs in the *Kitāb al-Khaṭābah* (Book of Rhetoric) edited with a French translation by Jacques Langhade in *Al-Fārābī. Deux ouvrages inédits sur la rhétorique*, ed. J. Langhade and M. Grignaschi (Beirut, 1971), p. 87.12-15; here, however, there is no collation of particular truth-values with specific logical arts.

accomplish, especially insofar as imagination is the counterpart of assent. It may seem odd to attempt to accomplish such a goal by denominating poetry as ‘absolutely false’, but Fārābī’s implied meaning is that poetry does not even aspire to give accurate information about its subjects, and so seldom is one deluded by its blatant falsity. This intention to assert simultaneously the kinship of poetics to the other syllogistic arts and its independence from them is suggested in the remarks that explicate Fārābī’s final division:

And it has become evident from this division that the poetical statement is that which is neither demonstrative, nor dialectical, nor rhetorical, nor sophistical, and which is, despite this, reduced to one of the species of syllogism, or what is posterior to the syllogism. By ‘what is posterior to it’ I mean induction, example, physiognomy, and the like, among the things having the force of a syllogism.²³

Why then is Avicenna so critical of a system such as this, if its intentions, at least in the case of Fārābī, are laudable? The reason is provided by Avicenna himself, immediately following the critique of the scheme in the passage cited earlier. The problem that is at issue is not specifically related to poetic discourse, but rather to the exigencies of modal logic and the employment of the notions of necessity and possibility, topics important to Avicenna not only in logical contexts, but especially in his ontological and theological views. According to Avicenna, the sort of division presented here by Fārābī errs insofar as it posits a one-to-one correspondence between each logical art and a specific modality, a correspondence that may in turn be extended to the ontological necessity or possibility of the objects represented in the propositions of that discipline. The scheme seems to provide no means for transgressing this correspondence, and hence no recognition of the role of the knowing subject, and his mode of cognition, in determining the nature and force of any reasoning. It is the consequences of this view for demonstrative science for which Avicenna shows the greatest concern, for the scheme that is criticized makes no allowance for the occurrence of certain, demonstrated knowl-

²³ *Qawāniq al-Shi'r*, p. 268.15-18 (my translation). The phrase translated ‘what is posterior to’ literally means ‘what follows’ (*mā yatba'u*), but the intended sense is clearly that of logical dependency upon the syllogism. Fārābī is referring to the variety of argument forms discussed by Aristotle at the end of the *Prior Analytics* (2.23-27), among which are induction, example, and physiognomy, all of which Aristotle views as logically posterior to the syllogism, insofar as they can be reduced to syllogistic form, and ultimately depend upon the syllogism for their own validity and conclusiveness.

It should also be noted that in the passage cited, Fārābī uses the transliterated Greek term *sullūjismūs*, instead of the usual Arabic translation for *syllogismos*, *al-qiyās*, in all but the last phrase. There does not seem to be any particular significance in this fact, unless perhaps Fārābī means to emphasize that these forms of inference are not actually or properly syllogisms in themselves, but only potentially so.

edge of what is in itself possible, whereas it is in fact the case that possible premises can be the objects of demonstrations which the knower grasps with certitude, that is, whose assertion that some matter is merely possible he knows to be necessarily true: 'For we know that necessary things enter into demonstration; but the possible may also enter into demonstration.'²⁴ In the *Ishārāt wa-Tanbihāt*, Avicenna elaborates further on how this is possible: 'If these [demonstrative] premises are necessary, the conclusion drawn from them is necessary, in the manner of their necessity, and [if] they are possible, the conclusion drawn from them is possible.'²⁵

The distinction underlying Avicenna's critique is analogous in a way to the distinction between modality *de re* and *de dicto*, (i.e. the distinction between 'It is possible/necessary that S is P', and 'S is possibly/necessarily P'), in that what is at issue in both cases is the need to differentiate between modality as it pertains to the existence of the things that are the objects of our knowledge, and modality as it characterizes that knowledge itself, as expressed in propositions about those objects. There is, however, a slight difference in perspective between the two. For the *de re/de dicto* distinction is a formal one, in that it refers to two possible ways of interpreting statements that contain an explicit modal operator. Avicenna's point, on the other hand, is not modal in this formal sense; rather, what he has in mind is a metalogical distinction between two possible perspectives from which one can classify modally simple assertoric propositions, one ontological (and akin to *de re*), the other epistemological (and akin to *de dicto*).

Avicenna's critique here is obviously a sound one from a formal perspective, since the decision to accord a modal *differentia* to each syllogistic art makes the very notion of explicit modal operators superfluous. This is because modal assignments represent a refinement of demonstration itself, allowing the philosopher to express formally his certitude about the ontological status of the objects he knows. For when a philosopher declares explicitly that 'S is necessarily P' and that 'A is possibly B', he implies that these propositions are themselves certain and necessary, the result of profound metaphysical investigations. Seldom are modal operators invoked unless the user is certain that the knowledge they express is incontrovertible. But it is difficult to see that such operators would ever be useful

²⁴ *Qiyās*, p. 4.12. Although Avicenna here emphasizes the point with regard to demonstration, in the discussion of dialectical, rhetorical, and poetical syllogisms that follows (*Qiyās*, pp. 4.12-5.10), it is quite obvious that he means to refute the point as it applies to all the arts. In each instance, there is an acknowledgement that indeed these syllogisms may sometimes be characterized by the modalities applied to them in the scheme under attack; but it is emphasized that this modal assignment is in no way necessary, and certainly does not capture the distinguishing feature of any kind of syllogism.

²⁵ *Ishārāt*, p. 80.9-11 (Inati, *Remarks*, p. 148). The same point is elaborated in further detail in the chapter that follows (pp. 81.10-82.10 [Inati, *Remarks*, pp. 150-51]).

in a scheme such as Fārābī's; if the statement 'S is P' is merely possible, it will by definition be non-demonstrative, and there will be no possibility, in specifying its modality, of thereby making it a suitable object for demonstration.

For our purposes, however, the most important consequence of this Avicennian refinement of the criteria for delineating the logical arts from one another is that it frees the poetic syllogism from the designation of being 'absolutely false' or 'impossible'. Since the production of imaginative acceptance is specifically distinct from the production of assent, with a distinct psychological, efficient cause, Avicenna is able to affirm that the poetic quality of premises is entirely independent of their truth-value.²⁶ Hence, a simultaneous occurrence of assent to the truth of some proposition is not precluded by any poetic or imaginative appeal itself. In fact, insofar as the truth itself might possess an imaginative appeal, it may even contribute, in virtue of its truth, to the imaginative poetic end:

Frequently, [imagination] will induce an effect, without producing assent. And sometimes it may be that the thing whose falsehood has been ascertained is productive of an imagining. But, if an imitation of the thing by means of something else will move the soul when false, it is no wonder that the depiction of the thing, according to what does belong to it, should move the soul when true. Rather, this is even more necessary.²⁷

The reader may recall the earlier suggestion that the Avicennian notion of assent is an important factor both in the explication of the unity that obtains between poetic imaginative acceptance and the acceptance of the conclusions of the other

²⁶ *Qiyās*, p. 5.4-7: 'In poetical syllogisms, you only heed things that are imaginative. They may be true or false on the whole, or not on the whole, so long as the soul is aroused by them towards shrinking from, or delighting in, something, not because of assenting to something within them, but rather on account of a motion productive of an imagining, which befalls [the soul] along with them.' Cf. *Ishārat*, p. 63.11-16 (Inati, *Remarks*, p. 128): 'Propositions involving assent — whether of the primary type and the like, or of the widely-known — may leave the same effects of moving or distressing the soul, and of having the soul approve their coming to it, as do imagined propositions. But they are primary and widely-known under one consideration, and imagined under another.'

'It is not necessary that all imagined propositions be false, as it is not necessary that widely-known propositions and those that oppose the propositions that must be accepted be inevitably false.'

²⁷ *Shi'r*, p. 162.2-5. There is an important parallel between Avicenna's emphasis upon the possibility of poetic utterances being true, and the efforts of some modern philosophers of language to show that literal falsehood or deviance is neither a necessary condition for metaphor, nor the semantic mechanism by which the native language user is clued into the presence of metaphors. Nelson Goodman, for instance, uses the example of a picture, which may be both literally blue (in colour) and metaphorically blue (in sadness of mood). See especially Nelson Goodman, 'Metaphor as Moonlighting' in *On Metaphor*, ed. S. Sacks (Chicago, 1979), pp. 175-80, rpt. in *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor*, ed. M. Johnson (Minneapolis, 1981), pp. 221-27; *Languages of Art, An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, 2nd edition (Indianapolis, 1976), pp. 45-84, rpt. in Johnson, *Philosophical Perspectives*, 123-35. See also T. Cohen, 'Figurative Speech and Figurative Acts' in Johnson, *Philosophical Perspectives*, 182-99.

logical arts, and in the attempt to overcome the consequences of these truth-value criteria for the logical arts as a whole. The reason for this now seems clear. So long as the basis for making logical distinctions is tied inextricably to the ontological status of the objects of knowledge, there will be no means for distinguishing different logical approaches to any object other than the simple examination of the truth-value and modality of the syllogistic inference. But as Avicenna has pointed out so well, these criteria are neither necessary, nor sufficient, to explicate the differences between the certitude of demonstrative acceptance and the compellingness of poetic discourse. Instead, we must make room in our criteria both for the role of the knower's mode of accepting the conclusion, that is, for the degree of conviction with which he accepts it as true, as well as for the epistemological intention of the logician in his construction of the various kinds of arguments. In his sketch in the *Qawānīn al-Shīr* of the difference between the aims of the poet and those of the sophist, we noted that in practice Fārābī himself accepted at least the distinction of intentions. But his actual scheme for explaining this difference in that text in fact obscures the importance, clearly admitted in his other works, of the intended appeal of the argument for determining its overall character.

Moreover, not only is Fārābī's use of truth-value criteria in the *Qawānīn al-Shīr* overshadowed by his appeal elsewhere to the imaginative character of poetics as its distinguishing mark, but it is also clearly at odds with some brief remarks that occur in his *Fuṣūl Muntazaḥah* (Selected Aphorisms). For although we have been emphasizing the prominence of the contrast between assent and imaginative acceptance in Avicenna's logic of poetry, Fārābī himself, in the *Fuṣūl*, contrasts *taṣdiq* and *takhyīl* in almost the exact same terms as does his successor:

Excellence in producing an imaginative impression (*takhyīl*) is not excellence of persuasion. The difference between them is that excellence of persuasion aims at the hearer doing something, after assenting to it (*ba’da al-taṣdiq bi-hi*), while excellence in producing an imaginative impression aims at the soul of the hearer rising up to seek the thing imagined, or to flee from it, and be drawn to or dislike it, even without assent to it having occurred.²⁸

²⁸ Al-Fārābī's *Fuṣūl Muntazaḥah* (Selected Aphorisms), ed. F. M. Najjar (Beirut, 1971), p. 63.3-6; also edited and translated by D. M. Dunlop under the title *Fuṣūl al-Madāni* (Aphorisms of the Statesman) (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 48-49. I have modified Dunlop's translation slightly, to maintain terminological consistency with my own renditions of *taṣdiq* and *takhyīl* in other texts.

On the whole, although the term *taṣdiq* does occur in various contexts throughout Fārābī's logical writings, his use of it does not seem to be as widespread, or as systematic, as that of his successors. The only work of Fārābī's cited in Wolfson's article on *taṣawwur* and *taṣdiq* is the *‘Uyūn al-Masā’il*, which is now generally accepted as a work of Avicenna or an Avicennian disciple. On this point see for example F. Rahman, *Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Orthodoxy* (London, 1958; rpt. Chicago, 1979), pp. 21-22 n. 2. However, the *taṣawwur-taṣdiq* couplet, or its equivalent, is found in other Fārābīan works: see, for example, the *Tahṣīl al-Sā’ādah* (The Attainment of Happiness), ed. J. al-Yasin (Beirut, 1981), pp. 90-91, trans. in M. Mahdi Alfarabi's *Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*,

In addition to this, several remarks in Fārābī's other discussions of poetics also belie his assignment of absolute falsity to poetics in the *Qawānīn al-Shi'r*. In the *Kitāb al-Shi'r* (Book of Poetry) it is remarked that 'imagination is [to poetics] like knowledge is to demonstration, opinion to dialectics, and persuasion to rhetoric', suggesting that poetic imagination is analogous to these other cognitive states, rather than necessarily opposed to them.²⁹ More importantly, however, in this same work, as well as in the *Iḥṣā' al-^cUlūm* (Catalogue of the Sciences), Fārābī emphasizes the efficacy of imaginative depiction in the sphere of action, *whether or not* what is imagined corresponds to what is in fact the case:

And for this reason, the aim intended by imaginative statements is to arouse the hearer to doing the thing of which some state was represented to him, ... whether what was represented to him of these things is true or not, and regardless of whether the matter in fact was in accordance with what was represented or not.³⁰

Admittedly, in passages such as these (and indeed, even in Avicenna's admission of the compellingness of true, imaginative statements), the expectation is that the poetic statement will be opposed to the statement whose truth invokes assent.³¹ But this is clearly because it is in such cases that the power of imaginative appeal is most evident. Ultimately, Fārābī's insistence in the foregoing texts that imaginative utterances can evoke the desired reaction, regardless of whether or not they are true, would be redundant, if there were no cases in which the imaginative utterance could in fact be true, and believed to be so by the audience.

We can conclude from this, however, not that Fārābī's view of the logical aspects of poetics is simply contradictory, but rather that his awareness of the uniqueness of poetic appeal led him too quickly to accept the more traditional assignment of falsehood to poetic logic, as a convenient means of explicating simultaneously the unity of logic (as concerned with truth and falsehood) and the integrity of the

revised edition (Ithaca, 1969), pp. 44-45 (here the couplet appears as *tashīm-tasdīq*); and the *Utterances Employed in Logic* (*Kitāb al-Alfāz al-Musta'malah fi al-Mantiq*), ed. M. Mahdi (Beirut, 1968), pp. 86-94.

²⁹ *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, pp. 93.21-94.1.

³⁰ *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, p. 94.16-20. Cf. *Iḥṣā' al-^cUlūm*, p. 84.1-2 (Palencia, *Catálogo*, p. 140.2-6): 'And we act according to what the poetic utterance has caused us to imagine, even if we know that the thing is not like this, just as we would do if we were certain that the thing is just as this utterance makes us imagine.'

³¹ Cf. for example Avicenna, *Shi'r*, pp. 161.17-162.2: 'For its being assented to or not is different from its being productive of imagination or not: for one may assent to some utterance, and not be affected by it. But, if it is said at another time, and in another way, the soul will be aroused by it, obeying the imagination, and not the assent. For frequently [imagination] will induce an effect without producing assent; and sometimes it may be that the thing whose falsehood has been ascertained is productive of an imagining.'

classification that held poetics to be one of its parts. Because assent remained somewhat inchoate in Fārābī's logical apparatus, he was perhaps not able to realize fully its potential to replace modal criteria as the basis for all logical distinctions. More importantly, however, Avicenna's preoccupation with the nuances of the modal notions of necessity and possibility, in his metaphysical explication of the relations between God and the universe, provided him with a strong motive for finding just such a way to overcome the modal restrictions implicit in the earlier theory — a motive which, though focused upon the exigencies of demonstrative science, has, as we have seen, left an indelible mark on his logic of poetics as well.³²

II

The Formal Structure of the Imaginative Syllogism

As we saw in the previous section, although for Avicenna, and to some extent, Fārābī, the coincidence of assent and imaginative appeal is possible, and although their very relation to the imagination permits poetic premises to preserve the cognitive element requisite for their inclusion in the scope of logic, both Fārābī and Avicenna share the basic view that the syllogistic force possessed by imaginative utterances, *qua* imaginative, stems primarily from their affective, and not from their cognitive, appeal. This emerges clearly in the attempts of both philosophers to explicate the manner in which imaginative premises effect a movement akin to the discursive motion of the more obviously syllogistic arts.³³ According to both Fārābī

³² For the metaphysical aspects of this area of Avicenna's thought, see G. F. Hourani, 'Ibn Sīnā on Necessary and Possible Existence', which contains translations of several key texts on the subject; and P. Morewedge, 'Ibn Sīnā's Concept of the Self', both in *The Philosophical Forum* N.S. 4 (1972) 74-86 and 49-73 respectively.

³³ Since most of the scholarly attention that has been given to the Arabic philosophers' views on poetics has been literary rather than philosophical, the actual syllogistic interpretation of metaphor has received little attention. A notable exception to this is Schoeler's recent article 'Der poetische Syllogismus', which gives detailed consideration to the syllogistic explication of poetics and to the comparison of the poetic syllogism with demonstration, induction, and example. But because Schoeler's article provides a synthetic and systematic account based upon the remarks of both medieval Arabic philosophers and literary theorists, its overall interpretation must be approached with caution. This is even more evident when one realizes that the only passage in the writings of the Arabic philosophers that describes a poetic syllogism explicitly is the example found in Avicenna's *Qiyās*, which we discuss below. This in itself prohibits us from generalizing with any assurance about what is universally characteristic of all poetic syllogisms, even according to Avicenna. But there is even less warrant for using the scattered remarks of Fārābī and Averroes (Ibn Rushd) to fill the gaps in Avicenna's explication, for we have absolutely no indication that the other philosophers also subscribe to Avicenna's paradigm for the poetic syllogism. We have, for this reason, confined ourselves to analyzing the explicit remarks of Fārābī and Avicenna on the syllogistic character of metaphor and refrained from commenting in any detail on those aspects of Schoeler's

and Avicenna, the basic device by which imaginative motion is produced in the audience is, as has already emerged in the texts we have examined, ‘imitation’ (*muhākāh*), ‘likening’ (*tamthil*), or ‘comparison’ (*tashbih*), as it is variously denominated. The basic structure of imitation is construed as that of presenting one thing by means of its likeness to another, in an attempt to transfer to it the emotive attitude generally associated with that other. The similarity suggested by the imitative discourse works by means of the association of images, and in particular by means of the affective attitudes that implicitly attach to all objects of the imaginative faculty. The mechanism of imitation and comparison makes the hearer see the subject of discourse as the thing to which it is compared,³⁴ that is, in and through the images he has of that other object.³⁵

Avicenna has a stock of examples that he uses to illustrate this process, his favourite one being the rather unpleasant metaphor that ‘Honey is vomited bile’ (*al-^casal mirrah muqayya^cah/mutahawwa^cah*). Even if the hearer of this metaphor is certain that the comparison is essentially unfounded, the mention of honey in association with vomit and bile conjures up unpleasant images, and nauseates the hearer, whatever his objective attitude towards honey. For the imagination now is compelled to see honey as a form of vomited bile, and thus adopts an attitude appropriate to this image.³⁶

It is this imaginative mechanism that is the foundation of the Islamic philosophers’ efforts to provide a fully syllogistic interpretation of poetic metaphors. Avicenna addresses this issue in an attempt to defend the application to poetic discourse of the Aristotelian definition of the syllogism, namely, that it is such that *if* certain things are posited, something else necessarily follows from the very claim that they are so.³⁷ Avicenna alleges that the poetic syllogism does indeed involve the granting of certain premises and the acceptance of their consequences, since

masterful synthesis that cannot, in our view, legitimately be attributed to the Arabic philosophers themselves.

³⁴ Some modern accounts of metaphor use the notion of ‘seeing as’, taken from Wittgenstein, as a means for explaining the nature of metaphor. This phrase is used in the present context only as a convenient explication of the Islamic philosophical texts under consideration. No particular connection to the theories rooted in the Wittgensteinian concept is intended.

³⁵ See, for example, *Ihsā’ al-^cUlūm*, p. 83.4-8 (Palencia, *Catálogo*, p. 139.25-31): ‘And poetical utterances are those which are composed from things whose role is to cause one to imagine some condition or state about the thing which is the subject of the discourse (*fi-hi al-mukhātabah*), [a condition or state] more excellent or worse [than the subject itself]. And this is either beautiful or ugly, or lofty or degraded, or something similar to these. And when we attend to poetic utterances, a likeness (*shabih*) of what occurs to us when we see (*nazarnā*) something befalls us from the imagining (*takhyil*) that [the poetic utterance] produces in our souls.’

³⁶ This illustration is used by Avicenna in the discussion of the poetic syllogism in several of his logical writings. See *Qiyās*, p. 5.7; *Burhān*, p. 63.7; and *Ishārāt*, p. 63.8 (Inati, *Remarks*, p. 127).

³⁷ *APr.* 1.1 (24b18-20).

a metaphor can be conceived of as the *conclusion* of an implied syllogistic inference, one degree more truncated than an enthymeme, since both of its premises are suppressed. No doubt it is because this syllogistic process remains in this way only implicit that Fārābī calls it 'what follows upon' or 'is posterior to the syllogism' (*mā yatba'a al-qiyās*), and a 'potential syllogism' (*al-qiyās ... bi-al-quwwah*).³⁸ Avicenna, in order to illustrate this latent syllogistic force, uses the clichéd metaphor, 'He is a moon', intended to convey the impression of a handsome appearance. He supplies the underlying syllogistic structure for his example in this way:

m. He is handsome
M. Everything handsome is a moon
*Therefore, he is a moon.*³⁹

In Fārābī's *Qawānīn al-Shi'r* there is no explicit use of such a syllogistic figure to explicate the process of poetic discovery; however, Fārābī does supply a schematic account of this process that is somewhat evocative of syllogistic structure. According to Fārābī, poets operate by finding three terms, A, B, and C, all related to one another by way of resemblance, such that A resembles B and B resembles C. However, the two relations of A to B and of B to C are not themselves similar. Rather, the resemblances obtain in diverse respects, remote enough from each other so that one would not be inclined to see any obvious similarity between A and C. The skill of poets consists in their ability to exploit B as if it were a true middle term, 'so that they make occur to the mind of the listeners and reciters a likeness between A and C, though originally they were remote'.⁴⁰

The formal structures outlined in this way by Fārābī and Avicenna seem to be conceived primarily from the perspective of the poet-logician who, in creating his metaphors, must seek a 'middle term' that is appropriate to his purposes — in Avicenna's example, the quality of beauty predictable in very different respects of the moon and of the handsome fellow who is the subject of the metaphor. The poet

³⁸ Al-Fārābī, *Qawānīn al-Shi'r*, p. 268.7-10 and 16-18.

³⁹ *Qiyās*, p. 57.11-12. The practice of putting the minor premise before the major is standard in Arabic logic (and has the advantage of preserving visually the medial position of the middle term). Schoeler ('Der poetische Syllogismus', 46-48) presents a complete analysis of Avicenna's example in terms its mood, figure, and so on. But, as we suggested earlier, many of his generalizations from this example must be viewed as mere conjectures or extrapolations. None of the Arabic philosophers themselves offers any detailed account of the formal properties that pertain to the poetic syllogism, and a single example is not sufficient to permit an interpreter to draw universal conclusions with any confidence.

⁴⁰ Fārābī, *Qawānīn al-Shi'r*, p. 272.8-9 (my translation); the full discussion runs from lines three to nine.

recognizes the hidden element of likeness shared by these two very different entities, and constructs his images on the basis of the poetic syllogism he is able to formulate.

However, these explicit syllogistic construals of metaphor seem incapable of explaining the process by which imaginative acceptance is evoked in the audience, despite the fact that this has been envisaged as the crux of poetry's logical aim. For the metaphor, which is the *starting point* of the listeners' acceptance of that imaginative depiction, is, as we have seen, the very *conclusion* of the syllogism outlined by our two authors. The syllogism by which the poetic *premises* are constructed for the audience sheds little light upon the formal process that engenders their further imaginative response.⁴¹ This can readily be seen by examining the consequences of the view that the audience would be expected simply to reconstruct the same syllogism that is implicit in the poet's creation of the metaphor. If this were the case, the listeners would have had to recognize at the outset the applicability of the 'middle term' to the subject of the metaphor as the logical ground for the syllogism — in Avicenna's example, the man's handsomeness. But this defeats the purpose of the poetic syllogism insofar as it is *productive* of imagination. For it has been conceived as using the metaphoric association to promote the acceptance of the very attitude embodied in the link between the subject and the middle term of the poet's syllogism.

It seems somewhat odd that the link between the imaginative aim of poetic logic and its actual syllogistic interpretation should remain thus confined to the poet alone. We expect to find, along with this poet-centred syllogism, a syllogism to illustrate the implicit imaginative process by which poetic yielding is produced.⁴² Such an alternative, if applied to Avicenna's same metaphor, would suggest that the hearers of the metaphor formulate in their imaginations the following syllogistic inference:

⁴¹ It is significant in this regard that the examples of poetic premises given in all of Avicenna's logical and poetical writings are not universal statements of the type that represent the major premise in the syllogism of the *Qiyās* (i.e. 'All handsome things are a moon') which Schoeler claims is what is meant by 'poetic premises' ('Der poetische Syllogismus', 48-49). Rather, Avicenna consistently gives the metaphoric conclusion itself as an example when discussing poetic premises, e.g. 'Honey is vomited bile', 'He is a lion', and 'He is a moon'. See *Qiyās*, p. 5.7; *Burhān*, p. 63.7-9; *Najāh*, p. 64.15-18; *Majmū'*, p. 16.1-4; 'Uyūn al-Hikmah (Sources of Wisdom), ed. A. R. Badawi, 2nd edition (Beirut and Kuwait, 1980), pp. 13.16-14.2.

⁴² Such an expectation is further strengthened by the fact that both Fārābī and Avicenna put a particular emphasis on the importance of the communicative aspects of language in all the logical arts except demonstration. For example, see *Qiyās*, p. 55.6-9: 'The syllogism which is known intellectually (*al-qiyās al-ma'qūl*) may suffice for us by itself in attaining the end of the syllogism, if what is sought is demonstrative. As for the dialectical, the rhetorical, and the sophistical syllogisms, as well as poetics, the syllogism that is heard cannot be dispensed with in bestowing the end of each of these.' Cf. Fārābī's *Introductory Treatise on Logic*, edited and translated by D. M. Dunlop, 'Al-Fārābī's Introductory *Risālah* on Logic', *The Islamic Quarterly* 3 (1956-57) 226 (Arabic), 231 (translation).

m. He is a moon

M. Everything that is a moon should be deemed handsome

Therefore, he should be deemed handsome.

In this case, by yielding to the images produced by the metaphor, the imagination accepts that the subject can be viewed in terms of the predicate, and so share in its desirable associations.

In fact, the discovery of a corresponding syllogistic process in the minds of the audience, along the lines just suggested, is readily admitted by the texts of Fārābī and Avicenna. The key to the interpretation of this side of the imaginative syllogism rests in a maxim repeated several times by both philosophers in their discussions of poetics.⁴³ In their explanations of why imaginative utterances succeed where known and believed utterances fail, and even where the imaginative utterance manifestly contradicts some believed proposition, Fārābī and Avicenna consistently invoke the unique connection that obtains in Aristotelian psychology between action, appetition, and the imaginative faculty. For example Fārābī, in the *Iḥṣā’ al-‘Ulūm*, declares: ‘For a human being’s actions follow upon his imagination for the most part, more than they follow his opinion (*zann*) and knowledge; for often his opinion or his knowledge are contrary to his imagination, whereas his doing of something is proportional to his imagining of it, and not to his opinion

⁴³ Apart from the interpretation we offer below, which is based upon general remarks of Fārābī and Avicenna about the workings of metaphor upon the audience, there is some textual warrant for a second syllogism in the discussion that immediately follows the key passage of Avicenna’s *Qiyās*. Remarking upon the non-assentive character of the poetic syllogism, Avicenna notes: ‘But the poet does not intend in his mind that this entailment be believed, ... but rather he intends that by means of this entailment (*bi-hadhā al-luzūm*) an imagining is caused in the soul that the person being praised is *to be deemed handsome* (*istiḥsānān*)’ (*Qiyās*, p. 57.13-15, emphasis added). More suggestive still is a further partial syllogism offered only a few lines later. This syllogism appears to have as its minor premise the metaphor itself, and as its major premise a proposition asserting the customary and proper attitude that attaches to the middle term, as being deemed handsome attaches to being a moon in the earlier example. The reader will have to forgive the rather crude nature of Avicenna’s metaphoric example in this second case: ‘In the same way, when it is said, “The rose is a mule’s anus with dung in its midst (*al-ward surm baghl qā’im fī wasiqi-hi rawth*)”, it is as if one were trying to say, “For everything which is a mule’s anus of such a description (*bi-hādhihi al-sifah*) is filthy and unclean”. For although his saying it is a syllogism ... by saying it no evidence of the soundness of conviction about this belief is intended; rather, all that is intended is for the soul to shudder at what is said about it imaginatively’ (*Qiyās*, pp. 57.15-58.4). This implies the following formal structure, which is clearly the same as the structure which we have supplied for the audience-oriented syllogism:

m. The rose is a mule’s anus etc.

M. Everything that is a mule’s anus etc. is to be deemed filthy and unclean.

Therefore, the rose is to be deemed filthy and unclean.

For the source in Arabic poetry of this unusual metaphor, see Schoeler, ‘Der poetische Syllogismus’, 65.

or his knowledge.⁴⁴ The link between motion as a whole and imagination is developed in detail by Aristotle in *De anima* Book 3, chapters 9-11, where the quasi-intellectual status of imagination is used to salvage the cognitive element required by motion in animated creatures, even when their actions violate knowledge or when the animals have no intellectual capacity at all. Indeed, the passage just cited from Fārābī's work, and the several like it in the Avicennian corpus, clearly echo a remark of Aristotle in *De anima* 3.10: '[F]or many follow their imaginations against their knowledge (*epistémē*), and in the other animals thought and reasoning do not exist, although imagination does.'⁴⁵

But how does this echo of the *De anima* facilitate our attempts to find the correlate of the poetic syllogism in the audience? To make this clear, we must turn to the *Nicomachean Ethics* Book 7, chapters 3 to 5, in which the possibility of opposition between imagination or sensation, and knowledge, is used to provide a psychological explanation for the phenomenon of *akrasia*, that is, incontinence or weakness of will.

Aristotle's account of *akrasia* is focused on the attempt to resolve the Socratic paradox which denies the reality of the phenomenon of weakness of will, on the grounds that it implies that knowledge can be dragged about as the slave of the ignoble appetites.⁴⁶ In his efforts to clarify the precise nature of the knowledge involved in akratic actions, Aristotle elaborates in some detail the formal structure of practical reasoning, which he earlier called a 'practical syllogism' (*sullogismos tōn praktón*).⁴⁷ The basic structure of such a syllogism, according to Aristotle, is to have as a major premise a universal opinion (*katholou doxa*) concerning some general, practical maxim, and as a minor a particular sensible judgement (*peri tōn kath' hekasta*) of something as an instance of that general principle. The premise known through sensation is the activating, motivating premise, and the conclusion of the practical syllogism is not a proposition assented to, but an action performed:

⁴⁴ *Ihsā' al-*c*Ulūm*, p. 84.2-5 (Palencia, *Catálogo*, p. 140.6-11); cf. *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, p. 94.13-15. Similar formulations are found in several places in Avicenna's works, for example *Burhān*, p. 63.14-15; *Qiyās*, p. 5.8-10; *Ishārāt*, p. 63.9-11 (Inati, *Remarks*, p. 127); *Shi'r*, p. 162.5-15.

⁴⁵ *De an* 3.10 (433a10-12); translation with commentary by D. W. Hamlyn, *Aristotle's 'De anima' Books II and III* (Oxford, 1968).

⁴⁶ *EN* 7.3 (1145b21-1146b5).

⁴⁷ *EN* 6.13 (1144a31-32). The interpretation of the structure of the Aristotelian practical syllogism and its role in the explanation of *akrasia* is a subject of some controversy in contemporary Aristotelian scholarship. For recent studies of the topic from a variety of perspectives, see A. Kenny, 'The Practical Syllogism and Incontinence', *Phronesis* 11 (1966) 163-84; D. J. Allan, 'The Practical Syllogism' in *Autour d'Aristote. Recueil d'études de philosophie ancienne et médiévale offert à Monseigneur A. Mansion* (Bibliothèque philosophique de Louvain 16; Louvain, 1955), pp. 325-40; D. K. Modrak, 'Aisthesis in the Practical Syllogism', *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition* 30 (1976) 379-91; M. C. Nussbaum, 'Practical Syllogisms and Practical Science' in *Aristotle's 'De motu animalium'* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 165-220.

'And in the cases where these two beliefs result in one belief, it is necessary in purely theoretical beliefs for the soul to affirm what has been concluded, and in beliefs about production to act at once on what has been concluded.'⁴⁸

Given the close links between sensation and imagination in Aristotelian psychology, and the use of imagination to explain incontinent actions in the passage from *De anima* 3.10 that is echoed by Fārābī's remarks in the *Iḥsā' al-'Ulūm*, it seems plausible to consider the imaginative syllogism, in its effect on the audience, as syllogistic precisely insofar as it represents a species of practical syllogism. The audience, upon hearing the imaginative statements of the poet, is envisaged as formulating a practical syllogism for itself based upon those statements, and acting, or reacting, accordingly. Avicenna's honey-bile metaphor can easily be subsumed under this paradigm, as the counterpart of Aristotle's example of the man who believes that all sweet things are to be tasted, and sensing that a certain food is sweet, immediately sinks his teeth into it, without bothering to consider the possibility of other, prohibitive maxims that might also apply.⁴⁹ In the same way, the person who naturally has an aversion to vomited bile, upon receiving as a minor premise an imaginative representation of some object as a particular instance of that loathsome substance, will instantly shrink from it, by virtue of the strength of the image alone, and its inherent motive force. From this audience-oriented perspective, the imaginative depiction embodied in such metaphors is not the *conclusion* of the syllogistic process, then, but the minor, actuating premise of a practical syllogism, akin to the sensation of a particular, as suggested in the second schema outlined above. The major premise becomes the practical maxim, or rather, the affective attitude commonly associated with the predicate of the metaphor — in this case, the loathsomeness of vomited bile. The conclusion in turn is the affective attitude transferred to the subject-term of the metaphor — here, the honey — by its subsumption under the imaginative force of the major premise. Thus, as is the case with all practical syllogisms, the conclusion is not merely a proposition affirmed or denied, but an object sought or avoided. In Fārābī's words: 'Poetic utterances are only used in addressing a person [so as to] incite him to *do* something, by instigating him to it, and gradually enticing him towards it' (emphasis added).⁵⁰

The echo of the practical syllogism, and in particular its role in Aristotle's explanation of incontinence, raises the difficult question of whether the acceptance of the imaginative appeal of poetic syllogisms is essentially a form of *akrasia*. There are several indications that would suggest an affirmative answer. As we have already seen, in the context of their explanation of the appeal of poetics, both Fārābī and

⁴⁸ EN 7.5 (1147a25-28); translation by Terence Irwin (Indianapolis, 1985).

⁴⁹ EN 7.5 (1147a29-b5).

⁵⁰ *Iḥsā' al-'Ulūm*, p. 84.7-8 (Palencia, *Catálogo*, p. 140.13-15).

Avicenna emphasize the apparent tendency of most people to act in an incontinent fashion, following their imaginations instead or in spite of their contrary deliberative judgements. Fārābī provides even more striking indications that the hearer's acceptance of the imaginative syllogism is for the most part an act tinged with *akrasia*, particularly in the *Iḥṣā' al-^cUlūm*. In the passage cited at the end of the previous paragraph, for example, the hearer of imaginative syllogisms is explicitly referred to as someone who is 'coaxed', 'seduced', or 'gradually enticed' (*al-mustadraj*), succumbing to moral temptation under the influence of the desires that are aroused by the poetic images. The text continues in much the same vein:

Poetic utterances are only used in addressing someone [so as to] incite him to do something, by instigating him to it and gradually enticing him towards it (*istidrāj-hu nahwa-hu*), either when the person seduced (*al-mustadraj*) is without deliberation to guide him, so that he is aroused towards the deed sought from him by the evoking of imagination, the imagination taking the place of deliberation; or where he is a person who has [the capacity for] deliberating about what is sought from him, but there is no assurance that he would abstain from it upon deliberating about it. So [in the latter case] he is hastened by the poetic utterances, so that his deliberation will be overtaken by the imagination, so that he will embark upon the deed, and it will be elicited from him quickly, before he is able to apprehend by his deliberation what would be the consequence of the act. Whereas originally either he would have refrained from [the act], or he would have pursued it, but, thinking that he should not be too hasty, he would have put it off for another time.⁵¹

In his summary of the utility of each of the syllogistic arts in the same text, the akratic overtones of imaginative acceptance seem to be reinforced, albeit from a somewhat different perspective. In this context, Fārābī remarks that, in general, the non-demonstrative arts help to safeguard the integrity of logic, by making the logician aware of the different degrees of certitude. Their primary task is that of ensuring that the logician does not, through ignorance, conflate the lesser modes of cognition with demonstration itself, and thereby delude himself to a false sense of epistemological security, mistaking opinion or persuasion for science. This danger, when applied to poetic imaginings, elicits a rather picturesque analogy:

Or one may use poetical matters in such a way that he is not aware that they are poetical, so that he acts according to his conviction concerning his imaginings, [thinking] in his own mind (*'inda nafsi-hi*) that he has followed a path to the truth in these circumstances, and come upon what he was seeking; but in actual fact there is no discovery for him. This would be just

⁵¹ *Iḥṣā' al-^cUlūm*, pp. 84.7-85.6 (Palencia, *Catálogo*, p. 140.13-26).

like [the case of] someone who is acquainted with foods and medicines. If poisons were not in actuality distinguishable for [such a person] from these [foods and medicines], to the extent that he could be certain in his knowledge of their external signs (*bi-^calāmatihā*), then he would not be safe from eating these [poisons] as food or medicine, insofar as he does not recognize them, and as a result, he might perish.⁵²

The essential point of Fārābī's illustration is a familiar one. The logician who confines himself to the study of demonstrative methods alone — the 'bread and butter' of the logical art, to continue Fārābī's alimentary image — will be at a loss when confronted with poetic syllogisms, which are undoubtedly meant to be the logical analogues of poisonous foods. The analogy is not a flattering one for poetics, which seems here to be deemed worthy of study only in order to ensure that its imaginative depictions are not hastily consumed by the philosopher who unwittingly accepts them as if they were true and certain demonstrations.

Here too, then, an echo of the akratic abuse of practical syllogizing seems unmistakable. The philosopher who succumbs to the allure of the imaginative depiction through his ignorance of the signs that distinguish demonstration from poetics seems very much like Aristotle's example of someone who knows generally that dry foods are healthy for human beings, and yet fails to recognize a dry food when he sees it.⁵³ Like Fārābī's would-be demonstrator, such a person possesses a universal understanding of what is most conducive to the attainment of his needs and goals, but when it comes to distinguishing these goods from what is harmful to him on the level of particulars — the level of perceiving external, distinguishing marks — his knowledge is of no practical use whatsoever. Unlike the poet's audience, the logician inexperienced in poetic argument seems to succumb to incontinence not because he momentarily neglects to apply his universal, demonstrated knowledge, but because his imagination itself is insufficiently trained to be able to distinguish among the myriad particulars of his experience.

However, the vividness of Fārābī's analogy notwithstanding, we must, in the last analysis, deny the existence of any necessary or essential relationship between incontinent actions and the powers of the imaginative syllogism. While we have already noted a tendency in Fārābī, and to a lesser extent in Avicenna, to emphasize the imaginative syllogism's ability to overcome even knowledge and opinion, the fundamentals of both philosophers' explications have shown clearly that such instances, even if they are the most common, do not exhaust the possibilities for this poetic form of syllogism. The same is, of course, true of the Aristotelian practical syllogism itself. For although the Stagirite provides us with

⁵² *Ihsā' al-^cUlūm*, p. 90.8-13 (Palencia, *Catálogo*, p. 144.2-11).

⁵³ *EN* 7.5 (1147a5-10).

one of the most detailed accounts of its structure in the context of explaining *akrasia*, there is nothing essentially akratic about the mechanism itself. It is a formal structure for explaining deliberate human actions in general, but usually it is only when such actions go awry that we tend to look to that structure for an explanation. So too, when an inference can be explained in terms of demonstrative assent, its acceptance and appeal to the human knower are generally taken for granted. But if such assent is lacking, and acceptance still prevails, we are forced into awareness of other factors that may have been present all along, but obscured by the more obvious logical structures. And indeed, the question of the akratic overtones within poetic acceptance is in many respects the same question as that posed by poetic 'falsehood', viewed instead from its affective, rather than its cognitive, side. With this in mind, we ought to conclude that the power of the imaginative syllogism is most strikingly illustrated in the context of akratic actions, but that this does not in any way entail that the Islamic philosophers thereby held the contentious position that poetics itself is reducible to a simple logic of weakness of will.

III

Concluding Remarks: The Imaginative Syllogism and Contemporary Philosophy of Language

What began in Aristotle as perhaps nothing more than a casual expression of justifiable pride in his discovery of the syllogism has been developed by the Islamic philosophers into a systematic account of not one but, if our suggestions are correct, two syllogistic explications of the structures of poetic language. If the reasons we have given for the prevailing emphasis upon the possible opposition between intellectual and imaginative acceptance in the theories of Fārābī and Avicenna are correct, then it remains generally true that the reference of the workings of poetry to the faculty of imagination in their accounts does indeed permit these Islamic thinkers to offer a fully logical interpretation of poetics, while simultaneously maintaining for poetry a uniqueness that sets it off from the rest of the disciplines included in the *Organon*.

The preservation of such a balance between the cognitive and emotive aspects of poetic, metaphoric discourse remains an issue in contemporary efforts to elaborate a more complete philosophy of language. And indeed, one of the most important accomplishments of the theory of the imaginative syllogism is its provision of a systematic, consistent, and thorough account of figurative modes of speech, from a logical perspective. Whatever one's views may be on the relevance of traditional Aristotelian logic for contemporary philosophy, the use of the

syllogism in combination with the imaginative faculty seems, in the present context, to have yielded quite fruitful results. Thus, to conclude this examination of the imaginative syllogism, I would like to outline briefly a few recurrent problems in the contemporary philosophical literature on metaphor to which the imaginative syllogism seems to offer a plausible solution.

In the first place, we have already seen that the imaginative syllogism is able to account for the appeal of metaphoric language without resorting, at least not fundamentally, to any stipulation that literal meaning or normal truth conditions be necessarily suspended. The poetic syllogism may in fact be literally false in most cases; but since the primary differentia of poetic language is not to be construed in terms of truth and falsity, but rather in terms of the kind of psychological and epistemological acts that it evokes, the coincidence of literal truth and metaphorical appeal need not present any problem.

Secondly, the use of syllogistic structure, combined with imaginative premises, seems to provide this fundamentally Aristotelian theory with the means to refute the popular, but rather superficial, contrast between so-called 'substitution' and 'comparison' theories of metaphor — with which the Aristotelian view is usually identified — and contemporary efforts to elaborate more complex theories of metaphor, especially the well-known 'interaction' account.⁵⁴ Although Fārābī and Avicenna clearly do admit that a form of comparison or substitution is operative in the use of metaphoric language, their construal of such comparisons in terms of *phantasia* necessarily entails a complex relation between the subject and predicate of the metaphor — a relation very much akin to the interaction view's 'system of associated commonplaces'.⁵⁵ In the poetic syllogism of the Islamic philosophical tradition, there is no single property or predicate that can be said to exhaust the imaginative appeal of any poetic statement. Certainly it may be possible, as we have seen, to locate one property that is fundamental in the poet's original discovery of his syllogism, for example, the comeliness of the moon and

⁵⁴ The interactionist theory was espoused by Max Black in his essay 'Metaphor', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* N.S. 55 (1954-55) 273-94; reprinted in Johnson, *Philosophical Perspectives*, 63-82. Several of the essays in Johnson examine the interactionist view and its relationship to the substitution and comparison views.

⁵⁵ A concise description of this system is presented in Johnson's 'Introduction' to *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor*, 27-28. The echoes of the Islamic philosophers' theories, especially in terms of the emphasis upon the metaphor's exploitation of the commonplace associations that objects generally evoke for most people, regardless of whether those associations are in fact applicable, are especially striking: 'In the metaphor "A is B" (e. g. *Man is a wolf*), the "system of associated commonplaces" of A interacts with that of B to produce emergent metaphorical meaning. The "associated commonplaces" are whatever properties and relations are commonly believed to be true of an object, person, event, etc., even if they do not actually apply.... The point here is that understanding a metaphor is not typically a matter of comparing actual properties of objects; rather, it is based upon what the terms of the metaphor *call to mind for us*' (emphasis added).

a handsome man, or the yellow colour of honey and bile. But the underlying appeal of the metaphor to the imagination necessarily transforms the linguistic structures of substitution and comparison into a means for effecting the transfer of the *total* cognitive and emotive attitude evoked by the predicate-term to the subject of the metaphor.

By the same token, the persistent question of the extent to which a metaphor's meaning can be captured in a literal paraphrase, without thereby reducing the function of metaphor to one of merely superficial linguistic adornment, seems to be given a satisfactory and unequivocal answer in this theory. Insofar as imaginative premises are uniquely imaginative, they will not be reducible, in theory or in practice, to a literal, assent-evoking utterance. If the poetic premises happen to be such that they do appeal to the listener on both the levels of assent and of imagination, then indeed the aspects of the metaphor to which the act of assent applies will be capable of literal, non-imaginative expression. But since it is the imaginative faculty alone that is capable of simultaneously arousing emotive responses and expressing and conveying knowledge of the sensible particulars of our experience, then once the imaginative appeal is lost in a literal paraphrase, an essential element of the meaning of the statement will also disappear.

The success of the philosophers of the medieval Islamic tradition in fulfilling many of the requirements demanded of a coherent theory of the logic of metaphorical discourse is a strong testimony to the strength of their philosophy of language, to their logical ingenuity, and to their epistemological maturity. The doctrines that have been detailed in the present discussion are themselves only the basic apparatus of a much more extensive philosophical investigation of the general role of poetry in human thought and action. With them the Islamic philosophical tradition would seem to be well-equipped for its further efforts to tackle the perennial issue of the relationship of poetry to the concerns of philosophy itself.

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KNOWLEDGE, VIRTUE AND THE PATH TO WISDOM: THE UNEXAMINED ARISTOTELIANISM OF JOHN OF SALISBURY'S *METALOGICON*

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ALTHOUGH he could never be construed as a scholastic, there was probably no philosopher of the Middle Ages more devoted to Aristotle and his teachings than the mid-twelfth century churchman John of Salisbury. Admittedly, John knew far less of the Aristotelian corpus than would St. Thomas Aquinas a century later. But the elements of Aristotle's thought with which John was familiar, culled from those treatises available to him (*Categories*, *De interpretatione*, *Topics* and *Posterior* and *Prior Analytics*), and gleaned from intermediaries like Cicero and Boethius, made a singular impression upon him.¹ Certainly, Aristotle exercised an important, albeit subtle, influence in John's *Policraticus* and his letters.² But it is in the *Metalogicon*, a survey of assorted issues in educational theory and speculative philosophy, that John gives freest reign to his sentiments about Aristotle.³ We are repeatedly told that Aristotle so 'excelled practically all other philosophers in nearly every regard' that he 'established his right to the common name of "philoso-

¹ For the Aristotelian tradition as it emerged in later classical times and was transmitted to the Middle Ages, see two studies by R. McKeon, 'Aristotelianism in Western Christianity' in *Environmental Factors in Christian History*, ed. J. T. McNeill, M. Spinka and H. R. Willoughby (Chicago, 1939), pp. 206-231; and 'The Hellenistic and Roman Foundations of the Tradition of Aristotle in the West', *Review of Metaphysics* 32 (1979) 677-715.

² The present author has sought to establish this claim in a series of recent articles: 'Aristotelianism in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*' (with J. Brückmann), *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 21 (1983) 203-229; 'The Aristotelian Doctrine of the Mean and John of Salisbury's Concept of Liberty', *Vivarium* 24 (1986) 128-42; and 'Aristotelian Ethics and John of Salisbury's Letters', *Viator* 18 (1987) 161-73.

³ Quotes in English from the *Metalogicon* are taken, with occasional revision, from the standard translation by D. D. McGarry (*The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury. A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium* [Berkeley, 1955]). The quotes in Latin in the notes are taken from the edition by C. C. J. Webb (*Iohannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon. Libri IIII* [Oxford, 1929]) and are indicated by page references from that edition followed by column numbers and letters from PL 199. In cases where only the English version is given, references to Webb's edition and the PL are also included in the notes.

pher", as in a way his own special prerogative'.⁴ John depicts Aristotle's teaching as pervasive and inescapable: ideas propounded by the Christian Fathers, no less than by the philosophers of pagan antiquity, are 'traceable to Aristotle, from whom, as from a fountain, all have drunk'.⁵ Nor is John himself shy about partaking of the Aristotelian fount; Aristotle is the most widely cited author in the *Metalogicon* by a margin of more than two-to-one against his nearest competitor, St. Augustine. (Boethius, Cicero and Quintilian together are not cited as often as Aristotle).⁶ As a consequence, the *Metalogicon* is a virtual compendium of Aristotelian learning as it had advanced to the middle of the twelfth century. Indeed, John's exceptionally vast knowledge of Aristotle placed him on the cutting edge of contemporary scholarship.⁷

In view of the prominence of Aristotle in the text of the *Metalogicon*, we would expect close adherence to Aristotle's thinking with regard to logic, language and the other subjects covered by the various treatises which comprise the *Organon*. In fact, much of the modern literature on the *Metalogicon* has already demonstrated how John's use of Aristotelian sources (both the *Organon* and intermediaries like Boethius) contributed to the pedagogical method recommended by him.⁸ But there are two aspects of the *Metalogicon*, at least, which have not previously been examined for an Aristotelian influence: John's account of the acquisition of knowledge and his conception of the moral implications of edu-

⁴ *Metalogicon*, p. 213; '...Aristotiles, qui alios fere omnes et fere in omnibus philosophos superabat, hinc commune nomen sibi quodam proprietatis iure uendicaret' (p. 171 [920A]). See also *Metalogicon*, p. 110: 'Sed cum singuli suis meritis splendeant, omnes se Aristotilis adorare uestigia gloriantur; adeo quidem, ut commune omnium philosophorum nomen preminentia quadam sibi proprium fecerit. Nam et antonomastice, id est, excellenter, "Philosophus" appellatur' (p. 90 [873C-D]).

⁵ *Metalogicon*, p. 175; '...tractum quidem ab Aristotle, quoniam de fonte isto hauserunt omnes...' (p. 142 [904A]).

⁶ Further evidence for John's dedication to Aristotle is suggested by his *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum* (or longer *Entheticus*), where he discusses Aristotle and the Peripatetics at far greater length than any other authors from Greek and Latin antiquity. See the count provided by Phyllis Barzillay in 'The *Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum* of John of Salisbury', *Medievalia et humanistica* 16 (1964) 15 n. 34. Also see the new edition of the text by J. van Laarhoven, *Entheticus Maior* and *Minor* (Leiden, 1987).

⁷ For precise evaluations of John's place in, and contributions to, the Aristotelian revival of the twelfth century, see C. C. J. Webb, 'John of Salisbury', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 2.2 (1893) 102; L. Minio-Paluello, 'Iacobus Venetus Grecus: Canonist and Translator of Aristotle', *Traditio* 8 (1952) 291-95; E. Türk, *Nugae curialium. Le règne d'Henri Plantagenêt (1145-1189) et l'éthique politique* (Geneva/Paris, 1977), p. 86; and É. Jeauneau, 'Jean de Salisbury et la lecture des philosophes' in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Wilks (Oxford, 1983), p. 103.

⁸ See D. D. McGarry, 'Educational Theory in the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury', *Speculum* 23 (1948) 659-75; B. P. Hendley, *Wisdom and Eloquence: A New Interpretation of the Metalogicon of John of Salisbury* (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1967) and 'John of Salisbury and the Problem of Universals', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 8 (1970) 289-302. To judge from the contributions to *The World of John of Salisbury*, interest in the *Metalogicon* as a work of philosophy, rather than as documentation of twelfth-century intellectual history, is currently waning.

tion. Of course, there appears to be excellent reason for excluding in advance any detectable Aristotelian origin for John's reflections on these two matters. Composing in the late 1150s, John could not after all have been exposed to the contents of Aristotle's works on psychology (*De anima*) and ethics (the *Nicomachean* and *Eudemian Ethics* and the *Magna moralia*) which constituted the primary documentation of the Aristotelian positions on the acquisition of knowledge and moral conduct. There is no evidence that any of these treatises was available to the Latin West in even abbreviated form much before 1200, and certainly not as early as the date of John's writing.

Yet the *prima facie* facts of transmission do not put an end to the matter. For in the *Organon* itself, Aristotle did (however tangentially) address the topics of knowledge and virtue in terms essentially consistent with his remarks in other works. Furthermore, it is possible to detect intermediary Latin sources which facilitated transmission of some elements of Aristotle's thought which were not directly available by means of the *Organon*. Thus, it seems plausible to ask: are there Aristotelian features of the *Metalogicon*, along the lines just mentioned, which have so far escaped identification and investigation? The answer, I would assert, is in the affirmative; the *Metalogicon* draws more broadly on Aristotelian doctrines than has heretofore been suspected. Specifically, John incorporates into the central argument of his treatise two previously unattributed claims which are of demonstrable Aristotelian provenance: first, knowledge is only really possessed once the knower has formed a firm and stable disposition, which is acquired through regular and rigorous practice; and second, no lesson is rightly learned which is not in accordance with the virtuous mean between excess and deficiency. Readers familiar with the Aristotelianism of John's *Policraticus* and letters will not be surprised by his reliance upon these particular doctrines in the *Metalogicon*. But the fashion in which John applies his Aristotelian views to the main issues of the *Metalogicon* is both provocative and profound. For from this Aristotelian foundation is constructed the core of John's account of how a suitably designed liberal education will lead to the attainment of a wisdom which is both unshakable in its knowledge and humble in the awareness of its limitations. To achieve wisdom, according to the *Metalogicon*, is to follow principles derived from the Aristotelian doctrines which John so greatly admired.

I

There is no single one of Aristotle's works which is primarily or essentially devoted to his philosophy of knowledge. The most complete statement of the Aristotelian position on that topic is contained within his treatise on the soul, *De anima*. One of Aristotle's main insights in the *De anima* is that knowledge has

several connotations which must be distinguished in order to provide an adequate account.⁹ In the first place, an individual knows in the sense that his soul possesses by nature a general capacity to acquire particular elements of knowledge. In another sense, knowledge denotes the factual act of knowing, as when one exercises or applies one's knowledge of grammar or mathematics. Finally, there is an intermediate concept of knowledge as a fully formed and stable disposition of the mind from which proceeds the actual exercise of knowledge. In this last sense, the knowledge said to be possessed by the knower is both actual and potential: actual, because the knower has thoroughly internalised the precepts of the knowledge in question; potential, because the presence of the knowledge need not be coextensive with its employment or display. It is in virtue of this epistemic notion that one may attribute knowledge to a sleeping person, for instance, even though he demonstrates no immediate signs of knowing. Thus, knowledge of an intermediate sort is conceptually distinct from both the capacity for and the actualisation of knowledge.

But how is it possible that knowledge may still be predicated of a knower when it is unactualised at a given moment? The Aristotelian solution to this question is to identify the genus of knowledge as *hexis*,¹⁰ a word variously rendered into English as 'habit', 'condition', 'state', and 'disposition'. Aristotle conceives of *hexis* as a kind of quality; it is a way of attributing a qualitative ascription to a subject or substance. In general terms, a *hexis* is the ingrained inclination of a subject or substance to behave according to a definite principle of action.¹¹ *Hexis* is often contrasted to *diathesis* ('condition' or 'disposition' in a transitory sense, such as when a basically healthy individual catches a cold). In comparison with *diathesis*, a *hexis* is not susceptible to rapid, radical change. Instead, *hexis* indicates a sort of quality which has become so firmly rooted in that which it qualifies as to form virtually a 'second nature', rendering it almost impossible to alter.¹² Hence, in associating knowledge with *hexis*, Aristotle is assuring us that what is known has become an entrenched feature of the soul.

But if the soul by first nature has only the indifferent capacity to know or be ignorant (knowledge in its most general sense), how is it that a specific *hexis* is inculcated? Aristotle hints at the answer in *De anima* when he remarks that the

⁹ For the following, see *De an.* 2.5 (417a21-b15). The translations from the works of Aristotle used in the body of the article are taken from the Loeb editions with occasional revisions by the present author.

¹⁰ *Top.* 4.2 (121b37-39).

¹¹ See *Metaph.* 5.20 (1022b3-14) for another general discussion of *hexis*.

¹² As Aristotle makes clear in the *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.3-4 (1105a35-b1) and 3.5 (1114a18-21). It is for precisely this reason that *hexis* as an ethical category has proved so problematic for students of Aristotle's philosophy; see W. Bondeson, 'Aristotle on Responsibility for One's Character and the Possibility of Character Change', *Phronesis* 19 (1974) 59-65.

hexis towards a definite type of knowledge (such as mathematics or grammar) develops 'through learning, and after frequent changes'.¹³ In other words, instruction of a repeated sort will lead to the acquisition of a particular *hexis* or to the replacement of one *hexis* (say, ignorance) by another (knowledge). This view is confirmed by Aristotle's much more complete account of the formation of *hexeis* presented in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The virtues, like the fields of knowledge, arise from *hexeis*, Aristotle argues, insofar as man is born with merely a natural capacity for virtue.¹⁴ Thus, moral qualities can be acquired solely by 'having actually practiced them... We become just by the practice of just acts, self-controlled by exercising self-control, courageous by doing courageous acts'.¹⁵ The inculcation of a propensity towards virtue occurs by way of a steady repetition of a course of action so as to render that conduct habitual. Indeed, Aristotle expands this claim about the acquisition of moral characteristics to encompass *hexis* in general: '*Hexeis* develop from corresponding activities. Hence we must see that our activities are of a certain kind, since the quality of our *hexeis* depends upon what we do'.¹⁶ In the case of knowledge, the natural capacity of the knower is transformed into a *hexis* by way of the rigorous exercise of particular mental acts. The formation of a *hexis* of mathematical knowledge, for instance, requires the repeated use of arithmetic formulae and axioms until the knower is thoroughly and unfailingly disposed to apply his learning to the solution of mathematical problems. While in one sense the potentiality (natural capacity) precedes the actuality (*hexis*), in another sense the actuality (practice) proceeds the potentiality (*hexis*). According to the Aristotelian scheme, the effective internalisation of knowledge depends vitally upon the consistency and constancy with which the knower has exercised his intellectual faculties. Proper application yields a well-formed *hexis* (a knowledgeable soul) and that *hexis* in turn assures that the knower will be in firm possession of the knowledge he has acquired.

What is significant for present purposes is that Aristotle generates essentially the same account of knowledge as a *hexis* fixed by practice in the *Organon*. We hear often in the *Topics* of the connection between knowledge and *hexis*, if only because of Aristotle's concern to demonstrate how the process of dialectical reasoning occurs. In particular, the *Topics* seeks to explain the relational nature of knowledge. All knowledge has an object, Aristotle teaches, in the sense that 'knowledge is knowledge of something'.¹⁷ Aristotle maintains that it is by means of *hexis* that this relationship between knowledge and its object is mediated: 'That which

¹³ *De an.* 2.5 (417a33).

¹⁴ *EN* 2.1 (1103a16-25) and 2.5 (1106a7-13).

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 2.1 (1103a31-33) and 2.1 (1103b1-3).

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 2.1 (1103a22-24).

¹⁷ See, for example, *Top.* 4.4 (124b39-125a2).

belongs to the state (*hexis*) will belong also to that which is described in terms of the state (*hexis*) and that which is described in terms of the state will belong also to the state'.¹⁸ In other words, *hexis* allows one subject or substance to acquire a quality in imitation, as it were, of another subject or substance. Consequently, whatever is true of the latter will also be true of the former. In the case of knowledge, whatever properties are characteristic of the object of knowledge are transferred through the formation of a *hexis* to an individual's soul. If the object of knowledge is grammar, then the soul itself becomes endowed with the qualities necessary for the possession of grammatical abilities. 'Knowledge is said to be of the knowable, but it is a *hexis*', Aristotle insists, 'not of the knowable but of the psyche'.¹⁹ The genus of knowledge in all its forms must be *hexis*, insofar as *hexis* permits the knower to transfer and incorporate into himself on a fixed basis the crucial features of the object of knowledge.

As often as one encounters the connection between *hexis* and knowledge in the *Topics*, however, Aristotle never examines its broader implications in that work. Not so in the *Categories*, where he presents a treatment of *hexis* in general, and the *hexis* of knowledge in particular, which is more extensive than any other in his corpus. *Hexis* ought not to be confused with *diathesis*, Aristotle maintains, for '*hexis* differs from *diathesis* in being more lasting and more stable'.²⁰ Aristotle cites knowledge as a prime example of *hexis*: 'Knowledge, even when acquired in only moderate degree, is, it is agreed, abiding in its character and difficult to displace, unless some great emotional upheaval takes place, through disease or a like cause'.²¹ Consequently, a form of knowledge should, strictly speaking, never be attributed to anyone who is not in ordinary and established possession of it. 'Those who lack retention of knowledge, and are volatile, are not said to possess a particular *hexis* as regards knowledge', Aristotle remarks.²² However, it may be that the volatile individual, who has at best a *diathesis*, ultimately becomes more settled in his knowledge. Once, 'through lapse of time', knowledge is rendered 'inveterate and almost impossible to sway... we should perhaps call it a *hexis*'.²³ Otherwise, the person remains possessed of an ephemeral *diathesis*; he is easily changed and completely unpredictable in his actual knowledge.²⁴ Aristotle even addresses in the *Categories* how a *hexis* is acquired by means of steady practice over a long period of time. To develop a well constituted *hexis*, one must be 'brought into a better way

¹⁸ *Top.* 5.4 (133a25-28).

¹⁹ *Top.* 4.4 (124b33-34).

²⁰ *Cat.* 8 (8b27-28).

²¹ *ibid.*, (8b29-32).

²² *ibid.*, (9a5-6).

²³ *ibid.*, (9a2-4).

²⁴ *ibid.*, (9a7-8).

of life and thought'.²⁵ Gradually, through slight improvements, he will displace his previous qualities with whatever new behaviour he has learnt to perform, until, 'as this process goes on, it will change him totally and establish him in the contrary *hexis*, provided he is not prevented by lack of time'.²⁶ The *Categories* conveys the lesson that steady and rigorous application is the sole method for the acquisition of *hexis*; the most one can hope for otherwise is an unstable and variable *diathesis* which requires further practice in order to be transformed into a *hexis*.

That John of Salisbury understood the nature of *hexis* (or its Latin rendering, *habitus*) is clear. Besides Aristotle's writings, he was familiar with the discussions of *habitus* contained in Cicero's *De inventione* and Boethius' *De topicis differentiis*.²⁷ Moreover, John employed *habitus* in its technical, Aristotelian sense in both his letters and *Policraticus*; the latter, indeed, explicitly describes knowledge as a *habitus* of the soul.²⁸ But it is in the *Metalogicon* that the significance of Aristotle's definition of *episteme* in terms of *hexis* is most thoroughly explored. We might say, in fact, that the entire project of the *Metalogicon* is impossible except insofar as John works from Aristotelian premises. The *Metalogicon*'s main purpose, John emphasises, is to oppose the views of the pseudonymous 'Cornificius' and his followers.²⁹ John never expressly identifies this 'Cornificius', a fact which has led modern commentators to perceive him as a composite of certain intellectual tendencies rampant in the twelfth century or, alternatively, to associate him with an actual scholar of the age with whom John had contact.³⁰ In spite of John's reluctance to reveal the true identity of 'Cornificius', however, he has no such qualms about specifying the reason he finds the Cornifician philosophy so repugnant. The Cornificians reject the value of the study of the art of rhetoric on the grounds that 'eloquence...is a gift that is either conceded or denied to each individual by nature'.³¹ For those to whom nature has granted facility with speech,

²⁵ *Cat.* 10 (13a23-24).

²⁶ *ibid.*, (13a29-31).

²⁷ This is explored at greater length by Nederman in 'Aristotelian Ethics and John of Salisbury's Letters', 163.

²⁸ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909; rpt. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1965), 2.21: '...cum anima primo affectionis motu in ualescens disponatur ad cognitionem rerum, eaque si radicata fuerit, ut aut omnino aut sine iniuria naturae conuelli non possit, habitu suo informat animam facitque scientem. Hic ergo habitus rectissime scientia appellatur, licet et res subiectae interdum scientiae nomine censeantur. Vnde et uicissim nominibus mutuatis quod unius est transit ad alterum. Sic utique et scientia dicitur multa, cum tamen multitudo rerum potius quam scientiae sit' (p. 117 [446A-B]).

²⁹ *Metalogicon*, pp. 12-20 (pp. 7-20 [827D-833C]).

³⁰ For differing perspectives on this issue, see H. Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London, 1950), p. 118; McGarry, 'Educational Theory in the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury', 660; and R. B. Tobin, 'The Cornifician Motif in John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*', *History of Education* 13 (1984) 1-6.

³¹ *Metalogicon*, p. 24; 'eloquentie; quoniam eam cunctis natura ministrat aut negat' (p. 20 [833C]).

practice is redundant and wasteful; those lacking original endowment can hardly expect to alter through education what nature has denied them, according to ‘Cornificius’.³²

John condemns this aspect of Cornifician teaching as particularly pernicious and invidious. In the first place, to say that none can improve his linguistic abilities regardless of effort or training is empirically absurd. It is true, as any careful observer realises, that people ‘learn how to talk in their nurses’ arms before they receive instruction from doctors who occupy official chairs. The way one talks in manhood often smacks of the manner of speech of one’s nurse. Sometimes the strenuous efforts of teachers cannot extricate one from habits imbibed at a tender age’.³³ But this proves only that one must pay special attention to early education, not (as the Cornificians think) that nature is insusceptible to alteration or improvement. After all, John points out, ‘natural ability easily deteriorates when neglected’, and ‘is strengthened by cultivation and care.... Nothing is so strong and robust that it cannot be enfeebled by neglect, nothing so well constructed that it cannot be razed. On the other hand, diligent application can build up and preserve the lowest degree of natural talent’.³⁴ In opposition to the Cornificians, then, the *Metalogicon* maintains that nature must be supplemented first by instruction and then by regular practice if eloquence is to flourish and prosper. Consequently, the blessings of eloquence³⁵ accrue properly and fully to those who studiously devote themselves to internalising and applying the rules of rhetoric. The Cornifician appeal to nature as the sole determinant of the eloquent man is bogus and deceptive, entailing a theologically unwarranted and empirically unsubstantiated presumption that ‘first nature’ is perfect and complete in itself.³⁶ In contrast to such erroneous opinions, John affirms the progress (perhaps even the perfectibility) of man’s rhetorical capacities through the appropriate combination of nature, grace, instruction and application.

It is in this regard that the measure of John’s commitment to an Aristotelian concept of knowledge becomes apparent. The *Metalogicon*’s opposition to Cornifician naturalism shares with Aristotle the general view that nature’s role in human intellect is limited to the endowment of a capacity of the soul to acquire knowledge

³² *Metalogicon*, p. 28 (pp. 23-24 [835B-D]).

³³ *Metalogicon*, p. 25; ‘...commercium verbi ante a nutricum sinu quam a cathedra doctorum excipiunt. Nutricis linguam plerumque redolet etas uirilis; nec potest interdum ab eo quod tenerior etas ebiberat doctorum diligentia erudiri. Quam recte loquuntur, quam expedite, singule gentes in linguis quas eis decreti diuini constitutio assignauit!’ (p. 21 [833D-834D]).

³⁴ *Metalogicon*, pp. 30-31; ‘...tamen, sicut facile corrumpitur a negligentia, sic a cultura et a cura sepissime mansuescit... Nichil enim est tam validum, tam robustum, quod diligentia non eneruet, nichil tam erectum, quod non deiciat; sicut e contra quamlibet humilem gradum cura diligens erigit et conseruat’ (pp. 25-26 [836C-D]).

³⁵ These are enumerated by John at *Metalogicon*, pp. 26-27 (pp. 21-23 [834B-835B]).

³⁶ *Metalogicon*, pp. 28-29 (pp. 23-24 [835B-D]).

(*scientia*).³⁷ As a consequence, John teaches that the eloquent man becomes so by means of regular practice until he has firmly and forever internalised the principles of rhetoric. In sum, John reiterates the essential features and terminology of Aristotle's notion of *habitus* — and does so in a manner which sometimes closely resembles the parallel texts of the *Organon*, especially the *Categories*. Thus, while John's ideas of eloquence and education may owe a substantial debt to Latin authors like Cicero and Quintilian,³⁸ it is to Aristotle that the *Metalogicon* turns for its fundamental insights into those subjects.

The essence of John's Aristotelian outlook is that the capacities ceded to man by 'first nature' need to be completed by the formation of a second, acquired nature. Specifically, John teaches that what we know depends upon what we do: 'Assiduous application... smooths the way for understanding'.³⁹ The ignorant man has been accustomed to false or incorrect precepts because his actions were not of a proper kind. Likewise, the knowledgeable individual has repeatedly practised the behaviour which accords with true knowledge of a discipline or skill. 'And the art, which becomes firmly established by use and practice, yields a faculty of accomplishing those things that are proper to it'.⁴⁰ The argument is particularly compelling in the case of eloquence. To propound abstract and obscure rules without concern for application (as John accuses the schoolmen of doing) provides no true instruction at all.⁴¹ 'Rules alone are useless', the *Metalogicon* proclaims,⁴² since whoever learns the theoretical principles associated with rhetoric is by no means eloquent. Rather, eloquence in speech is assured only to those who practice it carefully and regularly for a long period of time. In a passage which echoes *Categories* (13a23-31), John remarks that 'what is difficult when we first try it, becomes easier after assiduous practice, and once the rules for doing it are mastered, very easy, unless languor creeps in, through lapse of use or carelessness, and impedes our efficiency'.⁴³ Eloquence, like other sorts of knowledge, is not readily acquired or retained; the successful rhetorician must take care to monitor all his behaviour during his formative stage, or must be closely watched by an

³⁷ *Metalogicon*, p. 34 (pp. 28-29 [838B-C]).

³⁸ As has been emphasised by Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism*, pp. 87-90; and B. Munk-Olsen, 'L'humanisme de Jean de Salisbury, un cicéronian au 12^e siècle' in *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du 12^e siècle*, ed. M. de Gandillac and É. Jeauneau (Paris, 1968), pp. 53-83.

³⁹ *Metalogicon*, p. 64; '...operis scilicet assiduitas...uias tamen parat intelligentie' (p. 52 [853A]).

⁴⁰ *Metalogicon*, pp. 215-16; 'Porro ab arte, que usu et exercitatione firmata est, prouenit facultas exequendi ea que ex arte gerenda sunt' (p. 174 [921B]).

⁴¹ *Metalogicon*, pp. 206-207 (pp. 218-19 [946B]).

⁴² *Metalogicon*, p. 245; 'inutilis est opera preceptorum' (p. 195 [932C]).

⁴³ *Metalogicon*, p. 34; '...ut quod difficile fuerat in prima agitatione, ab assiduitate usus reddatur facilius; et cum regulas hoc faciendi deprehenderit, fiat, nisi desuetudinis et negligentie torpor obsistat, facilissimum' (p. 29 [838C]).

experienced tutor. Usage assures that *scientia* will be deeply rooted rather than facile.

But how does practice achieve this profound implantation of knowledge within the individual? John answers this query in characteristically Aristotelian fashion by explaining that usage is the sole determinant of *habitus*, and that no knowledge is truly grasped which does not involve the acquisition of a *habitus*. Mastery of the principles of any branch of knowledge can only be ascribed once ‘the *habitus* of employing them is firmly fixed by practice and exercise’.⁴⁴ This means that *habitus* becomes the very criterion for the possession of knowledge in the *Metalogicon*. When a particular object of knowledge has become so characteristically a part of an individual that it is virtually insusceptible to change or alteration, then we may speak of that person as knowledgeable in the discipline. Otherwise, he must continue to work at acquiring the knowledge by steady and continuous application. The man who has totally mastered the art of rhetoric, for instance, will be eloquent without constantly engaging in the use of eloquent speech: rhetorical skills inhere in him so completely that his eloquence can always be counted on.

Nor does John allow this idea to stand without further explanation or defence. On the contrary, he explicitly introduces into the *Metalogicon* the Aristotelian distinction, drawn from *Categories* 8b-9a, between *diathesis* (*dispositio*) and *hexis* (*habitus*): ‘Theoretical principles must be consolidated by practice and assiduous exercise, except perhaps where a disposition has already been transformed into a habit [*habitus*]’.⁴⁵ The end of all instruction ought to be the full formation of a ‘second nature’ which complements and completes the capacities granted by ‘first nature’. We may say that such a ‘second nature’ is present only when a *habitus* has been engendered, that is, when the *dispositio* towards a form of knowledge is so thoroughly a part of the individual that it becomes a more or less permanent quality of him. In this fashion, at least, ‘second nature’ resembles ‘first nature’; just as the former can never be eradicated or altered utterly, so the latter can safely be counted as a fixed feature of a person once its formation is complete. Thus, John can forestall a potential response to his criticism of Cornifician naturalism, namely, that by denying nature as the crucial determinant of knowledge, one removes the stability and endurance that is commonly associated with *scientia*. By conceiving of the goal of education in Aristotelian terms, as the creation of a *habitus* of knowledge, the *Metalogicon* identifies an acceptable alternative foundation for the persistence and permanency which seem to be characteristic of knowledge.

⁴⁴ *Metalogicon*, p. 171; ‘...his enim perfecte cognitis, et habitu eorum per usum et exercitium roboratis’ (p. 139 [902B]).

⁴⁵ *Metalogicon*, p. 245; ‘...si non usu et exercitio assiduo roboretur; nisi forte cum in habitum transierit dispositio’ (p. 195 [932c]). Oddly, despite the fact that this passage is almost identical to the one in the *Categories*, McGarry’s edition cites Quintilian as John’s source (note 318 on page 245).

John's Aristotelian connection of *habitus* with *scientia* conveys another connotation which ought not to be missed. The *Metalogicon* defends John's general belief that philosophy, so far from being an abstruse and purely contemplative discipline, properly belongs in a more concrete setting as a guide for human thought and conduct.⁴⁶ Surely, John's own career provides the model: trained in the best schools of France, in association with the greatest minds of the twelfth century, he nonetheless saw his education as preparation for a life of administration and public affairs.⁴⁷ 'Pure' philosophy, the dry speculative stuff of the schoolmen, would seem to offend against the very nature of that wisdom which philosophers claim to love, in John's judgement. For the wisdom which men seek by means of abstract contemplation is nonetheless rooted in sense perception, that is, in the realm of *scientia* which is the product of human action.⁴⁸ Thus, none can be wise except through learning based on practical experience. 'By experience one acquires knowledge, which relates to action', the *Metalogicon* declares, so that man 'derives the various rivulets of the sciences and wisdom from the fountainhead of sense perception'.⁴⁹ This empirical foundation suggests, in effect, that the path to wisdom begins with the practice of particular acts, leading to the creation of a definite *habitus* of knowledge. And once the individual is firmly in possession of knowledge (the prerequisite of wisdom), the powers of reason and understanding lead him towards the fruits of wisdom. Philosophy which neglects this practical route to wisdom is not deserving of the name.⁵⁰ In sum, the pedagogical theory of the *Metalogicon* prefers the man of affairs and experience to the schoolman on the grounds that training by way of diligent application accomplishes what scholastic instruction cannot: it points the way which the wise man must follow. But John's ability to justify fully such a presumption rests squarely on his commitment to an Aristotelian interpretation of *scientia* as a *habitus* formed by exercise and use. It is from this Aristotelian premise that John provides a philosophical foundation for the claim that action and wisdom, so far from being incommensurable, are

⁴⁶ *Metalogicon*, p. 94 (p. 76 [866B-C]). This is also a recurring theme in John's correspondence, where he attempts to introduce philosophical principles into the conduct and analysis of public affairs; see Nederman, 'Aristotelian Ethics and John of Salisbury's Letters'.

⁴⁷ The relationship between John's philosophical training and his later career is examined by Klaus Guth in *Johannes von Salisbury (1115/20-1180). Studien zur Kirchen-, Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas im 12. Jahrhundert* (St. Ottilien, 1978), pp. 23-81; K. L. Forhan, 'A Twelfth-Century "Bureaucrat" and the Life of the Mind: The Political Thought of John of Salisbury', presented at the Tenth International Conference on Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Villanova University in 1985 and published in *Proceedings of the PMR Conference*, 10 (1985) 65-74; and Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools. A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Totawa, N.J., 1973), pp. 11-12.

⁴⁸ *Metalogicon*, p. 231 (pp. 184-85 [927A-C]).

⁴⁹ *Metalogicon*, pp. 231, 232; '...per experientiam obsequii scientiam assecutus est; hec enim actionis est...de fonte sensuum...elicit uarios riulos scientiarum et sapientie' (p. 185 [927B, 927C]).

⁵⁰ *Metalogicon*, p. 93 (p. 76 [866B-C]).

necessarily intertwined and indeed inseparable elements in the growth of human intellect.

II

One of the central features of Aristotle's moral philosophy is his claim that the absolutely virtuous soul is characterised by the inculcation of the virtues in their proper measure. Thus, much of the text of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (not to mention the remainder of Aristotle's ethical corpus) describes the various specific forms of moral goodness as mean points between excess and deficiency. To be good is to locate a middle way which is neither 'too much' nor 'too little'; divergence from the mean in either direction entails the performance of vicious acts.⁵¹ 'Whereas the vices either fall short of or exceed what is right in feelings and actions, virtue ascertains and adopts the mean'.⁵² This position yields several additional conclusions. First, the mean or moderate course is not to be confused with temperance or self-control. The latter is a specific virtue concerned with the soul's relation to pleasure and pain: temperance is the virtue pertaining to the sensuous aspect of human existence.⁵³ Moderation, on the other hand, is characteristic of all the virtues without ever being construed as a virtue in itself. To follow the mean in one's conduct is a precept which applies across the board, regardless of which particular virtue is under consideration. A second corollary of Aristotle's emphasis on the mean is that the ordinary language opposition between good and evil is deceptive. It is true that good and evil are, in absolute terms, contraries. But in particular cases, that which is good must be juxtaposed to two sorts of evil, both of which are in turn contrary to one another.⁵⁴ Hence, moral discourse is considerably more complex than is commonly conceived, for in many instances the possession of 'too much' of a virtue is as dangerous (if not more so) than the possession of 'too little'. In this way, Aristotle cautions his reader to exercise care lest fanatical virtuosity lapse into the commission of clearly vicious acts.

It is the potential for logical and linguistic confusion, engendered by the moderate nature of the virtues, that leads Aristotle to turn to the theme of the mean in some of the works of the *Organon*. In the first place, Aristotle is concerned that the mean be understood as one manner in which goodness may be ascribed to a subject. 'Often too the word "good" is applied to...that which is moderate (*tou metrion*); for that which is moderate, too, is called good'.⁵⁵ Thus, to speak of a man

⁵¹ EN 2.7 (1107a32-b21).

⁵² EN 2.6 (1107a4-6).

⁵³ EN 3.10-3.12 (1117b24-1119b19).

⁵⁴ EN 2.8 (1108b11-35).

⁵⁵ Top. 1.15 (107a11-13).

as good may signify that he adopts the virtuous mean, rather than that he is skilled, or useful, or whatever. But Aristotle's primary reason for addressing the mean in the *Organon* is to explain an important exception to many of the rules governing the correct usage of contraries. Generally speaking, Aristotle asserts, good and evil are contrasting terms, neither of which admits of degree. A tailor, for instance, cannot be 'too good'. In matters of virtue, however, the situation is not so simple. As Aristotle observes in the *Categories*, 'What is contrary to badness is sometimes good but sometimes bad. For excess, which is itself bad, is contrary to deficiency, which is bad; yet the mean (*mesotes*) is contrary to both and is good'.⁵⁶ The attribution of goodness in the sense of virtue is thereby logically peculiar: it requires that we designate as good a middle term which is opposed to two forms of extremes even as each of the extremes are also opposed to each other. This implies that calling someone 'bad' (in the moral connotation of that word) is inadequate; we must further specify whether the evil involved is one of excess or of defect. Yet, by the same token, both forms of moral extreme are more or less equally vicious, insofar as Aristotle emphasises that 'defect and excess are in the same genus — for both are in the genus of evil — whereas what is moderate (*to de metrion*), which is intermediate between them, is not in the genus of evil but of good'.⁵⁷ No one can escape culpability by claiming that either excess or defect is 'less evil' in some instance: both fall into the classification of badness and are thus also absolutely contrary to whatever is good. Consequently, the *Organon* allows us to differentiate between the forms of vice without ever denying that all vice remains utterly opposed to the moderate course of virtue.

For all of its complexities, the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean enjoyed considerable popularity among authors of Latin antiquity. In Horace, for example, we find a clear (if brief) presentation of the mean as essential to virtue: 'There is a mean in things, there are certain definite limits, / right consisting of what is neither beyond nor short'.⁵⁸ Nor were poets alone in propounding the moderate path to virtue. Cicero's writings contain many references to the mean in basically Aristotelian terms. As early as his youthful essay on rhetoric, *De inventione*, Cicero demonstrates a thorough appreciation of the intricacies of Aristotle's moral theory. In particular, Cicero questions the convention of associating every virtue with a single opposing vice, such as courage with cowardice or liberality with cheapness. Instead, in *De inventione*, he points out, '...each virtue will be found to have a vice bordering upon it, either one to which a definite name has become attached, as rashness which borders on courage...or one without any definite name. All of these as well as the opposites of good qualities will be classed among things to be

⁵⁶ *Cat.* 11 (14a2-6).

⁵⁷ *Top.* 4.3 (123b27-30).

⁵⁸ Horace, *Die Satiren*, ed. K. Büchner (Bologna, 1970), 1.1, lines 106-107.

avoided'.⁵⁹ Cicero returns to the same theme of moderate conduct as the key to virtue in his mature treatise on moral instruction, *De officiis*. To the man who wishes to behave in accordance with ethical rectitude, Cicero repeatedly counsels that 'the rule of the golden mean is best'.⁶⁰ *De officiis* furthermore explains that this 'happy mean which lies between excess and defect' has a very definite origin: it is 'the doctrine of the mean...approved by the Peripatetics'.⁶¹ Thus, Cicero's work not only captures the crucial facets of Aristotle's account of the mean, but also attributes the doctrine explicitly to an Aristotelian source.⁶²

It hardly seems possible that such a well-read and careful twelfth-century scholar as John of Salisbury could have remained ignorant of the doctrine of the mean or of its Aristotelian provenance. Indeed, considerable evidence culled from the *Policraticus* and the correspondence exists to indicate that John's persistent appeals to the moderate character of virtue reflected a familiarity (whether directly or indirectly) with Aristotle's ethical concepts.⁶³ But what place could the Aristotelian definition of virtue in terms of a mean between excess and defect possibly have in the *Metalogicon*, a tract on education? The answer rests upon an admission which John makes in his prefatory remarks to the *Metalogicon*. 'I have purposely incorporated into this treatise some observations concerning morals', John confides to his reader, 'since I am convinced that all good things read or written are useless except insofar as they have a good influence on one's manner of life. Any pretext of philosophy that does not bear fruit in the cultivation of virtue and the guidance of one's conduct is futile and false.'⁶⁴ Even in a treatise which purports to discuss topics of a more speculative and abstract nature, John cannot resist his practical impulse. Making men virtuous is not an enterprise distinct from making them intelligent or knowledgeable; it is of no value to be well educated if one is unable to put this learning to the service of moral rectitude. Moreover, the very techniques one employs in the acquisition of knowledge are subject to ethical evaluation and judgement. Proper learning is not defined merely by the quantity

⁵⁹ Cicero, *De inventione. De optimo genere oratorum. Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 2.165, p. 333.

⁶⁰ Cicero, *De officiis*, trans. W. Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), 2.59 (pp. 230-33); cf. 1.130 (pp. 130-33) and 2.66 (pp. 240-41).

⁶¹ *De officiis*, 2.89 (pp. 264-67).

⁶² This is glossed over by scholars who interpret John of Salisbury as a Ciceronian on the basis of his views on moderation (see Munk-Olsen, 'L'humanisme de Jean de Salisbury,' 65-66).

⁶³ The evidence for this claim has been presented in Nederman and Brückmann, 'Aristotelianism in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*', 213-16; and Nederman, 'The Aristotelian Doctrine of the Mean and John of Salisbury's Concept of Liberty', 130-33 and 'Aristotelian Ethics and John of Salisbury's Letters', 166-67.

⁶⁴ *Metalogicon*, p. 6; 'De moribus uero nonnulla scienter inserui; ratus omnia que leguntur aut scribuntur inutilia esse, nisi quatenus afferunt aliquod adminiculum uite. Est enim quelibet professio philosophandi inutilis et falsa, que se ipsam in cultu uirtutis et uitiae exhibitione non aperit' (p. 4 [825B]).

of knowledge inculcated, but also by the quality of the educational experience. Specifically, John believes that the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean is essential to any pedagogy which takes seriously its duty to mold morals as well as intellects.

The theme of moderation appears most prominently in the *Metalogicon's* discussion of the correct attitude which the student ought to adopt towards his subject matter.⁶⁵ In general, John advocates the principle that men must find a middle ground between an absence of intellectual curiosity and an overzealous pursuit of all topics. Intellectual discipline, John feels, arises out of adherence to a mean course between excess and defect: 'However, once we go beyond the proper limits, everything works in reverse, and excessive subtlety devours utility'.⁶⁶ One should strive always in one's studies to exercise a vigilance which 'tempers them lest anything become excessive'.⁶⁷ What this means in large measure is that the intellect ought not to wander into those regions which are inappropriate to it. On the one hand, the mind must discriminate among its potential subjects of study in order to eliminate those which are unsuitable, namely, matters that pertain to God alone and also 'whatever is noxious, such as images that encourage melancholy, anger, and lust, or their daughters, envy, hate, calumny, carnal wantonness (*luxuria*), and vanity'. Yet, on the other hand, excessive caution yields an intellect which resists inquiry into new or foreign territory at all. Should the mind be inclined to be 'overly cautious, it risks becoming timid, whereas if it grows too uncautious, it is in peril of becoming foolhardy'.⁶⁸ John thus maintains that proper philosophical investigation demands careful reflection upon the boundaries of one's intelligence, so as not to thrust oneself 'temerariously and rashly into questions which exceed comprehension'.⁶⁹ There are some topics with which the human mind is unprepared to deal, and to inquire after these is to court danger in the present world and in the afterlife. Nonetheless, John does not wish to discourage man from the correct application of his powers of reason. It is just as wrong to waste those capacities which God has granted to man as to presume that intellectual prowess gives him carte blanche to seek after any subject at all.

⁶⁵ Daniel D. McGarry observes that, 'consistent with his view that the main objective of general education is the development of facility in reasoning and verbal expression, John's pedagogical method is "student centered"' ('Educational Theory in the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury', 672).

⁶⁶ *Metalogicon*, p. 90; 'Si autem moderatio desit, omnia hec in contrarium cedunt; subtrahitur namque subtilitati utilitas' (p. 74 [865B]).

⁶⁷ *Metalogicon*, p. 229 (translation altered); '...uigilans diligentia, que exercitium temperat, ne quid nimis' (p. 183 [926C]).

⁶⁸ *Metalogicon*, pp. 219-20; '...que nocua declinet; ut sunt ex quibus dolor, ira, cupiditas, et sequele istorum, puta invidia, odio, detractio, luxuria, uanitas. Dum uero nimis cauet, ad formidinem; dum parum, ad temeritatem accedit' (p. 176 [922D]).

⁶⁹ *Metalogicon*, p. 270 (translation altered); '...ut ausu temerario in ea que inscrutabilia sunt non irrumpat' (p. 214 [943D]).

It is well enough to say that moderation should be the guide in planning and pursuing one's intellectual instruction. But how has this precept any applicability to pedagogical practice? It is fortunate that John filled the *Metalogicon* with relevant examples of the usefulness of moderation in education. In the first place, John believes that a moderate attitude towards study is manifested in the very extent of the materials one consults. The *Metalogicon* warns that 'to study everything that everyone, no matter how insignificant, has ever said, is either to be excessively humble and cautious, or overly vain and ostentatious'.⁷⁰ The well-trained scholar will survey those authorities who are deserving of respect, but ignore works that do not merit effort and attention. Another consequence of the principle of moderation as used by John is that learning ought not to be an all-consuming and exclusive way of life; those scholars who are unable to turn their minds to other pursuits manifest the weakness of their educations by exceeding the mean. How much better it is that 'study should be moderated by recreation, so that while one's natural ability waxes strong with the former, it may be refreshed by the latter...While innate ability proceeds from nature, it is fostered by use and sharpened by moderate exercise, but it is dulled by excessive work'.⁷¹ Constant study is a hindrance, rather than a boon, to the intellect; the overzealous scholar, no less than the too enthusiastic prince or prelate,⁷² courts counterproductive conduct if not the peril of his soul.

Even in the classroom, the doctrine in the mean has an appropriate role. As we have already discovered in examining John's Aristotelian account of knowledge, a thorough education rests largely on accustoming 'one's students to practice the art they are studying'. Such practice, however, can be taken to excess; the exercise of the learner's faculties, especially when done publicly in the presence of other students, should be pursued only 'provided that charity regulates enthusiasm'.⁷³ The patience of the instructor will bear fruit if he does not expect too great an improvement from his students too rapidly. Practice must be steady and slow as well as regular and extensive.

The *Metalogicon*'s reliance on the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean furthermore suggests an additional component of John's conception of wisdom. For if knowledge is necessary to wisdom, as John believes, and if likewise the acquisition of

⁷⁰ *Metalogicon*, p. 70; '...persequi quid quis unquam uel contemptissimorum hominum dixerit, aut nimie miserie, aut inanis iactantie est, et detinet atque obruit ingenia, melius aliis uacatura' (pp. 56-57 [855c]).

⁷¹ *Metalogicon*, pp. 35-36; 'Sedulo igitur ingenium tam studii quam remissionis moderatione excolendum est, ut ab altero conualescat, ab altero confortetur...Ingenium a natura proficiscitur, usu iuuatur, immoderato labore retunditur, et temperato acuitur exercitio' (p. 30 [839B]).

⁷² A point John makes in both the *Policraticus* and in his correspondence; see Nederman, 'The Aristotelian Doctrine of the Mean and John of Salisbury's Concept of Liberty', 140-41 and 'Aristotelian Ethics and John of Salisbury's Letters', 170-72.

⁷³ *Metalogicon*, p. 70; 'sedulitatem regit caritas' (p. 57 [856A]).

knowledge has a fundamentally moral component, then the person whose learning exceeds the mean will lack wisdom just as surely as he who remains forever ignorant. In particular, excessiveness in education leads to a mind which refuses to be humble in the face of its own inadequacies and to recognise the need for grace.⁷⁴ The price of immoderation in learning is intellectual arrogance, which renders wisdom impossible to attain because it entails an affront to God who is the fount of all wisdom. The wise man, by contrast, will study that which is accessible to him, shun that which is beneath him, and accept on faith those mysteries of a divine nature which are beyond his rational comprehension.⁷⁵

The notion that wisdom entails a moderate cast of mind appears to form the basis for John's criticism of pedagogical techniques current in the schools of his own day. 'Anyone who makes an effort to be moderate in word and action', the *Metalogicon* complains, 'is judged to have hidden motives'.⁷⁶ In this regard, John feels that the classroom is no different from the royal court; the temper of the times discourages observation of the mean.⁷⁷ Thus, instructors prompt students to all manner of intellectual excess. Disputations are conducted 'at all times, in all places, and on all topics',⁷⁸ in spite of the fact that 'the excesses of those who think dialectical discussion consists in unbridled loquacity should have been restrained by Aristotle'. It is thereby in a self-consciously Aristotelian vein that John objects to the unrestrained use of the verbal duel: 'The tongue of man...throws our life into confusion, and, unless it is checked by the reins of moderation, it hurls our entire person into the abyss'.⁷⁹ Nor does John make this criticism as an outsider, a cleric with limited experience of the methods of the schools. Rather, John devoted more than a decade to study under the great Parisian masters, and he observed how their dedication to a narrow pattern of logical discourse stunted their mental growth.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ *Metalogicon*, pp. 64-65 (p. 23 [835B-C]).

⁷⁵ *Metalogicon*, p. 270 (p. 214 [943C-D]).

⁷⁶ *Metalogicon*, p. 4 (I have amended McGarry's translation according to a suggestion made to me by Ms. Allison Holcroft); 'Qui modestiam sequitur sermonis et operis, censetur factiosus' (p. 1 [823B]).

⁷⁷ John's criticism of the wantonness of courtly life has been surveyed by C. J. Nederman and N. E. Lawson, 'The Frivolities of Courtiers Follow the Footprints of Women: Public Women and the Crisis of Virility in John of Salisbury' in *Ambiguous Realities. Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. C. Levin and J. Watson (Detroit, 1987), pp. 82-96.

⁷⁸ *Metalogicon*, p. 93; '... semper, ubique, et de omnibus eque disputant' (p. 76 [866B]).

⁷⁹ *Metalogicon*, p. 92; 'Debuerat Aristotiles hanc compescuisse intemperiem eorum qui indiscretam loquacitatem dialectice exercitium putant.' 'Lingue...conturbat uitam, et totum hominem, nisi moderationis vinculo refrenetur, agit in preceps' (p. 75 [866A, 865D-866A]).

⁸⁰ John describes his education in one of the classic examples of medieval intellectual autobiography at *Metalogicon*, pp. 95-100 (pp. 77-83 [867D-869B]). This passage provides much of the source material for the famous controversy about the existence of a major school of philosophy at Chartres during the twelfth century. See Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism*, pp. 111-13; and R. W. Southern, 'Humanism and the School of Chartres' in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 61-85.

Given the opportunity to visit with his old associates from school days, and to gauge the progress of their thought, John reports that he came away sorely disappointed. Over the years, these compatriots had acquired no greater wisdom and had benefitted not at all from the potential fruits of philosophy. Indeed, 'they had changed in but one regard: they had unlearned moderation; they no longer knew restraint'.⁸¹ Precisely on this ground, the *Metalogicon* condemns the contemporary practice of philosophical studies. When logic and dialectic are employed without any regard for the pursuit of wisdom, when their practice moves beyond the mean, they will be sterile and pointless. The path to wisdom, which philosophy purports to chart, demands that philosophers recognise the limitations of their own techniques and methods. When philosophy becomes immoderately fond of its own image, the goal of wisdom ceases to be paramount.

* *

The identification of Aristotelian epistemic and ethical ideas as components of John of Salisbury's theory of education, while previously unexamined, might have been expected, given the unabashed admiration he showed for Aristotle in the *Metalogicon*. But this discovery does have some far-reaching implications for the categories of analysis commonly employed by the historian of medieval philosophical trends. First, it provides a clear illustration of what I have elsewhere described as the dual character of the Aristotelian tradition in the Middle Ages.⁸² On the one hand, in the twelfth century, the technical doctrines of the *Organon* were widely employed and incorporated into medieval modes of thought, preparing the ground for the massive influx of Aristotle's psychology, metaphysics, science, ethics and politics into thirteenth-century Europe. But, on the other hand, the Aristotelian treatises on logic and language (in conjunction with such intermediate transmitters as Cicero and Boethius) also provided to twelfth-century authors a wealth of substantive doctrines in the areas of moral and speculative philosophy, the extent and influence of which is only now coming to be realised. Thus, the customary interpretation of medieval philosophy, which posits a sort of epistemological break around the year 1200 generated by the transmission of the bulk of Aristotle's texts, must be reexamined and subjected to scrutiny.⁸³ Indeed, it seems likely that the Aristotelian tradition exercised a broader and more intricate

⁸¹ *Metalogicon*, p. 100; '...profecerant in uno dumtaxat, dedicerant modum, modestiam nesciebant' (pp. 82-83 [869B]).

⁸² C. J. Nederman, 'Bracton on Kingship Revisited', *History of Political Thought* 5 (1984) 76-77.

⁸³ For an example of how an allegedly Aristotelian idea was transmitted to the Middle Ages long before the reappearance of the *Politics*, see G. Post in *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought. Public Law and State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 494-561.

influence upon the earlier medieval mind than has previously been credited. This is not to dispute the significance of the full recovery of the Aristotelian corpus, but instead to provide a partial explanation for its rapid acceptance and dissemination by medieval Christians in spite of the various sanctions intended to halt the spread of certain of Aristotle's ideas.

Furthermore, the location of demonstrably Aristotelian doctrines at the core of John of Salisbury's educational philosophy also explodes an alleged basis for the dichotomy between scholasticism and medieval humanism. The scholastics are generally regarded to have been whole-heartedly devotees of Aristotle's thought at the expense of previously entrenched Latin and Patristic modes of study.⁸⁴ The humanistic school, by contrast, is said to have abhorred Aristotle for engendering a narrow and technical approach to education. While admitting a limited value to Aristotelian teachings, the core of humanism supposedly owed its primary debt to Cicero, Quintilian, St. Augustine and a host of other Roman figures.⁸⁵ But surely this dichotomy is wrong with regard to that archetypical medieval humanist, John of Salisbury. Might it also be mistaken when attributed to others of the humanist persuasion? Only a great deal of additional research will allow us to reach a definite conclusion. In the case of John, what we appear to confront is one version of Aristotle interpretation, emphasising the substance of Aristotle's moral and epistemic doctrines, opposing another group of Aristotelians more concerned with the purely technical and formal aspect of his philosophy. Thus, the debate between humanism and scholasticism might plausibly be represented as a controversy between two schools of essentially Aristotelian thinkers, each concentrating on a different side of the philosopher's teachings. It is in precisely this sense that the two Aristotles of the Middle Ages, one above the surface, the other 'underground', not only coexisted but sometimes entered into direct conflict.

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⁸⁴ See G. Paré, A. Brunet and P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XII^e siècle. Les écoles et l'enseignement* (Paris and Ottawa, 1933), pp. 142-43; D. Knowles, 'The Humanism of the Twelfth Century', *Studies* 30 (1941) 57-58; and R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 161-62.

⁸⁵ This is essentially the view of John of Salisbury's humanism one finds in Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism*, pp. 63-67 and passim; Munk-Olsen, 'L'humanisme de Jean de Salisbury', 53-83; and K. Guth, 'Hochmittelalterlicher Humanismus als Lebensform: Ein Beitrag zum Standesethos des westeuropäischen Weltklerus nach Johannes von Salisbury' in *The World of John of Salisbury*, pp. 63-76.

IS 'ICE' IN OLD ENGLISH

Nancy Porter Stork

AFTER reading the great Old English poems, *Beowulf*, *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer* and many learned discourses on the nature of the Old English elegy, one has the impression that the poetic corpus of Old English is encrusted with a thick layer of hoarfrost. We remember the hail and sleet raining down upon mournful exiled sailors who tell us their woes, we think of Grendel's mother's magic sword melting like ice, and of lively Viking-style ships, icy and eager to head out over the cold and stormy sea. It is perhaps surprising, given our conceptions of what Old English literature is about and our excessive concern with certain texts, to realize that in the surviving corpus of Old English texts (including glossed psalters, homilies, saint's lives, translations from Latin, poetry and miscellaneous glosses) the word *is* 'ice' occurs as a simplex only thirty-six times. The rune whose name is *is* appears 11 times. Consider the thirty-six occurrences of the word *is*: four of them are glosses to a canticle, nine are glosses to Psalm 148.8 and one occurs in the Paris Psalter's Old English version of Psalm 148.8. Nearly half of the occurrences of *is* are found in only two texts. The numbers continue to shrink. *Is* occurs in Ælfric's *Life of Oswald* and in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, but when we read the two texts we realize that Ælfric is borrowing his story from Bede, not word for word, but certainly sense for sense. Two other occurrences of *is* are found in a Vercelli Homily and a Saint's Life, each describing the living conditions in an icy hell, a vision both have borrowed from Saint Paul. Finally, two versions of the story of the Forty Soldiers account for six of the instances of *is* 'ice'. Perhaps we are right after all to think of the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer* and the sword in *Beowulf*. There are simply not very many unique occurrences of *is* in the Old English corpus. Nevertheless, those that do survive, in spite of their limited range of texts, give an interesting perspective on Old English literature and vocabulary.

There is a very practical reason for investigating all of the surviving occurrences of *is*. The word *is* ('ice') cannot be distinguished from *is* ('is'), unless one is reading a text edited by a modern scholar who has graciously supplied macrons over the long vowels.¹ In Old English manuscripts, as well as the *Microfiche*

¹ The question of accent marks in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts should be mentioned here. Some vowels are marked in Old English, but there is no discernible system. For example: in the *Exeter Book*

Concordance to Old English,² the two words are indistinguishable. *Is* is one of the high frequency words not included in the first *Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, but now found in the second Concordance: *The High Frequency Words*.³ There are 20,206 surviving occurrences of the spelling *is* and the vast majority of these are ‘is’ and not ‘ice’. I present here the results of my search, the thirty-six occurrences of the noun *is* ‘ice’ and its inflections. As well, I include a discussion of the distribution of *is* and its compounds in Old English. A Latin–Old High German compound *isruna*, which I came across in my perusal of René Derolez’s *Runica Manuscripta*,⁴ is also discussed.⁵

Let us begin by looking at the glossed Psalters. In ten of them we find *is* glossing Latin *glacies* in Psalm 148, which is a hymn of praise to God. Among the creatures which offer forth praise are fire, hail, ice, snow and wind:

Ignis grando nix *glacies* spiritus procellarum qui faciunt verbum eius
Fyr hagol snaw is *gastas* vel storma þa þe wyrcaþ word his.⁶

This same psalm is translated into Old English verse in the *Paris Psalter*, where it is embellished by the poet, who thinks that frost should be included in this wintry company:

Fyr, forst, hægel and gefeallen snaw,
is and yste, ealra *gastas*
þe his word willað wyrcean georne.⁷

there are no accents on *is* ‘ice’ or *is* ‘is’, though other words are marked; in the *Vercelli Book*, we find accents occurring on both *is* ‘ice’ (Andreas 1261) and *is* ‘is’; in British Library, Cotton Otho A.vi *is* ‘ice’ (Met 28.60) and *ismera* (Met 28.63) are both accented, but there are no accents on any occurrence of *is* ‘is’. (See the introduction to the respective volumes of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records [ASPR] for a full list of accents in these manuscripts). This evidence is not consistent enough to posit any scribal distinction between the two homographs.

² Richard L. Venezky and Antonette diPaolo Healey, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English. The List of Texts and Index of Editions* (Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 1; Toronto, 1980). All the short titles subsequently given in this article are taken from this concordance. It should be noted that the reference numbers for quotations from the *Concordance* refer to the beginning of a sentence and not necessarily to the exact line in which a word is found.

³ Richard L. Venezky and Sharon Butler, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English. The High-Frequency Words* (Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 2; Toronto, 1985). In the Appendix, both the short title and the number of fiche and page are given for occurrences of *is*. All inflected and compounded versions of *is* can be found in the original concordance.

⁴ René Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta. The English Tradition* (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren 118; Bruges, 1954).

⁵ For a similar disambiguating of the words *ac* ‘but’ and *āc* ‘oak’, see Douglas Moffat, ‘The Occurrences of *āc* ‘Oak’ in Old English: A List’, *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987) 534–40.

⁶ PsGII (Lindelöf) 148.8.

⁷ PP 148.8 (George P. Krapp, ed., *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius* [ASPR 5; New York, 1932], p. 148).

Another song of praise, similar to Psalm 148, is the song of the three young men in the fiery furnace. They, too, catalogue all the creatures and meteorological phenomena that give praise to the Lord. This song is one of the canticles commonly found in medieval Psalters; *is* glosses *glacies* in four Anglo-Saxon psalters containing this canticle:

Benedicite glacies et nives domino
is and snewas.⁸

Curiously, this canticle is translated in the Old English poems *Azarias* and *Daniel*, but ice is not mentioned in either:

Ond þec, Crist cyning, ceolas weorðian,
fæder, forst ond snew, folca waldend,
winterbitera weder ond wolcna genipu,
ond þec liexende ligetta hergen,
blace, brahtumhwate, brytenrices weard,
dyrne dryhten.⁹

And þec, frea mihtig, forstas and snewas,
winterbiter weder and wolcenfaru,
lofige on lyfte!¹⁰

In the *Blickling Psalter*, *is* glosses *aqua*. Rowland Collins includes this as one of the Old English glosses to this text:

aqua: vel is (Ps 105:11).¹¹

Unfortunately, this gloss is not Old English, but Latin. The Latin text reads:

et salvavit eos de manu odientium
et redemit eos de manu inimici

⁸ PsCaI (Lindelöf) 8.14 (Uno Lorenz Lindelöf, *Der Lambeth Psalter* [Acta societatis scientiarum Fennicae 35.1 and 43.3; Helsinki, 1909-1914]). Other Anglo-Saxon psalters contain versions of this psalm and Ps 148. See the Appendix for a complete list.

⁹ *Azarias* in *The Exeter Book*, ed. George P. Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (ASPR 3; New York, 1936), p. 91.103-108.

¹⁰ *Daniel* in *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. George P. Krapp (ASPR 1; New York, 1931), p. 121.377-379.

¹¹ This is the gloss as Collins prints it. It appears in the *Microfiche Concordance* as: '[aqua, vel] is' OccGl 50.1.3 (Collins) 105.11 and '[aqua] is' OccGl 50.1.2 (Brock) 105.11. These two references are redundant and refer to the same gloss in the *Blickling Psalter*. We would expect to find the gloss in the EETS edition (Richard Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century* [EETS OS 58; London, 1874; rpt. London, 1967]), but it is not there. It is one of the glosses found by Rowland L. Collins in his examination of this manuscript in 1963 ('A Reexamination of the Old English Glosses in the *Blickling Psalter*', *Anglia* 81 [1963], 124-28).

et operuit aqua tribulantes eos
unus ex eis non remansit.¹²

The glossator is not saying that *aqua* ‘water’ is the lexical equivalent of *is* ‘ice’, but rather that a variant reading for *aqua* (ablative singular) is *aquis* (ablative plural).¹³ This reading occurs in the Cambridge Psalter, though *aqua* occurs both in the *Vulgata* and in the *Vetus latina* versions of this psalm.¹⁴

Another of the occurrences of *is* as a gloss is found in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*:

glacie constrictum: on ise f.¹⁵

The last two appearances of *is* as a gloss are in the Latin-Old English glossaries of manuscripts Plantin-Moretus 32 and British Library Additional 32246:

glacies: is

Stiria vel stilicidia: ises gicel.¹⁶

Just as we find that *is* occurs repeatedly to the same Latin text as a gloss, so we find that it appears in different Old English versions of the same text. Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy* is a prime example of this. King Alfred’s translation of Boethius survives in two versions, a prose version and a poetic version. The two Old English versions of Boethius’ Book 4 Metrum 5 both contain the word *is*:

¹² *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, tomus 1: *Genesis – Psalmi* (Stuttgart, 1969); Ps 105:11.

¹³ There are other examples in the *Microfiche Concordance* where *is* is Latin and not Old English. In Ælfric’s *Grammar* we find ‘is – ðu gæst’ (ÆGram 158.9) and ‘is – ðu færst’ (ÆGram 201.1) and ‘hæfd langne is on ðam oðrum hade – audio audis’ (ÆGram 186.16). In the *Durham Ritual Gloss*, we find *is* as a shortened form of *isaac* – ‘is/ – isaac’ (DurRtGl 1 [ThompLind] 163.1). Six occurrences of *is* are mistakes for *ic*:

- 1) ‘is (Read *ic*) herige’ ÆGram 104.20 (Fiche 249)
- 2) ‘is (Read *ic*) eow secgge...’ HomS14 (BIHom4) 268 (Fiche 308)
- 3) ‘is (Read *ic*) eow halsige...’ (HomS16 (Ass12) 46 (Fiche 311)
- 4) ‘is (Read *ic*) þæt þing...’ LS35 (VitPatr) 205 (Fiche 382)
- 5) ‘is (Read *ic*) eow nu bidde’ WCan 1.2 (Torkar) 115 (Fiche 678)
- 6) ‘is (Read *ic*) sege...’ WPol 2.1.1 (Jost) 230 (Fiche 682).

One occurrence is a mistake for *us*:

‘& nu is (Read *us*) in læde in costunge ales us from yfele [et ne nos inducas in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo]’ OccGl 54 (Zupitz) 11.49 (Fiche 1184).

¹⁴ Karl Wildhagen, ed., *Der Cambridger Psalter* (Darmstadt, 1964), p. 269: ‘et operuit aquis tribulantes eos; unus ex eis non remansit: ofyrwrieh wæt yr swencynde hi; an of him ne belæfde.’ Phillip Pulsiano, who noticed this incorrect ‘Old English’ gloss independently, notes that the reading ‘aquis’ also occurs in the Paris and Bosworth Psalters (*The Blickling Psalter: aqua uel is*, *Notes and Queries* 31 [1984] 453-54).

¹⁵ OccGl 45.1.2 (Meritt) 136. This gloss is found in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.ii (Herbert Dean Meritt, *Old English Glosses [A Collection]* [New York, 1945], p. 9). Meritt suggests in a footnote that this *f.* may stand for ‘fæst’. It could also be ‘frozen’ or ‘fæstnode’.

¹⁶ Lowell Kindschi, *The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS. 32 and British Museum MS. Additional 32246* (Ph.D. diss., Stanford, 1956).

Oððe hwy ne wundriað hi þæs þæt hit hwilum þunrað, hwilum na ne onginð, oððe eft gewinnes sæ and winda and yþa and landes, oððe hwy þæt is weorðe and eft for þære sunnan sciman to his agnum gecynde weorðe?¹⁷

Hwa wundrað þæs
oððe opres eft, hwi þæt is mæge
weorðan of wætere; ewlitetorht scindð
sunna swegle hat; sona gecerreð
ismere ænlic on his agen gecynd,
weorðeð to wætre.¹⁸

The translator of the poetry of Boethius has sometimes added more details to the text than the translator of the prose. Translating Boethius Book 4 Metrum 4, the prose reads:

Forwhi drefe ge eowru mod mid unrihtre fionunge, swa swa yða for winde þa sæ hrerað?¹⁹

The poetry further describes the sea as ice-cold:

Hwy ge æfre scylen unrihtfioungum
eower mod drefan, swa swa mereflodes
yþa hrerað iscalde sæ,
wecggað for winde?²⁰

In one other description, of the star Saturn in the prose *Boethius*, we find the adjective *isig*:

Se is eall isig; se wandrað ofer oðrum steorrum ufor þonne ænig oðer tungol.²¹

Is occurs once more in the corpus of the Alfredian translations, this time in *Orosius*:

þa wæs Donua seo ea [swa] swiþe oferfroren þæt hie getruwedon þæt hie ofer þæm
ise faran mehten; ac hie [mæst ealle] þær forwurdon.²²

In the Old English saint's lives, we find several stories that are concerned with ice. The first of these is Bede's account of a miracle wrought by the wood of a cross set up by the devout King Oswald before a battle. A monk named Bothelm, of

¹⁷ Bo 39.126.18 (Walter John Sedgefield, ed., *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De consolatione philosophiae* [Oxford, 1899; rpt. Darmstadt, 1968], p. 126.18-21).

¹⁸ Met 28.59 (Krapp, *The Paris Psalter*, pp. 198-99.59-64).

¹⁹ Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Boethius*, p. 124.3-4.

²⁰ Met 27.1.

²¹ Bo 36.105.12 (Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Boethius*, p. 105.12-14).

²² Or 11.208.1 (Janet Bately, ed., *The Old English Orosius* [EETS SS 6; Oxford, 1980], p. 110.9-11).

Hexham, breaks his arm on the ice and is healed by eating some of the moss that grows on King Oswald's cross:

Pa eode he sume neahte on ise unwærlice, þa gefeoll he semninga on his earm ufan, and þone swiðe geðræste and gebræc, and mid þa hefignesse þæs gebrocenan earmes swiðe geswenced wæs, swa þæt he for þy såre ne meahte furðon his hond to muðe gedon.²³

Ælfric retells this story in his *Life of Oswald*, giving a much more spare version than Bede:

Sum man feoll on ise þæt his earm tobærst.
and læg þa on bedde gebrocen forðearle
oð þæt man him fette of ðære foresædan rode
sumne dæl þæs meoses þe heo mid beweaxen wæs.
and se adliga sona on slæpe wearð gehæled
on ðære ylcan nihte þurh oswoldes geearnungum.²⁴

Another saintly monk appears in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, named Dryht-helm. He is granted a vision of the afterlife while *in extremis* and, when healed of his sickness, resolves to live his life in a very different manner. He divides up his worldly goods and spends his days in prayer and penance. One of his bodily chastisements is to pray while standing up to his neck in a freezing river:

Mid ӯ þe in midwintres tide, ymb hiene flowendum þæm sticcum halfbrocenra iisa, ӯa he seolfa oft gebræc and gescende, þæt he stowe hæfde in ӯæm streame to standenne oðþe hiene to bisæncenne, cwædon him men to, þa ӯæt gesawon: *Hwæt* þæt is wundor, broðor Dryht-helm.²⁵

The men who see him in the river ask him how he can stand such bitter cold and he replies, with characteristic obscurity, 'I have seen colder'. He refers, of course, to his vision of purgatory, where souls are tossed back and forth between unbearable heat and unbearable cold. Ice, in this story, is both a terrible punishment and a challenge for dedicated ascetics. In the story of the *Forty Soldiers*, Ælfric gives another account of martyrs who triumph, like Dryht-helm, over ice and cold. They are thrown into an icy sea, as a test of their faith:

Pa scufon þa hæþenan þa halgan Into þam mere.
to middes þam ise ealle unscrydde.

²³ Bede 3.1.156.16 (Thomas Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Part 1.1 [EETS OS 95; London, 1890; rpt. Oxford, 1959], p. 156.16-20).

²⁴ ÆLS (Oswald) 34 (Walter W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, vol. 2 [EETS OS 94 and 114; London, 1890, rpt. as one volume, Oxford, 1966], pp. 126-28.34-39).

²⁵ Bede 5.13.436.5 (Thomas Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Part 1.2 [EETS OS 96; London, 1891; rpt. Oxford, 1959], p. 436.5-9).

and heom weardas setton þurh-wacole menn.
 þæt heora nan ne mihte mid fleame æt-berstan.²⁶

Hit begann þa on æfnunge egeselice freosan.
 þæt þæt is befencg ba foresædan martyras.
 swá þæt heora flæsc for ðam forste tobærst.²⁷

The forty soldiers try a technique perfected by the three worthies in the Babylonian furnace and sing the praise of God, calling on fire and ice to praise God along with them:

we gecygad þinne naman . þonne/ þe soðlice heriað
 ealle gesceafta . and ealle niwelnyssa .
 fyr . and hagol . snaw . and ceald is.
 windas . and stormas . þe þin word gefyllað.²⁸

Just as the fire in the fiery furnace is quenched, so the icy water is changed into a warm bath:

Hwæt ða færlice wearð mycel wundor ðurh god .
 þær com hefonlic leoht to þam halgum martyrum .
 swa hāt swa sunne scinende on sumere .
 and þær is formealt on eallum þam mere
 and þær wæter weard awend to wynsumum baðe.²⁹

This same story is recounted more succinctly in the *Old English Martyrology*:

on þæm mere wæs micel is ond yfel, ond þær wæs hat bæð bi þæm mere, þæt gif heora hwilc on his geleafen getweode, þæt he gebuge to þæm. þa on foreweardre niht snað þæt is þara haligra lichoman; þa getweode heora án on his mode *ond* arn to þæm hatan baðe *ond* wæs sona dead, *ond* him þa lima ealle tofeollan. þa on niht com leoht of hefonum swa hat swa sunne bið on sumera, *ond* þæt is gemelte, *ond* þæt wæter wearð warm.³⁰

Is and *īsig* each occur once in different visions of hell, one in a life of St. Michael, one in a Vercelli Homily:

²⁶ *ÆLS* (Forty Soldiers) 145 (Walter W. Skeat, ed., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, vol. 1 [EETS OS 76 and 82; London, 1881; rpt. as one volume, Oxford, 1966], p. 246.145-48).

²⁷ *ÆLS* (Forty Soldiers) Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives*, p. 248.153-155.

²⁸ *ÆLS* (Forty Soldiers) Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives*, p. 248.171-174.

²⁹ *ÆLS* (Forty Soldiers) Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives*, p. 250.195-199.

³⁰ Mart 5 (Herzfeld-Binz) 382 [MA09/A/10]; 384 [MA09/A/13]; and 387 [MA09/A/17] (George Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology* [EETS OS 116; London, 1900; rpt. Millwood, New York, 1975], p. 38.1-8).

On anes eagan byrhtme bið eall hell-warena mæzen þurh his anes fnaest geworden to ise.³¹

& he geseah þæt on ðæm clife hangodan on ðæm is gean bearwum manige swearte saula be heora handum gebundne.³²

Both of these visions derive from the *Visio sancti Pauli*, one of the visions of hell that was current in Anglo-Saxon England. The homilist of the first passage on St. Michael gives credit to Saint Paul for this vision, saying ‘Swa Sanctus Paulus wæs geseonde...’³³ The Vercelli homilist does not quote Paul directly, but has drawn the salient features of his hell-vision from the *Visio sancti Pauli*.³⁴ In the afterworld, there is no clemency from the eternal ice; no songs of praise will turn it into a pleasant bath. Presumably, this vision is given so that we, too, like Dryhthelm, will change our way of living before it is too late.

In *Andreas*, we encounter a saint whose holiness is mirrored by the physical world. Dryhthelm can stand the cold, because he is armed by his vision of a much greater cold; the forty soldiers can change icy water into warm by the strength of their prayer. In the course of his martyrdom, Andreas also influences the weather. The very elements are in sympathy with this plight. When he is bound and tortured, cold weather binds the land of the Mermedonians with rime and frost and ice.

Pa se halga wæs under heolstorscuwan,
eorl ellenheard, ondlange niht
searofancum beseted. Snaw eorðan band
wintergeworpum. Weder coledon
heardum hægelscurum, swylce hrim ond forst,
hare hildstapan, hæleða eðel
lucon, leoda gesetu. Land wæreron freorig
cealdum cylegicelum, clang wæteres þrym
ofer eastreamas, is brycgade
blæce brimrade.³⁵

The image of ice making a bridge of water is also found in quite a different context, in the *Maxims* of the Exeter Book. Finding a similar passage in such a

³¹ Hom U9 (VercHom4) 60 (Max Förster, ed., *Die Vercelli-Homilien. I.-VIII. Homilie*. [Darmstadt, 1964], p. 78).

³² LS 25 (MichaelMor) 242 (Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 209-210). The connection between this vision of damned souls hanging on icy trees and the ‘hrinde bearwas’ of Grendel’s Mere in *Beowulf* (1363) has often been pointed out.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ See Antonette diPaolo Healey, ed., *The Old English Version of Saint Paul* (Speculum Anniversary Monographs 2; Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p. 47.

³⁵ And 1253-62 (George P. Krapp, ed., *The Vercelli Book* [ASPR 2; New York, 1932], p. 38.1253-62).

radically different poem suggests that this may be a part of a traditional poetic description of winter:

Forst sceal freosan fyr wudu meltan,
 eorþe growan, is brycgian,
 wæter helm wegan, wundrum lucan
 eorþan cipas. An sceal inbindan
 forstes fetre felameahtig god;
 winter sceal geweorpan, weder eft cuman,
 sumor swegle hat, sund unstille.³⁶

The remaining occurrences of *is* are found in two poems, *Beowulf* and *The Seafarer*. In the opening of *The Seafarer*, the poet tells us just how cold it is alone on the ocean. The words 'cold' and 'ice-cold' occur twice in the space of ten and a half lines. *Is* does not appear as a simplex in this poem:

Pæt se mon ne wat
 þe him on foldan fægrost limpeð,
 hu ic earmcearig iscealdne sæ
 winter wunade wræccan lastum,
 winemægum bidroren,
 bihongan hrimgicelum; hægl scurum fleag.
 Pær ic ne gehyrde butan hlimman sæ,
 iscaldne wæg.³⁷

Later, the poet describes the icy feathers of the calling birds:

Stormas þær stanclifu beotan, þær him stearn oncwæð
 isigfeþera; ful oft þær earn bigeal,
 urigfeþra; ne ænig hleomæga
 feasceaftig ferð frefran meahte.³⁸

The *Beowulf*-poet also uses the adjective *īsig*, but to describe a funeral ship, eager to take the body of Scyld out to sea:

þær æt hýðe stōd hringedstefna
 īsig ond útfüs, æþelinges fær.³⁹

³⁶ Max 1 p. 159, 72-77. For an interesting discussion of the imagery of winter in Old English poetry, see B. K. Martin, 'Aspects of Winter in Latin and Old English Poetry', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 68 (1969) 375-90. These poetic descriptions of winter are quite different from the matter-of-fact description given by Byrhtferð in his *Manual*: 'Hiemps ys winter: he byð ceald and wæt; wæter ys ceald and wæt; swa byð se ealde man ceald and snoflig' (ByrM 1 [Crawford] 12.16).

³⁷ *The Seafarer* in Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, p. 143.12-19.

³⁸ *The Seafarer* in Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, p. 144.23-26.

³⁹ *Beowulf* (Friedrich Klauber, ed., *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd edition [Lexington, Mass., 1950], p. 2.32-33).

The *Seafarer*-poet uses the compound *īsceald*, but the only compound we find with *īs* in *Beowulf* is *īsgebinde*:

Hengest ðā gȳt
wælfāgne winter wunode mid Finne
[ea]l unhlitme; eard gemunde,
þeah þe ne meahte on mere drīfan
hringedstefnan,— holm storme wēol,
won wið winde, winter yþe belēac
īsgebinde.⁴⁰

This image is related to the image found in *Andreas*, where winter binds the earth.

Curiously, the only occurrence of *īs* as a simplex in either *Beowulf* or *The Seafarer* is in reference to Grendel's mother's sword, which melts like ice in the blood of the monster's mother:

þā þæt sweord ongan
æfter heaþoswāte hildegicelum,
wīgbil wanian; þæt wæs wundra sum,
þæt hit eal gemealt īse gelicost,
ðonne forstes bend Fæder onlæteð,
onwindeð wælrāpas, sē geweald hafað
sæla ond mæla; þæt is soð Metod.⁴¹

The *Andreas*-poet has a similar opportunity to describe weapons that mysteriously melt through the force of some greater power (in this case, God's). The Mermodonians are planning to sacrifice and eat a young man, but are prevented by the fact that their weapons melt like wax:

Het wæpen wera wexe gelicost
on þam orlege eall formeltan,
þy læs scyldhatan sceððan mihton,
egle ondsacan, ecga þryðum.⁴²

Melting wax is a much more appropriate image for a poem set in a Mediterranean climate than melting ice. It may be presumptuous to judge on the basis of the few references to 'ice' that have survived, but the Anglo-Saxons seem to have been fascinated by the phenomenon of the melting and recreating of ice. Aldhelm, in his *De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis* refers to a Latin riddle ('Mater me genuit, et eadem mox gignitur ex me')⁴³ which describes the creation of ice from

⁴⁰ Klaeber, *Beowulf*, p. 43.1127-33.

⁴¹ Klaeber, *Beowulf*, p. 60.1605-11.

⁴² And 1145-1148 in Krapp, *Vercelli Book*, pp. 34-35.

⁴³ Rudolf Ehwald, ed., *Aldhelmi Opera* (MGH, Auctores antiquissimi 15; Berlin, 1919), p. 77, line 2. This is also known as the 'Epistola ad Acircium'.

water and then water from ice. This Latin riddle is the inspiration for one of the Old English riddles about ice:

Wiht cwom æfter wege wrætlicu liban,
cymlic from ceole cleopode to londe,
hlinsade hlude; hleahtor wæs gryelic,
egesful on earde, ecge wærton scearpe.
Wæs hio hetegrim, hilde to sæne,
biter beadowerca; bordweallas grof,
heardhijende. Heterune bond,
sægde searocræfig ymb hyre sylfre gesceaft:
"Is min modor mægða cynnes
þæs deorestan, þæt is dohtor min
eacen up liden, swa þæt is ældum cup,
firum on folce, þæt seo on foldan sceal
on ealra londa gehwam lissum stondan."⁴⁴

There is one other Old English riddle about ice, and it may be drawn from a native Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition rather than a Latin learned tradition. The image is simple and the riddle is short:

Wundor wearð on wege; wæter wearð to bane.⁴⁵

Ice here is likened to bone; in the *Beowulf* passage it is indirectly likened to the steel of a sword. In each case, ice is associated with something marvellous or wonderful, something uncanny. This tendency toward the marvellous is in part necessitated by the nature of the riddle; the poet cannot use the word *is* in a riddlic description of ice and thus is forced to look for metaphors which will describe the subject of the riddle without giving the solution away.

There is also a more mundane aspect of *is*, which we find in the Anglo-Saxon medical texts. One of the Metrical Charms gives a remedy made of nine plants, which is good against a wide range of illnesses, including a disease (or blister) caused by ice:

Nu magon þas VIII wyrta wið nygon wuldorgelogenum,
wið VIII attrum and wið nygon onflygnum,
wið ðy readan attre, wið ðy runlan attre,
wið ðy hwitan attre, wið ðy wedenan attre,
wið ðy geolwan attre, wið ðy grenan attre,
wið ðy wonnan attre, wið ðy wedenan attre,
wið ðy brunan attre, wið ðy basewan attre,

⁴⁴ Riddle 33 in Krapp, *The Exeter Book*, p. 197. This riddle is also found as *Riddle 31* in Craig Williamson, ed., *The Old English Riddles of the 'Exeter Book'* (Chapel Hill, 1977), pp. 87-88.

⁴⁵ Riddle 69 in Krapp, *The Exeter Book*, p. 231 (*Riddle 66* in Williamson's edition, p. 106).

wið wyrngeblæd, wið wætergeblæd,
 wið þorngeblæd, wið þystelgeblæd,
 wið ysgeblæd, wið attorgeblæd,
 gif ænig attor cumē eastan fleogan
 oððe ænig norðan * * * cumē
 oððe ænig westan ofer werðeode.⁴⁶

The distress caused by ice is presumably frostbite, though with such a varied and colorful list of diseases, one wonders if it could be something else as well, perhaps some ailment which causes the sufferer to feel cold or excessively eager to stand in icy water and pray.

The remaining occurrences of *is* are runic. Most of them are taken from runic alphabets written in manuscripts. In these instances, the word *is* does not appear, but the rune graph for 'ice', |, does. In the *Rune Poem*, we find both the rune graph and the word *is*:

| (is) byþ oferceald, ungemetum slidor;
 glisnaþ glæshlūttur gímmum gelicust;
 flōr forste geworuht, fæger ansyne.⁴⁷

The *Rune Poem* is an alphabetical poem, giving three verses for each letter of the runic alphabet. It occurs in Old Norse, Norwegian and a mixture of Old Norse and Continental Germanic as well as Old English, and reveals a continuing fascination with the ancient alphabet of the Germanic peoples.⁴⁸ This portion of *The Rune Poem*, *Riddle 33* and *Riddle 69* are the only three poems which deal directly and exclusively with ice. The riddler of *The Exeter Book* has hidden the wonder of ice beneath the metaphor of water turning into bone, while the poet of *The Rune Poem* has described ice as a glassy, gem-like floor made by frost. Though the intent of the first poet is to hide and of the second to evoke, either of these is an elegant description of ice.

The last occurrences of *is* are taken from various *futhorc* alphabets and consist of the ice rune written along with its comrades in the more or less established order of the English runes.⁴⁹ In such a context the meaning of the ice rune itself is not

⁴⁶ MCharm 2 45 (Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, [ASPR 6; New York, 1942], p. 120.45-57). Dobbie, in his note to line 54 of this charm, says: 'ysgeblæd] With þ erased before y'. This is a simple case of dittoigraphy, with the þ from preceding *þystelgeblæd* written before *ysgeblæd*, noticed, and then erased. This text also occurs as Med 3 (Grattan-Singer) 81.1 (John Henry Grafton and Charles Singer, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine. Illustrated Specially From the Semi-Pagan Text 'Lacnunga'* [Oxford, 1952], p. 154).

⁴⁷ MRune 29-31 (Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, p. 28.29-31). See also Maureen Halsall, ed., *The Old English 'Rune' Poem: A Critical Edition* (Toronto, 1981), pp. 88.

⁴⁸ See Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, p. xxvi. See also Halsall, *The Old English 'Rune' Poem*, pp. 33-38.

⁴⁹ See Halsall, *The Old English 'Rune' Poem*, pp. 12-19.

particularly important. Most of these alphabets are given as oddities, and are often accompanied by other exotic alphabets. In several manuscripts, the ice rune becomes important as part of a system of cryptic writing; in this case the ice rune is used not because it means 'ice' but because the letter itself (a simple straight line) is used in a code. This system depends on the conventional division of the runic alphabet into three 'families' of eight letters each. Each family is written on one line and the letters are always in the same order. With this system, one can specify a letter by saying it is the *n*th letter in the *n*th line. Thus the rune for *f*, the first letter in the runic alphabet, would be *i*, *I*. In the medieval system, the line is specified first and the position of the letter afterwards:

Iisruna dicuntur quae *i* littera per totum scribuntur, ita ut quotus uersus sit primum breuioribus *i*, quae autem littera sit in uersu longioribus *I* scribatur, ita ut nomen corui scribatur his litteris ita.⁵⁰

This system of cryptic writing is described in a tract which Derolez has called 'The Irsruna Tract'. This tract contains the passage above and also gives other possible cryptic systems, which follow the same principle. *Lagoruna* writing uses the rune for *L* and follows the same pattern as above. The last three are more unusual and involve indicating the two numbers by a number of strokes on either side of a vertical line (*hahalruna*), or indicating the numbers with a series of dots in horizontal lines (*stofruna*) or tapping out the numbers in a system something like Morse code (*clofruna*).⁵¹ As is evident from the words above (taken from MS St. Gall 270), the names for these cryptographic systems are in Old High German. The names do not survive in a recognizable Old English version, though the form *īsrūna* (with one *i* — which we would expect in Old English) does occur in four out of five of the surviving copies of the 'Irsruna Tract'. These five compounds are a strange mixture of Old High German and Latin (*rūna* is a late Latin word, borrowed from the Germanic *run-*), but are not, as far as I have been able to ascertain, included in dictionaries of the medieval Germanic languages.⁵² Would

⁵⁰ Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, p. 120.

⁵¹ Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, pp. 131-56.

⁵² I have checked the following dictionaries:

Georg Friedrich Benecke, Wilhelm Müller, and Friedrich Karl Theodore Zarncke. *Mittelhoch-deutsche Wörterbuch*. (Hildesheim, 1963).

Joseph Bosworth. *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*. (London, 1838).

Alistair Campbell. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of Joseph Bosworth. Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda to the Supplement by T. Northcote Toller*. (Oxford, 1972).

Clark Hall and Herbert Dean Meritt. *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th edition (Cambridge, 1960).

Richard Cleasby, Gudbraud Vigfusson, and William A. Craigie. *Icelandic-English Dictionary*. (Oxford, 1957).

Ferdinand Holthausen. *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. (Heidelberg, 1934).

it be worth adding these compounds to the new *Dictionary of Old English*? Derolez comes to no definite conclusions about the origins of the 'Isruna Tract', but he does suggest that it was known in Anglo-Saxon England and has survived only in the copies we have today.⁵³

We have no direct evidence that *isruna* is a genuine Old English word, but chances are that the word was extant among the Anglo-Saxons. It would perhaps be useful to add it to the new *Dictionary of Old English* as part of the introductory matter for the letter *I*, in a discussion of its runic significance. There is really no place for such a discussion in the definition for the word *is*, because the cryptography does not depend at all on any lexical meaning of 'ice', but rather on the rune for 'ice' used in a system of numbering and encoding. But in order to present a complete 'definition' of the word 'ice' in Anglo-Saxon England, we must include its significance not only as it appears written in letters borrowed from Rome, but also as it appears in the original alphabet of the Germanic peoples. The lexicon of Old English consists primarily of the spoken words of the Anglo-Saxon written in the alphabet of the Romans. Where we find the spoken word preserved in its original written form, we should make every attempt to preserve and understand it further.

APPENDIX

Occurrences of *is* in the *Microfiche Concordance to Old English*

<i>Glosses</i>	<i>Fiche</i>
<i>is</i>	
AntGl 6 (Kindschi) 258	I010 1184
ÆGl 2.161	I008 267
ÆGram 82.9	I007 247

Mattias von Lexer. *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*. (Stuttgart, 1970).

Taylor Starck and John C. Wells. *Althochdeutsches Glossen Wörterbuch*. (Heidelberg, 1971-). Franz Heinrich Stratmann. *A Dictionary of the Old English Language*. 3rd edition (Kerfeld [England], 1878).

Thomas Northcote Toller. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth. Supplement*. (Oxford, 1921).

Jan de Vries. *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. (Leiden, 1961).

Wilhelm Wackernagel. *Alteutsches Handwörterbuch*. 5th edition (Basel, 1878).

Geir T. Zoëga. *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic*. (Oxford, 1926).

⁵³ Derolez has a long discussion of this possibility in *Runica Manuscripta*, pp. 122-61. The Hackness stone from Yorkshire contains three and a half lines of *hahalruna* and is evidence for similar cryptography in England (p. 140).

PsCaF(Rosier)8.14	I010 1138
PsCaG(Rosier)8.14	I010 1131
PsCaI(Lindelöf)8.14	I010 1140
PsCaK(Sisam)8.14	I010 1145
PsGlA(Kuhn)148.8	I010 899
PsGlC(Wildhagen)148.8	I009 826
PsGlD(Roeder)148.8	I010 932
PsGlE(Harsley)148.8	I009 849
PsGlF(Kimmens)148.8	I010 949 (iss)
PsGlG(Rosier)148.8	I010 920
PsGlI(Lindelöf)148.8	I010 969
PsGlJ(Oess)148.8	I009 872
PsGlK(Sisam)148.8	I010 1003

īses

AntGl2(Kindschi)462

īse

OccGl45.1.2(Meritt)136

*Latin Translations**īs*

Bo39.126.18	I008 531
Met28.59	I007 31
PPs148.8	I007 27

īse

Bede 3 1.156.16

Or4 11.208.1

īisa

Bede 5 13.436.5

īsig

Bo 36.105.12

īscalde

Met 27.1

īsmere

Met 28.59

*Old English Prose**īs*

ÆLS(Forty Soldiers)153	I007 149
ÆLS(Forty Soldiers)171	I007 149

ÆLS(Forty Soldiers)195	I007	149
Mart5(Herzfeld-Binz)382[MA09/A/10]	I009	773
Mart5(Herzfeld-Binz)384[MA09/A/13]	I009	773
Mart5(Herzfeld-Binz)387[MA09/A/17]	I009	773

īse

ÆLS(Oswald)34
ÆLS(Forty Soldiers)145
HomU9(VercHom4)60

īsigeān

LS25(MichaelMor)242

*Old English Poetry**īs*

And 1259	I007	7
Max 1 71	I007	15

īse

BEO 1607

īsig

Beo 32

īsceald

Sea 14 iscealdne
Sea 19 iscaldne

īsgebinde

Beo 1129

īsigfēpera

Sea 24

ysgeblæd

MCharm 2 45

*Medical Texts**ysgeblæd*

Med3 (GrattanSinger)81.1 (Note: this reference duplicates the one above, MCharm 2 45.)
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Runes

MRune 29

MsRunel.2(Derolez)11	I009	808
MsRunel.3(Derolez)10	I009	808

MsRune1.4(Derolez)11	I009	808
MsRune2.1(Derolez)11	I009	808
MsRune2.2(Derolez)11	I009	808
Rune Hackness 1		
Rune Ruthwell A5		
Rune Ruthwell A7		
Rune Themse A1		
Rune Themse B1		

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THE TWO 'LITEL WOT HIT ANY MON' LYRICS IN HARLEY 2253

Richard Firth Green

THE two lyrics in British Library manuscript Harley 2253, called by Carleton Brown the 'Way of Christ's Love' and the 'Way of Woman's Love',¹ have attracted some attention for their graphic illustration of 'the manner in which the love of God and love of the lady could be opposed and expressed in similar literary forms',² but the precise nature of their interrelationship remains unclear. This pair of formally matched lyrics, with their identical opening lines and similar refrains, has no parallel in English (though, as we shall see, it does in French), and neither the motives behind the pairing nor the circumstances that prompted it have ever been satisfactorily explained.

The existence in two other manuscripts of isolated stanzas obviously related in some way to the opening verses of these Harley poems compounds the problem. Cambridge, Caius College 512 contains a version of the first eight lines of the 'Way of Christ's Love' (omitting the refrain), while an address to the Virgin in the thirteenth-century British Library Egerton ms. 613 closely parallels the first stanza and refrain of the 'Way of Woman's Love'.³ Betty Hill has questioned Carleton Brown's suggestion (based on the phrase 'derne loue' in its second line) that the Caius fragment 'was an adaptation of a secular lyric', arguing from principles of

¹ *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1932), pp. 161-63; Brown's titles are retained in the standard edition of these lyrics: *The Harley Lyrics. The Middle English Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253*, ed. G. L. Brook, 3rd edition (Manchester, 1964), pp. 70-72.

² R. P. Miller, ed., *Chaucer. Sources and Backgrounds* (New York, 1977), p. 351. On the interplay of religious and secular impulses in the medieval lyric in general see Elizabeth Salter, 'The Mediaeval Lyric' in *The Mediaeval World*, ed. D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (London, 1973), pp. 457-62.

³ These fragments are printed in Brown, *English Lyrics*, pp. 235-37, and Brook, *Harley Lyrics*, p. 88. The Caius manuscript is from Norwich and the hand which wrote the 'Lytel wotyt onyman' stanza (on fol. 260v) can be dated to 1325-36; see D. C. Cox and C. Revard, 'A New ME O-and-I Lyric and Its Provenance', *Medium aevum* 54 (1985) 45-46 n. 18. The Egerton anthology was apparently compiled in the South-West Midlands, perhaps for a house of nuns, and the 'Litel uoit eni man' stanza (written on fol. 2v) is in a hand of the end of the thirteenth century; Betty Hill, 'British Library MS. Egerton 613-I', *Notes and Queries* 223 (1978) 394-409.

textual transmission that the 'Way of Woman's Love' is in fact adapted from the Egerton fragment.⁴ She concludes that 'the resemblances between the Harley *Ways* indicate an intermediate stage of transmission during which one of the two *Ways* became a conscious adaptation of the other' — a somewhat curious claim since resemblances between the two fragments (which by her account are earlier) is quite as marked as those between Harley's two complete poems. Rather than considering the ambiguous evidence of textual descent, I propose to examine the literary tradition behind these poems to see if it can tell us anything about the circumstances of their composition.

There is plenty of evidence that churchmen in the Middle Ages were eager 'to turn the vain and foolish songs of the people to the service of God',⁵ and their wholesale appropriation of the diction and imagery of secular love lyrics for devotional poetry has long been recognized.⁶ Their further appropriation of formal features like metre and rhyme-scheme was, however, comparatively rare in England, and has been little discussed by English scholars.⁷ Nevertheless, such appropriation was widely practised on the Continent, where many of the resulting metrical facsimiles, intended apparently to supply new sets of words for existing popular melodies, are known to musicologists as *contrafacta*.⁸

The term *contrafactum* can be applied to a variety of poems, whose only common denominator is that each is an exact metrical reproduction of a known original. Thus it need denote nothing more exotic than a literal translation, and can equally be used of a piece that completely ignores the content of its model: 'Gabriel, fram evene-king' (Brown, *English Lyrics*, no. 44), a *contrafactum* of 'Angelus ad Virginem', and 'Ar ne kuthe ich sorghe non' (Brown, *English Lyrics*, no. 5), a *contrafactum* of 'Eyns ne soy ke pleynte fu', are examples of the first, while 'Perspice christicola', which is set to the tune of 'Svmer is icumen in' (Brown, *English Lyrics*, no. 6), is a well-known instance of the second.⁹ While

⁴ 'A Note on "The Way of Christ's Love", "The Way of Woman's Love" in B.M. MS. Harley 2253', *Notes and Queries* 217 (1972) 46-47. Hill's argument that there is evidence of textual corruption in the refrain of the 'Way of Woman's Love' — where *bohte* is made to rhyme with *ofte* — might be countered with a similar claim for the Egerton fragment, where *man* (line 1) is made to rhyme with *Leuedi* (line 3); the emendation she suggests for Harley (the reading *nout* for *nout ofte*) might be improved by supposing an original *bat y ne seo ozte* ('whom I do not see at all').

⁵ R. M. Wilson, *Early Middle English Literature*, 3rd edition (London, 1968), p. 267.

⁶ See, for example, M. Gibinska, 'Some Observations on the Themes and Techniques of the Medieval English Religious Love Lyrics', *English Studies* 57 (1976) 103-114.

⁷ See R. L. Greene, ed., *The Early English Carols*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1977), p. cxlviii, and R. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), p. 192; Woolf is wrong to claim that 'there is no early example' in England.

⁸ A brief discussion of *contrafacta* in an English context is to be found in E. J. Dobson and F. L. Harrison, *Medieval English Songs* (London, 1979), pp. 17-19.

⁹ These are the only three English instances given in Friedrich Gennrich, *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters* (Summa musicae medii aevi 12; Langen bei Frankfurt, 1965), pp. 23-24. With the Summer Canon the question of whether the English or Latin text is the earlier has recently

many *contrafacta* are written in a language which differs from that of their models (vernacular versions of Latin hymns or religious lyrics in Latin based on secular songs in the vernacular are the most common), there is nothing at all unusual about finding both the *contrafactum* and its original written, like the two Harley pieces, in the same language.

Should one of the lyrics we are considering prove to be a *contrafactum* of the other,¹⁰ a strong *prima facie* case might then be made for the secular 'Way of Woman's Love' being the model and the 'Way of Christ's Love' (together with the Egerton fragment addressed to the Virgin) the copy, since in vernacular poetry at any rate, religious *contrafacta* modelled on secular lyrics are very much more common than the reverse.¹¹ On these grounds alone, Brook's intuition that 'the secular lyric is probably the earlier' (*Harley Lyrics*, p. 16) would seem rather more persuasive than Hill's claim that the 'Way of Woman's Love' is 'a secularization of the Egerton poem' ('A Note', p. 47).¹² In this instance, however, we can go beyond speculation, for one particular feature makes it virtually certain that the 'Way of Christ's Love' and the Egerton fragment are *contrafacta*, and *contrafacta* of a very distinctive kind.

The author of a *contrafactum* might indicate the tune his piece was to be sung to in a number of ways: he might simply have his poem copied with musical notation, or he might make some reference either in the margin or within the text itself to his specific model — mentioning its author by name, for example, or alluding to its incipit or its refrain. A handful of lyrics, however, take their opening lines directly from known models, and where they also share the metre and rhyme scheme of these models we can be certain that we are dealing with genuine

been the subject of some debate. F. L. Harrison has raised the possibility that 'Perspice christicola' might have been the original (*Music in Medieval Britain* [London, 1958], pp. 142-44, and *Medieval English Songs*, pp. 68-69 and 93-95), a hypothesis that has been promoted more vigorously by W. Obst, "Sumer is icumen in"—a *Contrafactum*? *Music and Letters* 64 (1983) 151-61. The case is hardly clear-cut, however, and E. H. Sanders, 'Sumer is icumen in' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 18.366-68, continues to uphold the traditional position.

¹⁰ This possibility was first raised by Cox and Revard, 'New ME O-and-I Lyric', 36.

¹¹ See P. Meyer, 'Types de quelques chansons de Gautier de Coinci', *Romania* 17 (1888) 429-37 (some of Meyer's attributions to de Coinci are no longer accepted); A. Jeanroy, 'Imitations pieuses de chansons profanes', *Romania* 18 (1889) 477-86; E. Järnström, ed., *Recueil de chansons pieuses du XIII^e siècle*, 1 (Helsinki, 1910), pp. 13-16; J. Bédier, 'Un feuillet récemment retrouvé d'un chansonnier français du XIII^e siècle' in *Mélanges de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offert à Maurice Wilmotte* (Paris, 1910; rpt. Geneva, 1972), pp. 894-922; A. Jeanroy, 'Modèles profanes de chansons pieuses', *Romania* 40 (1911) 84-86; A. Långfors, 'Mélanges de poésie lyrique française, II: Gautier de Coinci', *Romania* 53 (1927) 474-538.

¹² D. L. Jeffrey's suggestion that "the Way of Woman's Love" is, in all likelihood, really a devotional poem to the Virgin' (*The Early English Lyric & Franciscan Spirituality* [Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975], p. 213) is hardly tenable; it is difficult to see how a woman whose love is of short duration (line 5), who breaks her promises (line 6), who is blamed for not loving the poet (line 13), and who is suspected of believing false rumours (line 19) can be identified with the Virgin.

contrafacta: in Gennrich's words, 'verhältnismässig leicht ist das Erkennen der Kontrafaktur, wenn zwei Lieder mit dem gleichen oder sehr ähnlichen Wortlaut beginnen' (*Kontrafaktur*, p. 26). Clearly, the Harley pair fall within such a categorization.

Gennrich gives eleven French instances of the technique (all but one from the thirteenth century),¹³ a total which may be increased to fifteen with little difficulty.¹⁴ (As we might expect, none of them appears to be a secular *contrafactum* modelled upon a religious lyric). Of the seven which can be given an approximate date, only Gautier de Coinci's 'Amours dont sui espris' (Raynaud 1546) is earlier than the middle of the century. Some scholars have credited Gautier de Coinci (d. 1236) with being the first poet to use secular models for vernacular pious songs, and presumably he is here quoting the opening lines of his original (a love lyric by Blondel de Nesle) simply to remind his readers of the tune for which his verses have been written (it is the only one of his twenty or so surviving poems, several of which can be shown to be *contrafacta*, to employ this technique). With the remaining six datable poems, however, we may suspect that simple piety and proselytizing zeal were not the only motives at work.

That the authors of this group of lyrics were also very much concerned to make a show of their own literary virtuosity is implied by the fact that all six can be connected in some way with the famous Puy at Arras. Four of them in particular – 'J'ai tant d'amours apris et entendu' (Raynaud 2053) and 'Aïmans fins et verais' (Raynaud 198) by Lambert Ferri (d. 1303), one of the most prominent members of the Arras puy,¹⁵ and 'Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loy' (Raynaud 1662) and 'On me reprend d'amours qui me maistrie' (Raynaud 1176) by Guillaume de Béthune, a more shadowy figure,¹⁶ – resemble closely the Harley *contrafac-*

¹³ Gennrich, *Kontrafaktur*, pp. 26-28; 'Puis que je suy de l'amoureuse loy' (Raynaud 1661a) may be early fourteenth century. Though Gennrich calls Renaut de Beaujeu's 'Loiaus amours qu'est dedens fin cuer mise' (Raynaud 1635) a *contrafactum*, this seems to be a slip, for it is clearly the original of the crusading lyric 'Nouvele amours s'est dedens mon cuer mise' (Raynaud 1636), not a copy of it. In any case both are largely secular with the crusader seemingly more concerned about the girl he is leaving behind than the cause for which he is fighting (*Les chansons de croisade*, ed. J. Bédier [Paris, 1909; rpt. New York, 1971], pp. 271-74).

¹⁴ These additional *contrafacta* (with their models) are Raynaud, nos. 879 and 880 (see Jeanroy, 'Modèles profanes', 84); nos. 1227 (Blondel) and 1236 (see Meyer, 'Types', 434-35); nos. 1240 (?Jean Erart) and 1239, and nos. 982 and 981 (see Jeanroy, 'Imitations pieuses', 479 and 483-84).

¹⁵ According to R. Berger (*Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII^e siècle. Les chansons et dits artésiens?* [Arras, 1981], p. 112), he was second only to Jean Bretel as an 'animateur' of the puy. One of Ferri's models was written by a second arrageois poet, Gadifer d'Avion (Raynaud 2054), the other by Gautier d'Epinal (Raynaud 199).

¹⁶ Presumably a native of Arras' neighbouring town of Béthune, Guillaume based the first of these *contrafacta* on a song by the well-known Arrageois poet Adam de la Halle. He based the second on one by Jehan le Petit, about whom little is known other than that he was Adam's contemporary (H. Petersen Dyggve, *Onomastique des trouvères* [Helsinki, 1934; rpt. New York, 1973], p. 124). Since, however, a manuscript note describes Jehan's song as 'couronne' (*Altfranzösische Lieder. Berichtigt*

tum.¹⁷ Of course, it is a large step from showing that certain *contrafacta* or their models were written by men with some connection with a puy to claiming that such *contrafacta* might actually have been written *for* this assembly, but there is telling evidence from a later period to support such a claim.

Several of the fifteenth-century treatises on second rhetoric, which evidently reflect the traditions of the puy, make mention of a formal pairing of two kinds of 'chant royal', the *amoureuse* and the *serventois*; to quote Poirion: 'l'*amoureuse* est un chant royal développant un thème courtois.... Le *serventois* en est la transposition religieuse, Dieu prenant la place d'Amour.'¹⁸ The fullest account is in the *Art de rhétorique* attributed to Jean Molinet:

Les serventois servent pareillement aux puis royaux, ausquelz il y a certaines regles que les princes dedis puis y mettent, affin de constraindre le facteur sans trop ouvrir a sa plaisirne. *Et avient souvent qu'il prent les terminations et premieres lignes d'une amoureuse* [my italics], laquelle amoureuse traite de matiere d'amours, et contient .v. couplets [i.e. stanzas] et l'envoy, sans refrain, mais lesdis couplets de pareille consonance. Et les dis serventois le plus sont fais a l'onner de la vierge Marie et par figure de la Bible.¹⁹

The earlier *Doctrinal de la seconde rhétorique* by Baudet Herenc seeks to explain the origin of the term *serventois*: 'et est dit serventoys pour ce qu'il doibt estre servant devant et derriere a une amoureuse' (Langlois, *Recueil d'arts*, p. 170); and the example he gives shows that he means by this that the first and last lines of each stanza should mirror those of the model. While none of the surviving sets of regulations for actual puyss discusses the composition of matched pairs of *amoureuses* and *serventois*, the charter of the famous *cour amoureuse* of 1400, which in some ways closely resembled a puy, devotes considerable space to this topic: *serventois* were to be submitted for competitions held on the five feasts of the Virgin (the winner's prize was to be a silver crown, with a silver chaplet for the

und Erläutert mit Bezugnahme auf die provenzalische, altitalienische und mittelhochdeutsche Liederdichtung, ed. E. Mätzner [Berlin, 1853; rpt. Bonn, 1969], pp. 195-96), the likelihood that it was written for a puy, whether at Arras or elsewhere, is strong.

¹⁷ The other two are anonymous poems apparently based on Arrageois models: 'Puis que je suy de l'amoureuse loy' (Raynaud 1661a) is based on the same song of Adam de la Halle (Raynaud 1661) which is used by Guillaume de Béthune, but the case of 'De penser a vilanie' (Raynaud 1239) is slightly less clear-cut. It is a *contrafactum* of a song (Raynaud 1240) variously attributed in the manuscripts to Jean Erart, Andrieu Contredit, and Guiot de Dijon, only the first two of whom were from Arras. Scholars seem, however, generally to have favoured Erart, and even Guiot de Dijon's editor concedes that the poem is stylistically closer to Erart's other work than to Guiot's (E. Nissen, ed., *Les chansons attribuées à Guiot de Dijon et Jocelin* [CFMA 59; Paris, 1928], p. vi).

¹⁸ D. Poirion, *Le poète et le prince; l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1965), pp. 362-63.

¹⁹ *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, ed. E. Langlois (Paris, 1902), pp. 244-45.

runner-up), and authors were expected to choose one of their own original *amoureuses* as a model.²⁰

Unfortunately, no such unequivocal evidence for the *amoureuse/serventois* pairing exists for the fourteenth century. Deschamps in his *Art de dictier* mentions that *serventois* have the same form as *chançons royaux*, and ‘sont communement de la Vierge, sur la Divinité’, but since he feels that their association with the *Puis d'amours* brands them as unaristocratic, he does not go into detail.²¹ Though a manuscript collection of victorious songs ('*chansons couronnés*') from the puy at Valenciennes includes a number of hymns to the Virgin, two of which have envoies identifying them as 'serventois', the original secular poems on which they were presumably modelled have not been recorded.²²

What suggests that an unbroken tradition links the specific verse form which Molinet and Herenc are describing with the Arras Puy two hundred years earlier is that, like the two Valenciennes authors, Lambert Ferri identifies his own *contrafacta* as 'serventois': the envoy of one (Raynaud 198) begins, 'Serventois, va, je t'en pri' (51), and of the other (Raynaud 2053), 'A Sainte Crois, serventois, sans mesprendre/ Va' (41-42).²³ Inherited originally from the troubadours, the term *serventois* was already developing new meanings in the north by the end of the thirteenth century,²⁴ and one may confidently claim that for Ferri and his contemporaries it could designate a religious poem modelled on a secular one,²⁵ probably according to set rules and quite possibly for use in a competition. Though there was apparently room for some local variation in the choice of stanza length, rhyme scheme, and metre (and a certain lack of uniformity in the matter of refrains and envoies), two features appear to have been particularly associated with this northern *serventois* over the whole of its history: a five-stanza structure and a close verbal parallelism between its first lines and those of its secular model (indeed, for Herenc, as we have seen, this last feature was sufficiently obvious to provide the word's etymology). It is a testimony to the conservatism of the tradition that Lambert Ferri's two surviving *serventois* match exactly the criteria drawn up by Molinet two centuries later.

²⁰ C. Potvin, 'La charte de la cour d'amour', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 3rd Ser., 12 (1886) 210-11.

²¹ Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. E. Queux de Saint-Hilaire and G. Raynaud, 11 vols. (SATF; Paris, 1878-1904), 7.281.

²² *Serventois et sottes chansons couronnés à Valenciennes*, ed. G. A. J. Hécart, 3rd edition (Paris, 1834), pp. 51-77.

²³ Bédier, 'Un feuillet récemment retrouvé', 902 and 905.

²⁴ P. Meyer, 'Des rapports de la poésie des trouvères avec celle des troubadours', *Romania* 19 (1890) 27-29.

²⁵ Although it lacks a known secular model, the thirteenth-century hymn to the Virgin which begins 'De fin cuer et d'aigre talent/ Vuil un seruantois commencier' (Raynaud 734) evidently belongs to this tradition (ed. Järnström, *Recueil de chansons*, pp. 39-41).

Of course, one could hardly claim simply on the basis of Lambert Ferri's use of the word that the authors of the thirteen other *contrafacta* mentioned above would have described their poems as *serventois*, still less that they must have composed them for poetic competition; nevertheless, this total group of fifteen, taken with the well-documented later history of the *serventois* form, provides a suggestive context for the two Harley pieces.

There is hardly any significant feature of the 'Way of Christ's Love' that cannot be paralleled in one or more of the poems in this group. The verbal echo in their first line is of course the feature which all share, but with eleven of them, as in the Harley piece, the correspondence is identical. One should stress, however, that in the density of its lexical and syntactical echoes, which extend throughout the first stanza and the refrain, the 'Way of Christ's Love' goes much further than any of its French counterparts. Its five-stanza structure is found in all but one of those which survive intact,²⁶ and its eight-line stanza, while far from standard (stanza lengths range from seven to fourteen lines), is easily the most common, occurring in seven of the comparable French pieces. The Harley poem is unusual, though not unique, in not being addressed to the Virgin.²⁷ Its employment of a refrain and its lack of an envoy seem also to have been rare.²⁸ One curious aspect of the English poem, however, cannot be matched by any of the French *contrafacta*. Whilst several occur in the same manuscript as their models (this is particularly true of those copied in such major anthologies of *trouvère* verse as the Clairambault manuscript or in Bern, Burgerbibliothek 389), in no copy do the original and its *contrafactum* appear side by side as happens with the Harley pair.²⁹ The unusual

²⁶ Guillaume de Béthune's 'On me repren d'amours qui me maistrie' (Raynaud 1176) has six stanzas. 'Empereur ne roi n'ont nul pooir' (Raynaud 1811a) is a four-line fragment (Bédier, 'Un feuillet récemment retrouvé', 908), and 'Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loy' (Raynaud 1661a) is a single stanza (R. Bossuat, 'Une prétendue traduction de l'*Anticlaudianus* d'Alain de Lille' in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* [Paris, 1928; rpt. Geneva, 1972], p. 274). The *serventois* is specifically said to have five stanzas in Molinet, Deschamps, and the charter of the *cour amoureuse*; the example given by Herenc also has five stanzas.

²⁷ The four-line fragment 'Empereur ne roi n'ont nul pooir' (Raynaud 1811a) and Guillaume de Béthune's 'Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loi' (Raynaud 1662) are both poems on Christ (though Béthune's has an envoy addressed to the Virgin). The single-stanza 'Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loy' (Raynaud 1661a) is on John the Baptist, and Béthune's 'On me repren d'amours qui me maistrie' (Raynaud 1176) is on the 'mystical winepress'.

²⁸ Deschamps says that *serventois* should not have refrains, 'mais a present on les y fait' (*Art de dictier*, p. 281), but the only member of the group with such a feature is the anonymous 'De penser a vilanie' (Raynaud 1239), based on a song probably written by the Arrageois Jean Erart. Neither 'De penser a vilanie' nor the *serventois* 'De fin cuer et d'aigre talent' (Raynaud 734) has an envoy.

²⁹ The nearest equivalent is in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Chansonnier (now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 20050) where Renaut de Beaujeu's 'Loiaus amours qu'est dedens fin cuer mise' (Raynaud 1635) has been copied on fol. 19r and the anonymous crusading song based on it, 'Nouvele amours s'est dedens mon cuer mise' (Raynaud 1636), on fol. 20v, separated by a third poem on fols. 19v-20r; see the facsimile edition, *Le chansonnier français de Saint-Germain-des-Prés* (Paris Bibl. nat. Fr. 20050) ed. P. Meyer and G. Raynaud (SATF; Paris, 1892).

practice of the Harley manuscript suggests that the English compiler was particularly eager to draw attention to the fashionable parallelism between the two pieces.

There can be little doubt, then, that the conjunction of the 'Way of Woman's Love' and the 'Way of Christ's Love' reflects a literary fashion imported from France. Indeed, if one wished to claim that the two poems were actually translations of lost French originals, a motet preserved in the Chansonnier de Montpellier, 'Nus hom ne poroit savoir/ Que c'est d'amer par amours', might be used to support such a position.³⁰ Though the remainder of this motet bears only the most general resemblance to the 'Way of Woman's Love', one could argue that both have taken their opening lines from the same source. There is no real need to posit so specific an influence, however, for the two Harley 'Ways' could easily be original native pieces, though of course carefully tailored to current French fashions. Of the many possible routes along which such fashions might have travelled one in particular seems worth pointing out: around 1260 a *jeu-parti* held at the Arras Puy between Lambert Ferri and Robert del Caisnoi was judged by no less distinguished a guest than Edward I of England.³¹ It is surely not too farfetched to imagine the English courtiers who were present on this occasion carrying some of the forms favoured by this celebrated assembly back home with them.

One intriguing question remains to be considered: might the 'Way of Christ's Love' have been written for a puy — have been in fact the winner of a competition to produce a *serventois* on the 'Way of Woman's Love'? A number of points might be held to support such a possibility: the remarkable verbal parallelism between the two poems (as we have said, more marked than in any of the comparable thirteenth-century French examples); their unusual physical juxtaposition in the Harley manuscript; the survival in Egerton 613 of a second *contrafactum* (which might be argued to be a fragment of another entry in the competition, or the winner of a repeat competition held on a different feast day);³² and the dialectal homogeneity of the two Harley poems and the related fragmentary versions. One puy, 'maintenue e estable principaument pur un chaunsoun reale corouner',³³ was

³⁰ *Recueil de motets français des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, ed. G. Raynaud and H. Lavoix, 2 vols. (Paris, 1881-83; rpt. Geneva, 1974), 1.156-57.

³¹ *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*, ed. A. Långfors et al., 2 vols. (SATF; Paris, 1926), 1.xli-xlii; also Berger, *Littérature*, p. 9 n. 28.

³² Adam de la Halle's 'Puis que je sui de l'amoureuse loy' (Raynaud 1661) is the basis of two *contrafacta*: Guillaume de Béthune's poem on Christ (Raynaud 1662) and the anonymous single stanza on John the Baptist (Raynaud 1661a).

³³ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis; Liber albus, Liber custumarum, et Liber horn. Vol. II, Part I, Containing Liber custumarum, with Extracts from Cottonian MS. Claudius, D.II*, ed. H. T. Riley, (RS 12; London, 1860), p. 224; see N. Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages' in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp. 185-86, and J. H. Fisher, *John Gower. Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (London, 1965), pp. 78-83.

certainly known in England at about this time, but it was held in London and even if its *chaunsouns reales* were written in English (rather than French) they would hardly have been copied in the north-midland dialect Brook assigns to all four versions.³⁴ However, the members of the London puy travelled about the country frequently — the surviving statutes give this as a reason for the difficulty of convening regular meetings (p. 228) — and may well have spread the fashion to other parts of England. It remains a tantalizing, if perhaps remote, possibility that the 'Way of Christ's Love' was composed for an as yet unidentified provincial puy, or even some less formal local assembly organized along similar lines.

For Peter Dronke the Harley Lyrics belong to 'a world quite different from that of the troubadour and trouvère', to 'a world of *Dörperdichtung*',³⁵ but this view is not shared by Elizabeth Salter, for whom the Harley compiler reflects 'something of the greater world of medieval learning and literature, in which English concerns were still not separable from those of Europe generally'.³⁶ I hope that, for these two Harley lyrics at least, I have been able to provide some support for Salter's position. It is, after all, one of the minor ironies of literary history that the very earliest vernacular poems to employ the pentameter, that most characteristic of all English lines,³⁷ should prove to have been so deeply indebted to the literary fashions of France.³⁸

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³⁴ G. L. Brook, 'The Original Dialects of the Harley Lyrics', *Leeds Studies in English* 2 (1933) 59.

³⁵ P. Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-Lyric*, 1 (Oxford, 1965), pp. 112-25.

³⁶ E. Salter, *Fourteenth-Century English Poetry. Contexts and Readings* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 32-33.

³⁷ D. Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), p. 131.

³⁸ I should like to thank here Dr. Carter Revard for agreeing to read an early draft of this paper and for his many helpful comments.

CHAUCER'S CLERK OF OXENFORD AS RHETORICIAN

Karl P. Wentersdorf

ONE of the interesting developments in Chaucer criticism during the past few decades has been the expansion of historical criticism (the evaluation of his poetry in the light of its historical background) to include discussion of audience reaction to the texts. Thus in a recent essay on the Clerk's Tale, Anne Middleton considers fourteenth-century reactions to various versions of the story of Patient Griselda, some of which 'became in Chaucer's hands part of the Clerk's contribution to the Canterbury game'. She examines the Clerk's performance and 'his way of acceding to the rules of the story-telling game both explicitly, in his "obeisance" to Harry [Bailly]'s directives, and implicitly, in the created resonances between his act of narration and others within *The Canterbury Tales*'.¹ The purpose of the present essay is to throw further light on the *obeisance* and on the resonances.

I

When Harry Bailly calls upon the Clerk of Oxenford for a tale to entertain the Canterbury pilgrims, he asks for 'som murie thyng of aventures'. He admonishes the Clerk not to use the 'Heigh style, as whan that men to kynges write', because it is an ornate style replete with 'termes,... colours, and... figures' (*Canterbury Tales* 4.15-18), and for that reason objectionable.² The Clerk, who knows that the Host expects a tale to be of *solaas* as well as *sentence* (1.798), replies with a prologue in which he makes an appeal to authority. He announces that he is about to tell a story that he had learned from Petrarch, and that the beginning of this renowned poet's tale is written in the very style to which the Host takes exception:

¹ Anne Middleton, 'The Clerk and His Tale: Some Literary Contexts', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 2 (1980) 122-23.

² Chaucer is cited from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edition (Boston, 1987).

Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete,
 Highte this clerk, whos rethorike sweete
 Enlumyned al Ytaille of poerie,
 As Lynyan dide of philosophie,
 Or lawe, or oother art particuler;
 But Deeth, that wol nat suffre us dwellen heer,
 But as it were a twynklyng of an ye,
 Hem bothe hath slayn, and alle shul we dye.

But forth to tellen of this worthy man
 That taughte me this tale, as I bigan,
 I seye that first with heigh stile he enditeth,
 Er he the body of his tale writeth,
 A prohemye, in the which discryveth he
 Permond and of Saluces the contree,
 And speketh of Apennyn, the hilles hye,
 That been the boundes of West Lumbardye,
 And of Mount Vesulus in special,
 Where as the Poo out of a welle smal
 Taketh his firste spryngyng and his sours,
 That estward ay encresseth in his cours
 To Emele-ward, to Ferrare, and Venyse,
 The which a long thynge were to devyse (4.31-52).

Since the Clerk has already acknowledged the ‘governance’ of the Host and has promised to ‘do [him] obeisance, / As fer as resoun axeth’ (4.23-25), it would not be surprising if he had decided to omit Petrarch’s *prohemye* altogether, as being too long and unsuited to the audience of pilgrims. After commenting on the ornate style of the proem, however, the Clerk not only takes over several lines describing the origin and course of the River Po, but he goes on to comment surprisingly on the irrelevance of this descriptive passage to Petrarch’s narrative proper:

And trewely, as to my juggement,
 Me thynketh it a thynge impertinent,
 Save that he wole conveyen his mateere (4.53-55).

In brief, it serves no useful purpose other than as a way of introducing the tale.

This nonchalant dismissal of the Italian poet’s *descriptio* is odd, but there has been little inclination among modern critics to question the intentions of the Clerk or Chaucer at this point. Professor Middleton, however, observes that Harry urges the Clerk ‘to keep [his] arsenal of “clergial” eloquence “in stoore” for the present occasion, and to speak plainly so as to be understood, rather than elaborately to be admired. It is apparently in accession to this stylistic demand that he omit ornamentation that the Clerk agrees to skip over in summary fashion Petrarch’s “prohemye” describing the countryside around Saluzzo as “a thynge impertinent”.

Yet like his benign obedience to Harry's other rules, this concessive gesture confounds the authority of that "yerde" as a measure of literary merit'.³ But is the Clerk's maneuver intended merely to confound the would-be authority?

There is more to the verbal exchange between Harry Bailly and the Clerk than a witty snub, and more than just a curious addition to the framework of the *Canterbury Tales* in the form of a disagreement, however veiled, over rhetorical ornamentation. It is obvious that the Clerk's comments are prompted by the Host's dislike of the *heigh stile*. But if the Petrarchan passage really lacks artistic pertinence to the narrative that follows, what is the Clerk's purpose in citing most of it, only to top his quotation from the *descriptio* with gratuitous criticism of his great model, the master 'whos rethorike sweete / Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie'? Can it be that the Clerk is not as modest as his pensive, self-effacing demeanor suggests, and that he is trying to demonstrate the superiority of his own literary taste?

In the opinion of Mary J. Carruthers, the Clerk 'seems almost embarrassed by Petrarch's indulgent "prohemye" to his tale' and hence distances himself from his source, 'even while admiring the worthiness' of the Italian poet-laureate.⁴ This possibility does not ring true. In view of the Clerk's love of irony, a trait that is quite evident by the end of the tale, it is very doubtful that his dismissal of Petrarch's lengthy *descriptio*, implying that he himself does not mean to use the rhetorical *colours* disliked by the Host, is to be taken literally. It seems intended, at least for the benefit of the educated pilgrims, to expose the ignorance and presumption of the Host in condemning indiscriminately the types of literary devices favored by school rhetoricians and the best contemporary poets.⁵ It is true that disapproval of the ornate style is expressed elsewhere in Chaucer's work, in the *House of Fame*, during the lecture given by the amusing but prolix Eagle to his captive, the dreaming Geffrey: "Have y not preved thus symply, / Withoute any subtilite / Of speche, or gret prolixite / Of termes of philosophie, / Of figures of poetrie, / Or colours of rethorike?" (lines 854-859). These comments, however, like the Clerk's, are dramatic, not authorial; and they are made by a comic character whose sense of self-importance resembles that of Harry Bailly himself and whose literary views cannot be taken seriously. It is also true that Chaucer's great success as a mature writer was due in part to his instinctive refusal to be bound

³ Middleton, 'The Clerk and His Tale', 140.

⁴ Mary J. Carruthers, 'The Lady, the Swineherd, and Chaucer's Clerk', *Chaucer Review* 17 (1982-83) 224.

⁵ In the popular medieval manuals of rhetoric, the bulk of the work is devoted to the multitude of 'colours, and...figures' required theoretically for the successful achievement of a good style. On the evolution of the medieval poetic, see Robert O. Payne, *The Key of Remembrance. A Study of Chaucer's Poetics* (New Haven, 1963), pp. 19-59, and Payne's essay 'Chaucer and the Art of Rhetoric' in *Companion to Chaucer Studies*, ed. Beryl Rowland (London, 1968), pp. 38-57.

by the rules of the rhetoricians. Yet in the process of refurbishing old tales in an interesting fashion, he does not hesitate to use any of the recommended devices that are conducive to the imaginative effects he desires.

What, then, are we to make of the Clerk of Oxenford's comments? It has been asserted that even though Chaucer envisioned the Clerk as 'one of the aristocrats of scholarship, like Petrarch himself', the Clerk 'accepts his public responsibility from Harry Bailly to illumine without any touch of embroidery the company of pilgrims'.⁶ In reality, while the Clerk may appear to have agreed with the Host's blanket condemnation of rhetorical ornaments, his own style throughout the tale is studded decorously with many of the prescribed devices: tropes such as metaphor, synecdoche, hyperbole, and irony, together with figures like aphorism, description, digression, apostrophe, and antithesis.⁷ Hence his implied rejection of such embroidery can only be interpreted as ironic.⁸

Even as the Clerk in his prologue is pretending to agree with the Host, he is also focussing attention, as some of the literate pilgrims will realize, on the allegedly irrelevant topographical *descriptio*. As a deliberately chosen *colour*, it is employed by the Clerk for the same artistic reason that had led Petrarch to open his story with it: the *topos* of the powerful river had a long and widespread history of use as an image both for successful eloquence and for wisdom of divine origin.

II

The school rhetoricians paid much attention to the many ways of capturing an audience's interest at the beginning of a work. With narratives, as Geoffrey of Vinsauf points out, the simplest if not the most interesting way is to start with the earliest element and proceed in the natural order of events; for a more sophisticated approach the author could begin in the middle, or open with a statement or hint regarding the content or outcome. He might also start with an appropriate *sententia* or with an *exemplum* or *descriptio* posing a challenge to the audience and indicating obliquely the overall nature of the work.⁹ In translating Boccaccio's tale,

⁶ Carruthers, 'Chaucer's Clerk', 224.

⁷ These and other rhetorical devices in the Clerk's tale have been identified by Traugott Naunin, *Der Einfluss der mittelalterlichen Rhetorik auf Chaucers Dichtung* (Diss., Bonn, 1929), pp. 24-46. For a valuable discussion of Chaucer's comparable use of rhetorical devices in the *Troilus*, see Payne, *The Key*, pp. 188-216.

⁸ Cf. also Payne, 'Chaucer and the Art of Rhetoric', 41: 'Not only are all his poems reconstructions of prior sources, rebuilt stylistically to create new effects; all of them as well incorporate (usually at the opening and closing) quite overt discussion of the "rhetorical" principles [as taught by the school rhetoricians]...'. Payne adds that the passages in which Chaucer expresses his awareness of rhetorical theory are 'omnipresent (and variously ironic)'.

⁹ 'Geoffrey of Vinsauf: *The New Poetics* (c. 1210 A.D.)', trans. Jane B. Kopp, in *Three Medieval*

Petrarch adheres to the natural order of events and introduces the story with a long description not merely of 'the countryside around Saluzzo' (Middleton) but of the whole course of the River Po. Chaucer's Clerk likewise tells the story chronologically but adds a prologue and an epilogue. In the prologue, to heighten the interest of the pilgrims, he begins by speaking of the great literary reputation of Petrarch, who, as he puts it, taught him the story. He goes on to link Petrarch's name with that of Lynyan (John of Legnano), a renowned professor of law. The linkage seems unmotivated except that both are dead, and this fact enables the Clerk to make a sententious comment on the transitoriness of life. Then follows the Clerk's mention and pretended disapproval of Petrarch's detailed setting for his tale. In brief, the Clerk's prologue comprises the identification of his source, the obscurely motivated mention of a famous lawyer, a *sententia* about life and death, and a *descriptio* which he insists, if only ironically, is irrelevant.

Petrarch's version of Griselda's story opens with a description of the location, in which the account of the River Po forms the artistic centerpiece:

Est ad Ytalie latus occiduum Vesullus ex Apenini iugis mons unus altissimus, qui, vertice nubila superans, liquido sese ingerit etheri, mons suapte nobilis natura, Padi ortu nobilissimus, qui eius e latere fonte lapsus exiguo, orientem contra solem fertur, mirisque mox tumidus incrementis brevi spacio decurso, non tantum maximorum unus amnium sed fluviorum a Virgilio rex dictus, Liguriam gurgite violentus intersecat; dehinc Emiliam atque Flaminiam Veneciamque disternit multis ad ultimum et ingentibus hostijs in Adriacum mare descendit. Ceterum pars illa terrarum de qua primum dixi, que et grata planicie et interiectis collibus ac montibus circumflexis, aprica pariter ac iocunda est,...¹⁰

This *descriptio* of the Po is followed by reference to the territories at the feet of the western mountains, including the land of Saluzzo, Chaucer's Saluces, at the very base of Mount Viso. It is with this reference to the location of Saluzzo, where the story of Griselda is laid, that the Clerk, after completing his prologue with its *descriptio* of the whole Po valley, begins his own story (4.57-63).

Petrarch's account of the Po opens with the statement that it originates in a small spring on Mount Viso; the stream swiftly reaches the plain, being transformed by tributaries into a powerful, raging torrent that rushes on through Liguria and finally empties through many mouths into the Adriatic. This *topos* is not found in Petrarch's source, the tale of Gualtieri and Griselda in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (10.10): Boccaccio begins with a reference to the marquises who ruled Saluzzo,

Rhetorical Arts, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 36-40. In the Nun's Priest's tale (7.3347-52), Chaucer mentions Geoffrey of Vinsauf by name (Gaufred) and refers to an *exclamatio* used in the *Poetria nova*.

¹⁰ J. Burke Severs, *The Literary Relationships of Chaucer's 'Clerkes Tale'* (New Haven, 1942), p. 254. Petrarch here alludes to Virgil's reference to the Po in the *Georgics* (1.482) as *fluviorum rex*.

but he does not locate the country or refer to the Po.¹¹ The *descriptio* of the river does not appear in the French prose translation of Petrarch's story which served Chaucer as a second source for the Clerk's tale.¹² It is possible that the anonymous translator into French prose dropped the whole passage about the Po as not being significant for his artistic purpose in retelling the story. Furthermore, the *topos* is not found in any of the other fourteenth-century versions of the Griselda legend.¹³ Clearly Petrarch is responsible for the introduction of the elaborate river motif as the symbolic gambit in his version of the story.

Burke Severs has observed that Petrarch's text differs from its source in being 'overlaid with rhetoric' and in opening 'with a long geographical description of Lombardy' and 'a carefully wrought word-picture of lofty Mount Viso and the raging Po' at the beginning of the tale.¹⁴ This amplification of Boccaccio's text with formal rhetorical devices is the result of Petrarch's decision to treat the fable not as Boccaccio had done, as a more-or-less realistic tale about an aristocratic husband's cruel method of testing his wife's fidelity to her promise of obedience, but (as various critics have argued) as a didactic story in which Griselda's unquestioning obedience to the dictates of her husband is an allegory for the faithful Christian's performance of God's commands, even in the face of recurring adversity. And the first intimation of the allegorical significance appears in the description of the landscape.

As a rhetorical figure, a *descriptio* is a passage setting forth a person's appearance and character traits, or the season of the year, or a particular landscape.¹⁵ It was regarded by medieval writers as one of the most important of the devices for amplifying or changing the emphasis of source materials.¹⁶ Petrarch's *descriptio* of the Po, depicting the character and course of the river, is obviously a 'carefully wrought' set piece, but its function cannot be merely locational because it goes far beyond the territorial boundaries of the tale that it introduces. Griselda's story is set in Northern Italy, on the country's western border with France. The panorama conjured up by Petrarch follows the Po from its origin in the Maritime Alps, as it flows eastward through the duchies and marquisates of Lombardy, and then serves as the border between the duchy of Ferrara and the republic of Venice until it disengages into the Adriatic. After this great geographical swing, Petrarch

¹¹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Antonio E. Quaglio, 2 vols. (Milan, 1974), 2.927-28.

¹² Severs, *Literary Relationships*, p. 255.

¹³ Severs, *Literary Relationships*, p. 34.

¹⁴ Severs, *Literary Relationships*, p. 18.

¹⁵ Priscian, *Praeexercitamina rhetorica in Rethores latini minores*, ed. Karl Halm (Leipzig, 1863), p. 558, *De descriptione*: 'Fiunt autem descriptiones tam personarum quam rerum et temporum et status et locorum et multorum aliorum.'

¹⁶ On this point see John W. H. Atkins, *English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase* (Cambridge, 1943; rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1961), pp. 102-105.

returns in his mind's eye from the eastern to the western borders of the great northern plain; and there, on the lower slopes of the mountain where the Po begins its long journey to the sea, he identifies the small marquisate of Saluzzo as the location of the story. What narrative purpose could possibly be served by the expansive excursion to the east? With the exception of Saluzzo, none of the places mentioned plays any role in the tale; and Saluzzo itself, the seat of Marquis Walter, is not mentioned until after the description of the Po has been completed. The *descriptio* must therefore have some non-territorial thematic significance which resides in the topographical image of one of the greatest of rivers (*fluviorum rex*) — originating in a mountain stream, swollen by tributaries into a raging torrent, and rushing on powerfully through many lands to the ocean.

The whole image is important less as a realistic territorial entity than as a rhetorical symbol. Indeed, Muscatine has observed that Petrarch's *descriptio*, 'which the Clerk in his chasteness abbreviates', is 'almost religiously symbolic'.¹⁷ Muscatine does not indicate, however, precisely what he takes to be the nature of the symbolism.

III

The *topos* of the powerful river belongs to a category of allegorical landscapes (pleasances, gardens, forests or groves, caves, and mountains) that were in widespread rhetorical use during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The most popular of the literary landscapes, the garden, is employed to signal the treatment of love, whether earthly or divine. In some literary gardens, the symbolic significance is made explicit by the author;¹⁸ in others, the theme is implied by the context or by the presence of traditional symbols of love, such as appropriate flowers, birds, animals, and trees.¹⁹ Similarly with the symbolic river: its function is sometimes made explicit; at other times, its significance is implicit.

¹⁷ Charles Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition. A Study in Style and Meaning* (Berkeley, 1957), pp. 194-95.

¹⁸ The best known garden representing earthly love was that presided over by Cupid in the *Roman de la rose*; Dante's description of Eden, at the top of the mountain in the *Purgatorio*, was the supreme example of a garden of divine love. In the French tale *Li lais de l'oiselet*, a songbird in a beautiful garden urges its hearers to love God rather than mortal lovers or earthly goods; see Étienne Barbazan, *Fabliaux et contes des poètes français des XI, XII, XIII, XIV, et XV siècles*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1808), 3.114-28.

¹⁹ The enclosed park in Lydgate's 'Complaint of the Black Knight' is identifiable as a garden of love by such symbols as a singing nightingale and a white hawthorn; see *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Part II, Secular Poems*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (EETS OS 192; London, 1934), pp. 384-86.36-77. See also the discussion of Januarie's garden in my essay 'Imagery, Structure, and Theme in Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*' in *Chaucer and the Craft of Fiction*, ed. Leigh A. Arrathon (Rochester, Mich., 1986), pp. 42-54.

The river landscape found in a variety of medieval writings had its origins in pagan as well as Christian sources. The *topos* of the great river beginning as a small stream and growing into a raging flood is rooted in a rhetorical tradition that started with the employment of the motif by classical authors, as a metaphor for the power of an orator's speech or the effectiveness of a writer's eloquence. It was used by the Greeks,²⁰ and from them it passed to the Romans.²¹ In one of his satires, Horace (1.10.61-63) tells of an orator whose style was more impetuous than a swiftly flowing river ('rapido ferventius amni ingenium'); and he uses a more detailed version of the image to convey an idea of the eloquence of Pindar, 'monte decurrentis velut amnis, imbris / quem super notas aluere ripas, / fervet immensusque ruit profundo / Pindarus ore' (*Carmina* 4.2.5-8),²² ('Like a river rushing down from a mountain, that rainstorms have raised above its accustomed banks, Pindar seethes and rushes on ... with deep-voiced eloquence').

In the writings of early biblical commentators and Christian exegetes, the river *topos* functions as a figure for moral wisdom of divine origin. This usage probably derives from Ecclesiasticus 24: 22-31, where it is said, with allusion to the Garden of Eden (cf. Gen 2: 10-14), that the books of Moses overflow, like the four branches of the river of Paradise, with wisdom, understanding, and knowledge. In the same passage, the author speaks of his inspired teaching figuratively: 'And suddenly this rivulet of mine became a river, then this stream of mine a sea.... Thus do I pour out instruction like prophecy, and bestow it on generations to come'. This image was employed by the influential first-century philosopher Philo Judaeus in his commentary on Genesis: Philo explains that the river flowing out of the garden of Eden is the generic virtue called goodness, and that the four branches into which the river divides represent the virtues of prudence, self-mastery or temperance, courage, and justice.²³ This exegesis was adopted by many influential later writers.²⁴ And the *topos* of the river diffusing wisdom and grace appears at

²⁰ Homer, *Iliad* 1.249; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 97; Demosthenes, *De corona*, 136; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 526-28.

²¹ Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.7: 20; *Academica* 2.38: 119; *De oratore* 2.15: 62 and 2.45: 188; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 16.7: 12; Juvenal, *Satirae* 10.9; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.1: 61, 78, 108-110.

²² See also Eunapius's account of a speech by Prohaeresius, *Vitae sophistarum*, ed. Jean François Boissonade (Paris, 1849), 83-84, p. 489; *Philostratus and Eunapius. The Lives of the Sophists*, ed. and trans. Wilmer Cave Wright (London, 1922), pp. 494-97.

²³ Philo of Alexandria, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim I et II e versione armeniaca*, ed. Charles Mercier, in *Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 35 in 36 vols. (Paris, 1961-79), 34A.74; Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, trans. Ralph Marcus, 12 vols. (London, 1929-53), 1.12, Supplement 1.7-8. The four virtues mentioned (the cardinal virtues) are, of course, those exemplified in Griselda's character and actions.

²⁴ Ambrose (d. 397), *De paradiso*, 3.13-14 (CSEL 32.1, pp. 272-73); Augustine (d. 430), *De civitate Dei*, 13.21 (CCL 48, p. 404.14-16); Bede (d. 735), *In Pentateuchum commentarii—Genesis*, 2 (PL 91.207); Rabanus Maurus (d. 856), *Commentaria in Genesim*, 1.12 (PL 107.479); see also

some length even in Old English literature — in the verse-epilogue to Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*.²⁵

Early in the development of the river *topos* in the Christian tradition, the symbolic meaning 'sacred wisdom' expanded to include the classical meaning of the symbol, 'forceful eloquence'. Thus in his treatise on Christian doctrine Augustine refers to the biblical account of Paul's sufferings while preaching Christianity (2 Cor 11: 23-30) and asserts that alert readers will be aware not only of the apostle's great wisdom but also of the way in which his statements commingle to form a powerful river of eloquence ('eloquentiae concurrerint flumine').²⁶ Gregory, in the prologue to his exegesis of Job, states that anyone who explicates the eloquence of sacred texts ought to imitate the movement of a river ('sacri enim tractator eloquii morem fluminis debet imitari').²⁷ The widely used study of religious symbolism by Rabanus Maurus points out that various forms of the motif (source, stream, river, torrent) are used as images for prophets and preachers, for their message, and for the origin of their teachings: the wisdom of God in Scripture.²⁸ That wisdom is itself frequently presented under the veil of metaphors, dreams, parables, and allegories.

The river *topos* occurs also in medieval secular writings, where it functions, as in religious works, as an image for a combination of great eloquence and sacred wisdom. In the prologue to the *Anticlaudianus* (c. 1200), a popular allegory on the ideally virtuous man, the philosopher Alain de Lille asserts that he does not claim to be eloquent but believes that the thirst for wisdom may be quenched even from a rivulet; and since he draws on the deep wisdom of others, he likens his work to 'a stream [that], gushing forth from a spring, increases and grows into a

John Scotus Erigena (d. 877), *De divisione naturae*, 4.16 (PL 122.816); Guibert of Nogent (d. 1124), *Moralia in Genesim*, 2 (PL 156.64-67); Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), *Glossa ordinaria*, 2 (PL 113.87); Alexander Neckam (d. 1217), *De natura rerum libri duo*, ed. Thomas Wright (RS 34; London, 1863), 2.2, pp. 127-28.

²⁵ 'The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care' in *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (ASPR 6; New York, 1942), pp. 111-12.1-24. In the 'Metrical Epilogue', Gregory's teaching is said to exemplify the living waters which God had promised to mankind, waters flowing throughout the land from the hearts of those who truly believe in God, and deriving ultimately from the divine source itself (*dryhtnes well*).

²⁶ *De doctrina christiana* 4.7.12 (CCL 32.1225).

²⁷ *Ad Leandrum in Moralibus in Iob* (CCL 143, p. 4.96-100). This passage in Gregory's *Job* is cited in 'Robert de Basevorn: *The Form of Preaching* (1322 A.D.)', a much imitated manual on preaching (*Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, pp. 116-17).

²⁸ *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam*, under F (*fons, flumen, fluvius*) and T (*torrens*) (PL 112.929-35, 1067). In the *Communiloquentium* by John of Wales, a thirteenth-century theologian whose manual on preaching was well known to Chaucer (cf. Robert A. Pratt, 'Chaucer and the Hand that Fed Him', *Speculum* 41 [1966] 619-42), the preacher who wishes to be effective is told to drink from the river of the divine grace of God. See *Communiloquentium sive summa collationum Johannis gallensis* (Strasburg, 1498; rpt. Wakefield, 1964), f. k5v: 'Predicator ergo qui vult verbum suum efficax esse hauriat a deo per orationem fluenta diuine gratie.'

torrent'.²⁹ Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* (1210), a widely used *ars poetica*, employs the image of a stream or river as a *colour* for the art of rhetoric itself: to treat a subject briefly, says Geoffrey, is to flow like a narrow rivulet, while the style of a poet who writes ornately is like a broad river. Though a poet's subject may be limited, his rhetorical river 'may run still more at large' through the various methods of amplification: 'great rivers have their source in an insignificant stream'.³⁰ In a letter to his brother, Petrarch uses the image when he likens elegant learned writers to sonorous springs; from the gushing waters of their talents, the rivulets of their wisdom pour forth harmoniously (*Epist.* 10.4.182-184).³¹

It is true that the detailed river landscape in Petrarch's *De obedientia* is not accompanied by an explicit authorial statement identifying it as symbolic. The employment of symbols in medieval literature, prompted as it was by the allegorical exegesis of the Scriptures, often remains quite intentionally unexplained.³² Petrarch himself asserts, in the letter just cited, that all poetry is interwoven with allegory; the meanings intended by the authors are not obscure but intelligible to those who have made progress in studying the interpretation of allegory (*Epist.* 10.4.12-16, 247.254).³³ In the treatise *De genealogia deorum gentilium* (c. 1360), Boccaccio defends the right of poets to employ allegorical materials, even if pagan in origin, in order to convey moral wisdom. The obscurity that sometimes results is not necessarily a fault: the veil of allegory might conceal truth from the simple or unenlightened, but it can be pierced by readers of sensitivity and intelligence, who enjoy all the more their penetration to the important hidden level of meaning precisely because the process has demanded mental effort.³⁴

²⁹ Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, ed. Robert Bossuat (Paris, 1955), p. 56, line 3: '...et riuus a fonte scaturiens in torrentem multiplicatus excrescat.' See also Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus or the Good and Perfect Man*, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1973), pp. 39-40.

³⁰ Kopp, 'Geoffrey of Vinsauf: *The New Poetics*', 41, 43, 58.

³¹ Francesco Petrarca, *Le familiari: familiarum rerum libri I-XXIV*, ed. Vittorio Rossi, 4 vols. (Florence, 1933-42), 2.306-307: '...fontes sonantes literati et eloquentes homines dici possunt, quorum ex ingenii scatebris disciplinarum rivuli prodeunt cum sonitu quodam delectabili.'

³² The desirability of the concealment by prophets and philosophers of certain kinds of divine wisdom behind the veils of allegory and myth was argued by several eminent medieval writers, including William of Conches in his commentary on Macrobius and Peter Abelard in the *Theologiae*. For a valuable discussion on this topic, see Peter Dronke, *Fabula. Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Mittelalteinische Studien und Texte 9; Leiden, 1974), pp. 13-67.

³³ *Le familiari*, 2.301, 309: 'Quid vero aliud parabole Salvatoris in Evangelio sonant, nisi sermonem a sensibus alienum sive, ut uno verbo exprimam, alieniloquium, quam allegoriam usitatori vocabulo nuncupamus? Atqui ex huiusc sermonis genere poetica omnis intexta est... Hoc autem loco [eglogae primae meae] summatim inseritur de quibus poete quos Silvius preferre nititur, canant; quod exponere longum est, sed in eo studio [allegoriae] provectis omnia clara et aperta sunt.'

³⁴ *De genealogia* 14.6, 7, 9, 12. For an English translation see *Boccaccio on Poetry: Being the Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of Boccaccio's 'Genealogia deorum gentilium'*, ed. and trans. Charles G. Osgood (New York, 1930; rpt. Indianapolis, 1956), pp. 37-42, 51, 58-62. Indeed, 'where matters truly solemn and memorable are too much exposed, it is [the poet's] office by every

By the fourteenth century, the iconographic language of religious and secular literature and of the visual arts was widely understood; many symbols (animals, birds, flowers, and so on) were commonplaces.³⁵ Various symbolic landscapes were readily identifiable through their conventional configuration or through the presence of images functioning as clues. Thus the dark forest through which Dante passes in *Inferno* 1 needs no authorial comment to be understood as signifying a life of worldly sinfulness, because the wild beasts he goes on to encounter obviously represent the danger of spiritual death on account of his mortal sins.³⁶ On the other hand, the dark forest in which the dreamer finds himself in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* (lines 414-433) — 'hit was shadewe overal under' — is identified with the motif of love by the presence of many a hart, hind, doe, and buck, even before the persona comes across the lovelorn Black Knight.³⁷ Similarly with the Petrarchan example of the river landscape, where the 'king of rivers' is described as originating in a spring on Mount Viso.³⁸ The poet intimates the symbolic nature of the river by noting that Viso is one of the highest mountains in the Apennines, with its peak above the clouds (*vertice nubila superans*) thrusting up into the sky (*sese ingerit etheri*) and by implication into the presence of God. These details help to identify the great river as a symbol of the Christian wisdom embodied in the story which

effort to protect as well as he can and remove them from the gaze of the irreverent, that they cheapen not by too common familiarity.' In England Stephen Hawes, in his poem *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1506), (ed. William E. Mead [EETS OS 173; London, 1928], pp. 34-36), transmits this tradition faithfully when he praises 'famous poetis' who present 'trouthe vnder cloudy fygures' (lines 715-721) and castigates 'rude people' who fail to comprehend that 'vnder a colour a trouthe may aryse' (lines 792-796). In denouncing those whose blindness prevents them from seeing moral truth behind allegorical fables, Hawes seems to be thinking of literal-minded critics like Harry Bailly: 'For folyssh people blynched in a mater / Wyll often erre whan they of it do clatter' (lines 797-798).

³⁵ Thus when Chaucer in the Miller's tale describes young Alison as being 'gent and smal' as 'any wezelle' (1.3234), he is concerned less with the young wife's slender and graceful form than with conveying an idea of her lechery — the most noted trait of the common weasel; on the significance of this animal, see Beryl Rowland, *Blind Beasts. Chaucer's Animal World* (Kent, Ohio, 1971), pp. 25-29. In the Nun's Priest's tale, when Chauntecleer's desire to embrace Pertelote has led him to ignore his evil dream and descend into the yard, the fact that his eye falls on a butterfly in the cabbage patch where his foe is lurking (7.3273-75) is intended to remind the audience that the cock's amorousness is an important factor in his downfall; for the use of the butterfly as a symbol for eros, see Karl P. Wentersdorf, 'Symbol and Meaning in Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 26 (1982) 36-37.

³⁶ See Etienne Gilson, *Dante the Philosopher* (London, 1948), pp. 291-93; Paul Piehler, *The Visionary Landscape. A Study in Medieval Allegory* (Montreal, 1971), pp. 112-15.

³⁷ For the use of the deer as a symbol for a lover, both *in bono* and *in malo* (depending on context), see Karl P. Wentersdorf, 'Animal Symbolism in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: Imagery of Sex Nausea', *Comparative Drama* 17 (1983-84) 357-59.

³⁸ Juan Eduardo Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, trans. Jack Sage (London, 1962), p. 210, says that mountains are symbolic of spirituality. John H. Fisher, 'Chaucer's Prescience', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 5 (1983) 10, suggests that the contrast between the high mountain and the low plain of Saluzzo 'emphasizes the difference between the high and low stations of Walter and Griselda'.

Petrarch is about to tell. The Chaucerian wisdom is initially veiled, as often in the Scriptures, but it will be made explicit by the Clerk at the end of the tale.

IV

While there can be no suggestion that Chaucer knew all or even most of the classical and post-classical authors cited or mentioned here for their use of the river motif as an image for eloquent and sacred wisdom, the evidence establishes that the *topos* was widely used as a symbol throughout the Middle Ages. Hence it is reasonable that to assume that Chaucer knew of the employment of the *colour* by at least some of the medieval writers indebted for their techniques and imagery to their classical and patristic predecessors. He was certainly familiar with Alain de Lille's observation that his own discussion of virtue might be likened to a stream which gushes forth from a spring, increasing and growing into a torrent.³⁹ And he realized that when Petrarch placed a carefully phrased *descriptio* of the origin and course of the powerful 'king of rivers' at the beginning of his story, he was providing an important clue to the moral nature of the work. It is therefore not by chance that the river landscape appears in the Clerk's prologue. By taking it out of the beginning of Petrarch's narrative and putting it with seeming offhandedness into his prologue, the Clerk makes the image his own. More importantly, when he states for the benefit of the Host that the *descriptio* is not pertinent to the tale, he speaks ironically and implies to his literate hearers that the passage is significant both for a proper appreciation of the wisdom in the story to come and for an understanding of his purpose in choosing this tale to entertain the pilgrims.

The *sentence* of the Clerk's treatment of the legend of Griselda is summarized near the conclusion of his performance:

This storie is seyd nat for that wyves sholde
Folwen Grisilde as in humylitee,
For it were inportable, though they wolde,
But for that every wight, in his degree,
Sholde be constant in adversitee
As was Grisilde; therfore Petrak writeth
This storie, which with heigh stile he enditeth.
For sith a womman was so pacient
Unto a mortal man, wel moore us oghte
Receyven al in gree that God us sent;

.....

³⁹ Cf. above, note 29. Chaucer mentions the *Anticlaudianus* in his *House of Fame* (lines 985-990).

[He] suffreth us, as for oure excercise,
 With sharpe scourges of adversitee
 Ful ofte to be bete in sondry wise (4.1142-58).

As the narrator explains, the story is not told (at least not primarily) in order to support the religious injunction to wives to be obedient to their husbands, but to remind men as well as women of their obligation as Christians to accept misfortune in their affairs humbly and with good grace ('in gree'), as a test of their faith and as proof of their unquestioning obedience to the will of God. It is noteworthy that even as the Clerk is spelling out the moral, he reminds his audience of Petrarch and the 'embroidered' *heigh stile*.

The *solaas* provided by the tale, on the other hand, comes largely from the place it takes in the series of Canterbury tales dealing with the popular topic of marriage. It has been said that the Clerk's performance 'is not memorable as a dramatic experience';⁴⁰ but the one essential element in drama is conflict, and there can be no doubt that the Clerk's opposition to the Wife of Bath turns out to be among the more intriguing aspects of the dramatic framework of the tales. Neither the Wife's account of how she had quarrelled with and humiliated her fifth husband, a young clerk of Oxenford, nor her outspoken views on celibacy and marriage can have seemed very amusing to Chaucer's Clerk. One of the Clerk's goals in retelling Petrarch's story with certain minor additions of his own choosing is to reject Dame Alison's scathing denunciation of clerical antifeminism (3.688-710); another is to oppose the unorthodox opinions on morality and sovereignty in wedlock, explicit and implicit throughout the Wife's prologue and tale. And the *solaas* provided in rich measure by his performance comes from the audience's growing realization of these goals.

It is asserted by Professor Middleton that before the *envoy*, the Clerk 'does and says nothing which explicitly plays into any continuing issue of debate, whether of content or of literary form and style, among the pilgrim players', and that though the medieval *querelle des femmes* 'will inevitably arise in the mind of the hearer... who has already heard from the Wife of Bath,... the Clerk himself as pilgrim-performer does nothing — except by being an Oxford Clerk and therefore the Wife's "natureel contrarie" — to put that idea in our minds.'⁴¹ But the Clerk's intention of entering the marriage debate, already implicit in the very choice of Griselda's story, first becomes explicit early in his performance, at the point where Walter is asked by his subjects to marry and beget an heir. The wise spokesman for the people of Saluzzo urges marriage upon the marquis in words that can hardly fail to strike a responsive chord in the minds of the Clerk's audience:

⁴⁰ Middleton, 'The Clerk and His Tale', 147.

⁴¹ Middleton, 'The Clerk and His Tale', 148.

Boweth youre nekke under that blisful yok
 Of soveraynetee, noght of servyse,
 Which that men clepe sposaille or wedlok (4.113-115).

The significance of the passage is underscored by the device of the *interpretatio* ('spousaille or wedlok').

It is with this unmistakable allusion to the Wife of Bath's comments on the desirability of the woman's sovereignty in marriage (3.818, 1038-40, 1236) that Chaucer's Clerk makes a small but striking addition to his sources, giving to pilgrims and readers their first inkling of the direction the tale will ultimately take. Neither the Petrarchan tale nor the anonymous French version that Chaucer also used contains any mention of marital sovereignty. In Petrarch's Latin text, the wise adviser speaks of the people's desire that the marquis bow his head under the matrimonial yoke ('ut coniugio scilicet animum applices, collumque non liberum modo sed imperiosum legipotimo subicias iugo'),⁴² but the spokesman implies that Walter and his bride will bow their necks jointly. The French tale does not introduce the yoke as an image for the linking bond of matrimony. In Chaucer's version of the legend, Petrarch's image of the yoke retains its undeniable ambiguity; but the Clerk's expansion of the basic metaphor to the complex comment on 'that blisful yok / Of soveraynetee, noght of servyse' surely leaves his audience wondering how he is going to take up the Wife of Bath's challenge and unfold his own views on the theme of sovereignty in marriage. From this moment on, his narrative will be listened to with heightened interest.

Because the Clerk intends, among other things, to give the lie to the Wife of Bath's allegation that it is impossible for a clerk to say anything in praise of women, he now dilates on the goodness of Walter's wife-to-be, the beautiful maiden whose virtues of humility, chastity, abstemiousness, patience, and constancy would scarcely constitute a favorable recommendation in the eyes of Dame Alison. After the wedding Griselda is also described, somewhat unexpectedly, as having grown 'fair of eloquence' (4.410) — another of the Clerk's subtle changes in the originals.⁴³ It is a detail that once again glances at the Wife of Bath, an experienced woman whose eloquence is very different from that which may be thought of as coming from the lips of Walter's young wife. Griselda, of course, is prevented by humility from exercising this eloquence in her dealings with her husband.

Just before the wedding, when the marquis announces to Griselda the conditions under which he is graciously pleased to marry her — she is to obey him unques-

⁴² Severs, *Literary Relationships*, p. 256.37-39: 'Namely, that you should consider marriage and bow your free and princely neck beneath the lawful yoke.'

⁴³ Severs, *Literary Relationships*, p. 266.82-83. Petrarch refers only to 'ea verborum gravitas ac dulcedo' ('the gravity and sweetness of her words').

tioningly, no matter what he might demand of her (4.351-357) — the Clerk's thematic intention, at the literal level, becomes abundantly clear. Just as the Wife of Bath had advocated absolute female sovereignty as the *sine qua non* of happiness in marriage, so now Walter's statements and actions reveal an equally extremist position on his part on the subject of male sovereignty. Then with the series of outrageous demands by which Walter tests Griselda's submission, culminating in his feigned decision to put her away, to remarry, and to require her to be a servant at the wedding festivities, the Clerk's oratory reaches its climax. Tyranny could hardly be carried any further, but the seemingly inevitable tragedy is transformed at the last moment into the happy ending of conjugal reconciliation.

The Clerk has succeeded in having it both ways. On the one hand, he has countered the Wife of Bath's philosophy of the necessity for uxorial dominance with an equally uncompromising view of husbandly sovereignty based, however exaggeratedly, on Scripture. It is a view which Harry Bailly, who admits to being afraid of his wife (7.1889-1923), implicitly supports (4.1212a-12g). On the other hand, the Clerk has adroitly forestalled any criticism of the husband's inhumane behavior, by admitting that the tests were evil (4.460) and, more importantly, by pointing out that the tale is to be accepted as a piece of higher wisdom discernible at a non-literal level (4.1142-62).

There has recently been some uneasiness about the reading of the Clerk's Tale as allegory. After all, if Griselda is an Everyman, then the ruler who tests her obedience must be God; but the Clerk, when commenting on Walter's behavior as evil, can hardly be thought of as imputing to God wilful cruelty like that of the marquis. Furthermore, there are fourteenth-century indications that the tale was taken to be realistic. It will be recalled that one of Petrarch's friends, while reading the Latin version, was moved by compassion for Griselda to such a degree that he burst into tears and could not finish reading it. As for Chaucer's tale, does not Harry Bailly ignore the Clerk's explanation and opt for a literal interpretation, wishing that his own impatient wife could have heard and benefited from it? And does not the Pilgrim-Merchant react as if it were a grimly realistic story of marital woes and state his intention of telling another, based on similarly woeful experiences?

On the other hand, the circumstance that Griselda's story could evoke tears of compassion in the fourteenth century does not militate against the assumption that the versions by Petrarch and Chaucer were conceived primarily as moral allegory; the literal level of meaning in an imaginatively written allegory can be moving even to those who are aware of the symbolism. Boccaccio certainly did not aim at allegory. He concluded his Italian tale, after noting that Walter was judged to be intolerably severe, with an astonishing and banal moral: 'There are many women who, if turned out of home almost naked, would seek revenge in such a way as to

obtain for themselves splendid clothes.⁴⁴ Petrarch concluded his tale by stating that his purpose in translating it was not so much to persuade wives to imitate Griselda (since that would hardly be possible) as to encourage all of his readers to endure for God what Walter's wife had suffered for her husband.⁴⁵ Chaucer's Clerk takes the same view of the tale and makes much the same point: 'sith a womman was so pacient / Unto a mortal man, wel moore us oghte / Receyven al in gree that God us sent' (4.1149-51). To agree, however, that the Clerk is right in believing the symbolic meaning to be more important than the literal action is not to imply that the action is without realism and incapable of stirring the emotions.

One can only conclude that for some and perhaps a majority of the Canterbury pilgrims (as well as some of Chaucer's readers) — people inured to the evils of society, hungry for melodramatic entertainment, and not inclined to find bizarre and inhuman behavior unrealistic — the literal level of meaning in the Clerk's Tale would have made it an intriguing contribution to the ongoing discussion of marital relationships.⁴⁶ For them, the Clerk's *interpretatio* would have been supererogatory. But for the Clerk himself, for the more thoughtful of the pilgrims, and for the more serious-minded among Chaucer's readers, the symbolic level of meaning will have been the more interesting and important. Those with a taste for didactic literature, who in Petrarch's words 'have made progress in studying the interpretation of allegory', will have enjoyed both the challenge of trying to pierce the veil while the story was in progress and the ultimate revelation (or confirmation) of the allegorical meaning. Chaucer himself may well have intended both interpretations to be accepted as valid.

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⁴⁴ Boccaccio, *Decameron* 2.939.

⁴⁵ Severs, *Literary Relationships*, p. 288.69-73.

⁴⁶ For a recent discussion of realism in the Clerk's tale, see Bernard S. Levy, 'The Meanings of *The Clerk's Tale*' in *Chaucer and the Craft of Fiction*, 385-97.

PROVERBS, SENTENCES, AND PROVERBIAL PHRASES FROM THE ENGLISH *SIDRAK**

T. L. Burton

SIDRAK AND BOKKUS is a Middle English verse translation of an Old French prose encyclopedia cast in question and answer form.¹ Its remarkable medieval popularity is shown by the number and distribution of surviving manuscripts in several European languages (over thirty in French, seven and several fragments in English, and others in Italian, Danish, and Dutch).² Its authority is implied by the usual subtitle of the French versions, 'La fontaine de toutes sciences'. It is a work of some importance in the history of European thought, providing evidence of the common interests, attitudes, and beliefs of the late Middle Ages on topics as diverse as theology (Is God visible? Why did he not make man incapable of sin?), cosmology (Why is the earth round? How is it held in position?), zoology (What are the most intelligent animals? The longest-lived? Why do dogs become so tightly joined during copulation?), meteorology (How can it be cold in fair weather? What is the cause of hail?), medicine (What is the cause of leprosy? Can it be cured? How can one remove a fish-bone stuck in the throat?),

* The research from which this article developed has been supported by generous grants from the Australian Research Grants Committee and the University of Adelaide. To both bodies grateful acknowledgement is made. I wish to express my thanks also to Professor John Scattergood for his long-standing interest in the proverbial content of *Sidrak* and for specific comments offered when a portion of this paper was read at a postgraduate seminar at Trinity College Dublin in 1986; to Professor Siegfried Wenzel for his detailed comments on an earlier draft of this article, and for the additional references found under entries E216, O29, S891, and T384; and to the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies for the opportunity to discuss proverbial matters with interested colleagues at the 14th ANZAMRS Congress in February 1988.

¹ See *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, 1972) 3.744-45, 900-902. The number of questions (or chapters) varies greatly: the earliest French manuscripts have about 600, some of the later ones (partly but not entirely because of the splitting of some single questions and answers into two) about twice that number; the longest English versions only 415. I use the spellings *Sidrak* and *Bokkus* (from London, British Library Lansdowne 793) for the English versions: the more usual forms in French are *Sidrac(h)* (or -y-) and *Boctus*.

² See Honoria S. Treanor, 'Le Roman de Sydrac: fontaine de toutes sciences' (Ph.D. diss., North Carolina, 1939), pp. xxiv-xlvii; Hartung, *Manual*, pp. 900-901.

social mores (How frequently should one visit one's friends?), education (How should one bring up one's children?), the status and treatment of women (Should a man rebuke his wife in public? How should he behave when he catches her *in flagrante delicto*?), and so on.

A lengthy preface to the French versions (omitted in the English) claims that the teaching contained in the book was divinely revealed to Sidrac, who was said to have been born 847 years after the death of Noah and to be descended from Japheth.³ In response to his questions, Sidrac passed it to King Boctus, whom he had just converted to belief in the Trinity. It is generally agreed, however, that the work was first composed in Old French in the late thirteenth century,⁴ and was drawn from a diversity of didactic sources. The most important of these is the *Elucidarium* usually attributed to Honorius Augustodunensis.⁵ Such a work, with a combination of second-hand moral teaching and factual (or supposedly factual) information aimed at a popular audience, can be expected to contain a high proportion of truisms and proverbial matter. It is the purpose of this article to list sentences and phrases from the English *Sidrak* that, because of their proverbial content and expression, can be added to B. J. Whiting's monumental collection, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). The majority of these passages are additional examples or variations of entries already in Whiting. A substantial number, six dozen, are new and are not noted by Whiting. Mindful of Whiting's cautionary comment that one should 'be suspicious of a collection entitled *Proverbs Newly Identified*' (p. xiv), I think it is appropriate to offer some explanatory comments.

The new entries are marked with an asterisk in the accompanying list and have been selected by criteria similar to those defined by Whiting in his introduction (pp. xii-xiv). The first five criteria can be called objective since they depend upon textual evidence or precedent and not merely the collector's judgement.

³ The name is generally assumed to have been chosen for its suggestiveness of biblical figures: either Jesus, son of Sirach, the author of Ecclesiasticus (alternatively known as 'The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach') (Moritz Steinschneider, 'Il Libro di Sidrach', *Il Buonarroti*, 2nd Ser., 7 [1872] 240-41) or Shadrach (Vulgate *Sidrach*) of Daniel, chapter 3, whose faith preserved him in the fiery furnace and whose preservation resulted in the conversion of Nebuchadnezzar (Harry L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1 [London, 1883] p. 903; Ernest Renan and Gaston Paris, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 31 [1893] 289; Charles-Victor Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge de la fin du XII^e au milieu du XIV^e siècle*, vol. 3, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde* [Paris, 1927] p. 199).

⁴ See especially Langlois, *La connaissance*, pp. 198-213, and George L. Hamilton, reviewing Langlois in *Romanic Review* 3 (1912) 316-19.

⁵ The debt was first pointed out by Hamilton in his review of Langlois, p. 317. For a detailed analysis of the indebtedness of *Sidrac* to the *Elucidarium* see *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires*, ed. Yves Lefèvre (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 180; Paris, 1954). Several other sources are discussed by Langlois.

1. The author of the text himself labels the phrase a saying (as with L508 or N77): M288.5, T522.5, W417.5.
2. The phrase occurs, or has a close analogue, in a collection of proverbs dating from earlier in the medieval period, the present example being therefore a postdating: D68.5, M53.5, M675.5, S162.5.
3. It occurs, or has a close analogue or corollary, in a later collection of proverbs, the present example being an antedating: B468.5, C22.5, C452.5, D129.5, D130.5, F187.5, F192.5, F391.5, H301.5, L260.5, M256.5, M367.5, O55.5, O62.5, R194.5, S970.5, T72.5, T381.5, W234.5.
4. It is a corollary, close analogue, or variant of an item already listed in Whiting, with wording sufficiently different to demand a separate lemma: D130.6, D262.5, E73.5, F448.5, F461.5, G231.5, H158.5, J22.5, L565.5, M469.5, S296.5, S306.5, S802.5, T237.5, W221.5, W238.5.
5. It is a saying of biblical origin: A132.5, G203.5, L261.5, T188.5.

In the final five criteria, however, ‘the collector relies on his own judgement without regard to precedent.... There comes to be a sense of recognition, a pricking of the thumbs’, as Whiting puts it, ‘which says that a statement is proverbial’. He adds, with disarming honesty, that ‘the revelation is not always infallible’ (pp. xiii-xiv). The catalogue of new entries is completed with a list of sayings in *Sidrak* that have pricked my thumbs, through moral instruction, wise observation, or pithy expression.

6. Tensely phrased moral imperatives: D200.5, E94.5, P105.5.
7. Observations or pragmatic comments with a didactic point: D88.5, F206.5, F440.5, M490.5, P444.5, S88.5, S281.5, W386.5, W669.5.
8. Syntactic formulae used with epigrammatic force:
 - a) One *here/now* is worth two *there/then*: D129.6, L70.5
 - b) Better *this* than *that*: O34.5
 - c) The *Xer* the *Yer*: M537.5.
9. Proverbial phrases (‘an admitted catch-all’, p. xvi) expressed in specific syntactic constructions:
 - a) Similes: A169.5, B547.5, C194.5, D84.5, G152.5, T229.5, T232.5, W563.5
 - b) Comparisons: H361.5, L157.5
 - c) Habitual collocations: W234.6, W234.7.
10. Definitions and descriptions:
 - a) In straightforward superlatives: E135.5
 - b) In terms of moral or physical relationships: C490.5, M52.5.

Inevitably, of course, many of the entries could be listed under more than one heading. For example, B468.5, C22.5, D129.5, and several others from section

3 above might equally appear under section 7, while M256.5 could be under section 8c and T72.5 under sections 5 or 9a. In such instances the item is listed under only the first heading under which it might qualify. For the numbering of these new examples I have followed Whiting's system. The key word in the entry form is capitalized and printed in boldface type ('Ordinarily ... the first important noun, but, where there is no suitable noun, the first important verb ... and in the rare cases where there is neither noun nor verb of importance some other significant part of speech...' [p. xix]). Each entry is numbered according to its alphabetical position in the collection, with a decimal point and number added to the number of the entry it would follow in Whiting. This system has its disadvantages. The only serious criticism offered by reviewers in the general chorus of praise for Whiting's extraordinary achievement concerns the arrangement of the entries. In particular, they criticize the accumulation of examples under such catchalls as *Man* and *Thing*, where many might have been better placed under, for example, a distinguishing adjective.⁶ (Would not M52.5 and M53.5 be more usefully placed under *Covetous*, except that their opening is identical to Whiting's M53?) Whiting's work, nevertheless, remains the definitive collection of early English proverbs and thus any proposed additions should adhere to its arrangement and system of citation.⁷ In those instances where Whiting has several closely related sayings, each with a separate entry (e.g. similes involving the swiftness of thought, T231-3), I have likewise given the new examples a separate entry (T229.5, T232.5). In other cases, where Whiting has a variety of different sayings grouped under one heading, with the covering comment ('A number of single quotations are brought together here'), I have not given the new examples a separate number but have listed them under the existing number in Whiting (e.g. D206, F305).

As for the additional examples of entries already in Whiting, fewer observations are needed. Most, like A37, the first on the list, are perfectly straightforward. Several (B82, C522, etc.) have only one or two examples in Whiting and none, or no different ones, in other collections. In such cases I have added *one example/two examples only* (indicating the number of examples in Whiting) to draw attention to their rarity in written records. Many entries in Whiting are followed by the observation '*varied*', which indicates wide differences in wording, and occasionally even in sentiment, among the examples listed under one entry. I have retained the term '*varied*' for all such entries (B133, C296, C351, etc.) in order to indicate that even if the wording of *Sidrak* does not correspond closely

⁶ See, for example, the comments in reviews by A. G. Rigg, in *The Review of English Studies* N.S. 22 (1971) 331-32, and by Norman Davis, *Medium aevum* 41 (1972) 165-66.

⁷ Cross references to entries of a similar (or contrasting) sentiment are freely given in the accompanying list. References to other proverb collections are not repeated where they are already given in Whiting but are supplied, when applicable, for the new entries (see *B468.5, *C22.5, etc.).

to the wording of the lemma, the saying belongs in this place and others like it will be found among the examples in Whiting. In cases where the wording in *Sidrak* is particularly close to an example in Whiting, attention is drawn to the date of the relevant example. I also add the title of the work from which that example is taken, if there is more than one with the same date. The quotation from *Sidrak* under M59, thus, bears little relationship at first glance to the form of the entry, 'Do, Man, for yourself while you have space (*varied*)'. A comparison of the last two clauses in the quotation, 'that he yeveth, þat shall he fynde', with the examples given (1435 etc.), however, reveals a similar emphasis on finding what one has given.

In one respect the compilation of an alphabetical list, such as this article, can distort the nature of the work from which it draws. If ideas are separated that are closely linked in the original, the way in which sentences are combined to form an argument can be obscured. Without painstaking collation of line numbers, it is not clear that entries G43, D262.5, G46, and the second quotation under A37 on the list are combined in the original to form a mini-sermon on the nature of true gentility, reminiscent of the old hag's pillow-lecture in *The Wife of Bath's Tale*. It is useful then to give one complete question and answer from *Sidrak* to illustrate how clear proverbs, loosely phrased aphorisms, and general moralizing are combined in the denser passages of sententious wisdom, and to indicate the kinds of comment that are omitted in the list below.⁸

Question 92 (= Question 91 MS): B3549-98

- | | |
|------|--|
| 3550 | 'Is a riche man the lesse worthy
Yf he lose his goode holy
Or a pore worthy the more
Though rychesse on hym waxand woore?" |
| 53r | 'Ay whil the ryche hathe his goode
He fyndes men to do of her hode: |
| 3555 | He is called and herde ouerall
And euery man hym trowe shall.
3yf his rychesse falle hym fro,
He leseth honoure and myght also,
Witte, corage, and doughtynesse, |

⁸ Quotations and line numbers are taken from my parallel-text edition of Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 559 (B) and London, British Library Lansdowne 793 (L) (in preparation). Punctuation and word division are editorial. Both manuscripts belong to the fifteenth century: c1450 (B), a1500 (L). I quote from B, the earlier, except when the wording of L has a more proverbial ring or when important lines are omitted in B.

- 3560 And becomes coward neuerþelesē:
 At the cownsell shall he be ouerledde;
 His wordes shall vnnethe be dradde;
 Noo man shall his tales leve
 Ne nothyng shall men of hym yeve—
- 3565 And þe catayll made all this
 That he was and now nought is.
 The pore, when he waxith ryche,
 His neȝtbores gynne to wex hy[m] bryche:
 He is holde rightwosse, curteys, and goode,
- 3570 Though he were a churle of blode;
 His worde is herde and trowed right well,
 Though lesynges therof be a gret dele;
 Frendes he fyndes anoon right
 That lete of hym somtyme ful light;
- 3575 Yf he come oughwhere to mete,
 He shall be sette amonge þe grete;
 The counsayll shall hym calle astyte,
 Suche as furste lete of hym lizte.
 By the ryche hit fares also
- 3580 As men see by a marchaunt doo
 That boroweth grete gode alday
 Of ryche men that l[en]e may,
 And [haues] not therof gretly
 But travayles and lyves therby;
- 3585 And whanne þe ryche his goode woll haue,
 Thenne is þe marchaunte but a knave;
 And whill he hadde hit vndyr hande,
 He was þanne riche and havand.
- 53v Of this worlde hit farith soo
- 3590 Of all that men may gadyr to:
 Hathe he nougħt but whill he is here
 His lyvelode; and be he on bere,
 Hathe he no more than he furste began:
 He cometh and gothe a pore man.
- 3595 But the pore þat riche was
 Ys holden gentelere, by case,
 Th[an he] þat neuer nougħt hadde
 Ne noȝt ne hathe, [for] he is badde.⁹

⁹ The passage carries the following: 3568 hym] from S, hy ms.

3582 lene] from P, leyne S,

Perhaps no other question of the *Sidrak* better exemplifies the intertwining of proverbial ideas with the varying degrees of proverbial expression. A dozen or more of the entries in Whiting can be cited as parallels in sentiment both with and without close verbal echoes:

- M180 The Man that has little is soon loathed
- M265 A poor Man is not set by, a rich man shall be worshipped (*varied*)
- M272 A rich Man is held wise (*varied*)
- M274 Rich Men are believed, poor men are reproved
- M503 A Merchant may not endure in prosperity (*varied*)
- M769 As Much as one has (so) men will love (?praise) him
- N167 One can lead Nothing from this life more than he brought (*varied*)
- P297 Of the Poor men tell (*account*) little
- R107 As long as I am reputed Rich I am saluted
- R108 If one is Rich he shall find a great number of fellows
- R110 The Rich (is) preferred, the poor is culpable
- R115 Riches increase (make) friends
- R121 Richesse is mickle of power (has poustie [*power*]).

Almost the whole answer, or at least the first half of it (lines 3553-78), is an elaboration of the basic idea that wealth equals power (R121) and its corollary that the rich are honoured whereas the poor are despised (M265). Yet nowhere, perhaps not even in the central summarizing couplet of this opening passage (lines 3565-66), declaring that a man's status is determined by what he owns (M769), are these interdependent ideas succinctly expressed in the epigrammatic way commonly regarded as proverbial. Within this general framework there are various specific comments, such as that rich men receive deferential treatment (R107, 110), an idea graphically presented in the opening couplet of the answer (lines 3553-54) and recurring twice in the passage (lines 3567-68, 3575-76). Closely allied are the ideas that the rich have an embarrassment of friends (R108, 115: lines 3567-68, 3573-74) and that the words of the rich command attention (M272: lines 3569-72, 3577-78). These corollaries are also present, sometimes expressly stated, sometimes only implied: that the poor are considered worthless (M180, P297: lines 3557-64) and that no one listens to what they have to say (M274: lines 3561-64; also in lines 3569-72, 3577-78). So closely linked are these ideas that in several cases it is nearly impossible to separate one from another, as evident in the repetition of the line numbers above. The density of proverbial

lende T, lyve MS. 3583 haues] from S, haue TP, om. MS. 3597 Than he] from TSP, Thou MS. 3598 for] from TSP, om. MS. (Sigla: P = the Robert H. Taylor manuscript, now housed in Princeton University Library; S = London, British Library Sloane 2232; T = Cambridge, Trinity College Library O.5.6).

thought slackens towards the end of the answer; but it still contains two proverbial notions: that a merchant's lot is not a stable one (M503: lines 3579-88) and that a man cannot take his riches with him when he dies (N167: lines 3591-94). *Sidrak* is full of such passages containing sententious wisdom, yet they are often expressed in phrases insufficiently concise to qualify as proverbs. All such loosely phrased parallels to entries in Whiting are excluded from the list which follows.¹⁰

ADDITIONS TO WHITING

A37 We are all come from Adam and Eve

L4474: Of Adam and Eue al we cam. B2245-6: Alle of pore men we cam,
As of Eue and Adam. B3493-4: They (*The rich*) shall þynke they pore born
be Of Adam and Eue as is he (*the poor man*).

A59 Advise well before you speak [*one example only*]

B8529-34: Yf þou shalt speke oughwhere, Avise þe þerupon before ... Elles
lesest þou by travayle. Cf. Tilley T219; *Oxford* (3) 263: First think. See S575,
T442.

***A132.5** Behold the ways of the Ant (mire) and learn wisdom (*varied*)

L7281-90: Ensample herof we fynde Of þe ampte in her kynde: In somer
daies he gadreþ al þat he in wynter lyue by shal — He wole not so longe abide
þat it come to þe winter tide. Also shulde a man lere To tille his soule while
he is here; And if he abideþ til he hens fare, He shal finde colde winter and
bare. Cf. al250 *Bestiary* 8-9.234-75: Ðe mire is magti, mikel ge swinkeð In

¹⁰ The style followed for the layout and referencing of the entries is that used by Whiting. For bibliographical references I use the same sources and abbreviations as those listed in Whiting (pp. xxi-li), with the following additions or differences:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Cross and Hill | = <i>The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus Edited from the British Library Manuscripts with Commentary</i> , ed. James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill (Toronto, 1982). |
| Milton | = <i>John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose</i> , ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis, 1957). |
| <i>Oxford</i> (3) | = <i>The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs</i> , 3rd edition, revised by F. P. Wilson (Oxford, 1970). |
| Shakespeare's Plays | = <i>William Shakespeare: The Complete Works</i> , ed. Peter Alexander (London, 1951). |
| Stevenson | = Burton Stevenson, <i>The Macmillan [formerly The Home] Book of Proverbs, Maxims, and Famous Phrases</i> (New York, 1965). |
| <i>WBible</i> (Lindberg) | = <i>MS. Bodley 959: Genesis-Baruch 3.20 in the Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible</i> , vol. 4, <i>I Esdras-Ecclesiasticus</i> 48.6, ed. Conrad Lindberg (Stockholm Studies in English 13; Stockholm, 1965). |
| Wenzel <i>Sins</i> | = Siegfried Wenzel, 'The Source of Chaucer's Seven Deadly Sins', <i>Traditio</i> 30 (1974) 351-78. |
| Wenzel <i>Verses</i> | = Siegfried Wenzel, <i>Verses in Sermons: 'Fasciculus morum' and Its Middle English Poems</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). |

sumer and in softe weder, so we ofte sen hauen.... De mire muneð us mete to tilen, Long liuenoðe, ðis little wile De we on ðis werld wunen. c1390
WBible (Lindberg) Prov 6:6-8: Go to þe ampte o þou slowe and lerne wisdam/ þe welche whan it hab no ledere ne comaundere ne prince: it greiþþ in þe sooner mete to hymself: and gedereþ togidere in tyme of rip þat it ete. Prov 30:24-5: Foure thingis þer ben þe leste of þe erþe: and þei ben wisere þan wise men/ Amptis a feble puple: þat greiþen in rep tyme mete to þem....

*A169.5 To fall like a ripe Apple

B7028-30: As a ripe appull on the tree—Whanne a wynde hit towcheþ aught, Hit fallith vnto grounde for naught.

A244 An Avaunter (*boaster*) and a liar are all one

B3779-88 A wyse man shall rowse hym nouȝt Of noothynge þat he hathe wrought.... And he rouse of his owne dede, Men shall scorne hym to his mede; And þoz þey say nouȝt, they hym holde For a lyere of that he tolde.

B24 As round as a Ball

B4277-8: Whosoo the worlde beholdeth all, Hit is rounde as a balle. B4735-6: The erthe lith rounde as a balle In middes þe sky. B5141-2: Why hathe God the world made all Rounde aboute as a ball?

B82 Not avail a Bean [*two examples only*]

B733-4: 'Be God,' quod Sydrak, 'þat yee wene Ne may not avayle yoow a bene.'

B92 Not worth a Bean

B5365-6: Prowesse of towne, as I wene, Ne was never worthe a bene. L10456: Scarsly euere was he worþ a bene.

B133 To be like Beasts in lechery (*varied*)

B5537-9: Euery tyme that will hym takeþ His flesshly luste he not forsakeþ: That is puerly lyff of bestes.

B134 To be worse than a Beast

B3105, 11-12, 27-8: He that etes moore thenne nede is ... Agayn God suche a man is Worse þenne a beeste, iwyssse.... And his witte in þat is lesse Thanne a beeste þat etes gresse.

B142 To live like (a) Beast(s)

B2163-4: He þat dothe no goode ne euyll dedes, The lif of bestes right he ledes.

B417 To make great Boast and do little

B3789-92: A coward of no bounte, For men shall wene he douȝty be, Of mekel moore his rouse woll make Thenne euer durste he vndertake. See M367, P409, S396, 581, W642 c1300, a1338, etc.

*B468.5 Well shall Borrow that well will quit (*repay*)

B9637-8: Euer may he well wytte That 'Well shall borow þat well will quytte'. Tilley B542. See D113.

***B547.5 As bright as Brim (*water*)**

L11385-7: Fisshes þat beep in the see ... Han her yȝen brighte as brymme.
See **W61 a1387**.

***C22.5 A Candle lights others and wastes (*consumes*) itself**

B6713-17: Somme ben þat tecþ well And wykked doon hemselue eurydele: Vnto þe candell I liken þoo, That oper leneþ his light hym froo And wasteþ hymselfe hastely. Apperson 78; *Oxford* (3) 100; Stevenson 279.5; Tilley C39. See **M755 al500 Imitatione (I)** 108, P358-9.

***C194.5 As light (*happy*) as a Child**

B10565-6: They shull be euer light and yonge As a childe is in his beste likyng. See **C196**.

C296 The higher one Climbs the deeper his fall (*varied*)

B4179-82: He þat on þe sonnebeme woll clyme, He may breke his nek sumtyme: For he þat clymbþ on (ouer L5143) hye, He may happe somtyme to wrie. See **C235, H221, M724, 727**, etc.

C351 A Cock were a fair fowl were he not often seen (*varied*)

B10103-6: Iff alle þe foules þat God wroght Were into oon place brought And stoode alle vpon a flok, The fayrest of alle were þe cokke.

C435 To buy (sell) Corn in grass

B9537-40: Suche wenes to fynde hym before Baken brede whanne he comeþ thore: He shall perauenture fynde þe corn Stande in the felde yet vnshorn.

***C452.5 Counsel ought to be told to God alone**

B7215-18: Counsaill ought to be tolde To hym þat hath all in holde—That is God—and noo man ellis, For he woll heale þat þou telles. Cf. *Oxford* (3) 418: Keep one's own counsel; Stevenson 430.3; 2051.10: The secret things belong unto the Lord our God (Deut 29:29); 2053.3: *Secret de deux secret de Dieu, secret de trois secret de tous*; Tilley C682, 694, S194. See **C462, 467, 471, S123, 512**.

***C490.5 Covetise is the daughter of envy**

B2531-2: Coueytyse, nougħt for to lye, She is the doughter of envye.
See **C489, 491**.

C522 Craft is better than wealth [*one example only*]

B5835-8: There is no tresour therageyn (*in comparison with craft*): Tresour woll ay awayward fayn And whanne þe tresour is goone all, Crafte agayn hit brynge shall.

C614 Cunning is no burden

B5831-4: Well is þat euer man That in nede a crafte can: His connyng is ethe to bere; Hit woll helpe and noothynge dere. B6593-604: A man may in þis world have Goode hym owher to save And to helpe hym in euery nede And euer he may with hym hit lede: That is connyng of somme arte And þat wol

not from a man parte.... And whedir soo a man woll goo, He may hit bere
withowten woo.

C615 Cunning surmounts all earthly treasure

L7647-8: Better tresour neuere man wan þan is kunnynge vnto man.

***D68.5** One may shorten one's Days (life) but not lengthen them

L10643-4: A man may shorte hise daies wel But he ne may lengþe hem
neuere a del. B1717-20: Vnderstande that no man may Ouer Goddes terme
lengthe a day, But with outerage men may lette The terme that God hathe
sette. Cf. c1250 *Proverbs of Alfred* 126 T 517-18: Ne mist þu þi lif Lengen
none wile.

***D84.5** As true as Death

B10571: True as deth in all þynges. See D81-2.

***D88.5** Death cleaves to a man like one of his own limbs

L4795-800: Wherewere a man be—Be it in londe, be it in see—þe deep
cleueþ euere to him As it were his owne lym: A man may no more deep from
him cast þan þe lym þat cleueþ to him most fast. Cf. Cambridge, Trinity
College Library O.5.6, fol. 16vb39-40: His lym myght he from hym caste But
the deth cleueth euer faste.

D96 Death is certain but not the time (*varied*)

L4401-2: Pinke he shal deie and hens fare And whider to wende he not ne
whare (see a1300 *Three Sorrowful Tidings*). B6449-56: Noo suerer þyng
than is þe dede But of the tyme can noo man reede ... But sethen man wote
not soo moche prowe To wete whanne he shall dye ne howe, Loke he be redy,
as I rede, Thenne dare hym noght þe deth drede (cf. Mt 24:44, Lc 12:40;
Hamlet V ii 215-16: The readiness is all. See a1400 *Wyclif Sermons, 1458*).

D97 Death is common to all (*varied*)

L4805-12: For good folk, wickid, and shrewis, zonge and olde and pouere
of good þewes, þe riche and stronge, mowen not faille, þe feble fooles ne þe
wise, saunzfaile, Greet ne smal: shall noon of þise For no mede ne none
emprise Ascape þe deep. B6029-34: Betwene hem is cominalte ... For all ben
þey bore in care And alle shall they hens fare And alle shall þey rote away
And alle shall þey ryse at domisday (see c1390 *Gregorius*). B9965-7: Alle þat
haue be vs beforne And all þoo þat yet shull be born, All shull they deie.
B9975-6: May noo man ascape þat dede For noo powere ne for noo reede.

D101 Death takes high and low (*varied*)

B9667-8: All shull they deie, knyght and swayn; May þey nouȝt be the-
reayeen. See a1425, a1460.

***D129.5** A good Deed deserves meed (*reward*)

L6439-40: Eueriche þat dooþ a good dede, He is worthi to haue his mede.
Cf. Stevenson 541.7; Tilley D183. See D132, T533.

- ***D129.6** A good Deed done in life is worth two (on one's behalf) done afterwards
 L11371-4: A man þat good doop here þe while he may himself stere, Perof
 þap the soule more mede þan for suche two aftir his dede. See **M59 a1450**.
- ***D130.5** A good Deed shall be yolden (*repaid*)
 L10985-8: Neuere zit dide man goode dede But it were golde at his nede:
 If a man quite him not þerfore, God shal zelde him elleswhore. Cf. Stevenson
 541.7-9; Tilley D183. See **G199**.
- ***D130.6** A good Deed shall have no respite
 B5981-3: Iff thou caste to doo a goode dede, Hastely þerto þou þe sped For
 goode dede shall haue noo respite. See **G76, T348**.
- ***D200.5** Let the Devil and a wicked woman alone
 L4279-84: To a womman þat wicked wole be ... þer is no better wone But
 late (leue B3382) þe deuel and hir allone. See **G255**.
- D206** To dread someone (*etc.*) like the Devil (A number of single quotations ...)
 B3651: See under ***H361.5**, below.
- ***D262.5** Who has to Dispensd is considered gentle
 B2231-2: Who that hathe for to dispense For moste gentyll is he kende. See
A21, G43.
- D274** Do as you would be done to
 L4771-2: A man shulde anoþer do As he wolde men diden him to. B1977-8:
 No man other do That he wolde not were don hym to.
- D278** Do well and have well
 L9299-300: If þou do wel here, þou shalt haue wel elleswhere. See **a1500**.
- E22** Earth (Dust, Ashes) must to earth (dust) (*varied*)
 L4809-12: Shall noon of þise ... Ascape þe deep, þat he ne mote goo To þe
 erthe þere he come fro.
- ***E73.5** The best (last) End
 L11055-62: In þe best (laste B9785) ende houe shal he And his folk oueral
 see So þat, if it nede be, Awey he mighte lightly fle. See **E89**.
- E84** Look at (think on) the End (ending) (*varied*)
 L4377-8: Penke on heuen king To make himself a good ending.
- ***E94.5** Dread not your Enemy too much
 B9461-3: Iff þow haue an enemy, Thogh he all day goo the by, To moche
 drede hym noght þerfore. Contrast **F398, M83, 348**.
- ***E135.5** Envy is the worst thing
 L3401-2: The werste þing and moost folye þat man may haue it is envie. See
L152.
- E185** He that does Evil tharf (*need*) not expect well (*varied*)
 B6727-8: Skylle hit is þat he fare ille That cheseþ hit of his owne wille.
- E216** That which the Eye sees not the heart rues not (*varied*)
 B6143-4: Olde men sayn, and zit it newes, 'That eye ne seith þe herte ne

rewes.' L7162: Pat yze seep þe herte rewis (see **a1500 Eye and Heart**).
 B6803-4: Hadde þe eyen seyn noþyng, The herte hadde falle in noo lykyng.
 See also *Harley MS.* 7322 fol. 172r.

F17 Fair and soft (Soft and fair) (men go far) (*varied*)

L10349-50: Wise men dricken wyn ful ofte In mesure and bereþ hem faire
 and softe.

***F187.5 He who goes (*walks*) on the Fire burns his feet**

B3691-2: Whosoo on þe fyre gothe, He brenneth fote and tooes bothe. Cf.
 Stevenson 2244.4: He that walks in the sun. See **F210**.

***F192.5 The more one puts on a Fire the hotter it burns**

L6469-70: Þe more þat a man a fire leip ynne, Þe more and þe hotter it wole
 brenne. Stevenson 807.1. See **F193**.

***F206.5 To go (*walk*) upon the Fire**

B3712: Pus vppon þe fuyre gothe he. L4623-4: Pus on þe fire alday gooth
 þe goode men þat to shrewidnesse shulde be loth. See ***F187.5**, **F210**.

F228 As whole as (a, any) Fish

L11905: Hoole as fisshe in his delite.

F232 The great Fish eat the small (*varied*)

B2181-4: But menne might iustyse fynde, Men shulde be of fysshes kynde:
 The stronge shulde þe ffebull ete And the grete the smale þat they might gete.
 L3627-8: Þe fisshe lyueþ by his mete For þe grete the smale wole ete.

F233 Like a Fish out of water (*varied*)

B1701-6: Whenne the blode is oute euerydell, The sowle no lenger likes wele
 In that body for to dwelle But departes also snell; For his nature forleses he
 soo As ffyssh whenne the water is them fro.

F305 As flitting (*etc.*) as Flowers (A number of single quotations ...)

L8083-6: Tender and light he (*a child*) oweþ to be As is þe flour vpon a tree:
 If a winde þeron do blowe, It falleþ lightly on a þrowe. See **c1385**, **a1400**,
c1400.

F328 To wither like a Flower

L5750-2: Be a man neuere so stout Ne so zong ne so faire today, He welowewþ
 as a flour away. See **F317-21**, **323-4**, **326-7**.

***F391.5 Answer a Fool with silence**

L4821-2, 31-2: If men answeþ him (*a fool*) noþing, Noon is peired of his
 seieng ... If men answeþ noght, His iangeling were sone to ende broght.
 Tilley F510. See **J13**.

F431 He is a Fool that leaves the better and chooses the worse [*one example only*]

L5279-80: He were a foole þat wolde chese Þe better for þe wersse to lese.
 See **B267**, **E193**, **L207**.

***F440.5 He is a Fool that would cook meat in the heat of the sun**

L4960-2: He (*an old fool*) shewēþ more þan in him is, As he þat flesshe sethe
wolde kunne At the hete of þe sunne.

F442 It behooves that he be a Fool that loves the fellowred (*company*) of fools
[*two examples only*]

B3701-10: Though a man hymselue be gode, And he turne thereto his moode
To haunte folys compayne ... they shall say, 'Yede he not þore But [he] of
here maneres woore: Were he not of here asente, Oute of here company he
went.' See C395, F425, M344.

***F448.5** An old Fool rooses (*boasts*) of his youth

L10449-54: An oolde fool at þe bigynnyng, Whanne he sitteþ in his glading,
His tungē bigynneþ to wexe loos And of his ȝouþ he makeþ roos Hou
stalworþe he was and white And hou bolde to walke anight. Cf. 2 *Henry IV*
III ii 295-61: Lord, Lord, how subject we old men are to this vice of lying!
This same starv'd justice hath done nothing but prate to me of the wildness
of his youth and the feats he hath done about Turnbull Street; and every third
word a lie. Cf. Stevenson 40.9: ... the old have reminiscences of what never
happened. See F407, M319.

F452 There is no Fool to the old fool

B3993-6: An olde fole, if there be oon That hathe lityll hete or noon, And
he be of iolite, A right kynde fole is hee.

***F461.5** Foolhardiness is folly

B9841-2: Drede to haue is vilonye And foolehardynesse soo is folye. See
M296.

F506 Fortune and her wheel (*varied*)

L6399-400: Þe whele of aventure Stondinge no while wole dure.

F557 As good is the Foul as the fair in the dark

L6931-4: Of compleccioun be þei (*women*) sere, Of worde, of wille, and of
manere; But in alle oo delite men fynde Whan it comeþ to dede of kynde. Cf.
Stevenson 488.2: All women are the same in the dark.

F635 A Friend may become a foe (*varied*)

L8295-300: If þou bi freende telle it to, It may after bifalle so þat þilke
frendshipe may ouergoo And bi freend bicome þi foo; Þanne may þou seie,
if þat þou list, 'Now wote my foo þat my freend wist.' See esp. c1250.

G43 Gentilesse is old richesse

B2227-30: Gentrye thenne is power And richesse that a man hase here Of
londe, of rente, And of ffee, and comyn is of antiquite.

G46 He may be called a Gentleman who can (*knows*) virtue and fair having
(*manners*) [*one example only*]

B2241-4: Though he be a pore man And amonge men bere hym can As of
norture in boure and halle, A gentilman men shall hym calle.

G55 To give up the Ghost

B1447-8: The iij kyrnells in his mouthe he (*Adam*) caste And yelde the goste atte the laste. See **c1300** 100.432.

G76 He that gives a Gift by time (*early*) his thank is the more (*varied*)

B5983-4: Goode dede shall haue noo respite: He dothe hit twyes þat dothe hit tye. See **a1450, a1471, *D130.6**

***G152.5 To kindle like a Gleed**

L8721-4: And þou holde þi þoght þeron sore ... Panne kindeleþ it euere as a glede Til þat þou come to be dede. See **G145, 147, 152.**

G198 Be not inquisitive of God's privity (*varied*)

B2813-14: No man in erthe the prevyte Of God may knowe, sauе oonly he.

B5653-62: God made neuer creature—Aungell, ne man, ne other, sure—That might wete Goddes þought Ne his wyll till hit was wrought.... God knowith the thoght of euerychon But of his þoght ne wote right noon. See **c1420**.

***G203.5 God chastises those whom he loves**

L4659-60: Pus he (*God*) seith, ful sikerly: 'Whom I loue, him chastise I.' **c1390 WBible** (Lindberg) Prov 3:12: Whom forsoþ þe lord looueþ he chastiseþ; Job 5:17, Hebrews 12:6, Rev 3:19. See **L566**.

G227 God never sends mouth but he sends meat

B2733-48: God made al thyng for goode And all he sendes lyues foode.... All þoo þat he lyf hathe lente, Alle hathe he mete vnto them sente.

***G231.5 God's mercy is the most (*greatest*) thing**

B5201-2: Of all thyng þat þou woste Goddes mercy is þe most. L7245-54: See under **W58** below. See **G413, M507.**

G232 God sees through every bore ([*hole*], each miss, all)

L1939-42: God is visible, þat warne I the, And eke invisible so he, For al þing he may se And he may not ysen be. See **c1523.**

G250 Help yourself and God will help

B9695-704: Wolde þou trauayll for to live, God shall helpe þe for to þryve. Were a man now by a brymme That d[ep]e were and cowde well swymme And he cried on God faste And were pereshid at þe laste For defaute of steryng That he wolde helpe hymselue noothynge, Herefore blame God noo man sh[olde]: He wolde haue holpen and hymselue wolde. See **1509.**

G334 Good is but a lent loan

B3496-7: He (*the rich man*) hathe his ricchesse nought Of hymselue but of Goddes lone. L6733-4: Al þat a man is to sent Of Goddis lone it is him lent.

***H158.5 Evil Haste is all unspeed (*unprofitable labour*)**

B5989-90: If that þou take goode hede, Euell haste is all vnspede. See **H164, 166.**

***H301.5 Where the Heart is is the most delightful place**

B5317-20: Where a mannes herte is faste And for to dwelle were leueste

There is þe delectableste stede To hym that he may oon trede. Stevenson
1152.8: Home is where the heart is. See H302, 420, T240.

*H361.5 Worse than a Heretic

B3643-52: He þat swheres by his god Falsly for he shall be trowed.... He is
devel and develes lyke And worse þanne an eretyke. See B134, D206.

H560 As vile as a Hound (*etc.*) (A number of single quotations ...)

L4747-9: Of alle bestes þat I woot Of nature þere is noon so hoot As is an
hounde in his nature. See B133.

H592 To stink like the (a, any) Hound (*varied*)

B4662: They stynke as a pelid hounde. See a1415, a1475.

H624 To make one a Houfe of glass (*varied*)

L10483-4: To flatren him þei make adoo And maken him a glasen howue
þerto.

I16 To suffer a less Ill to let (*prevent*) a more mischief (*varied*)

L10939-40: Alþogh it greue þe sore, Better is þe lesse scathe þan the more.
See E193.

*J22.5 Jealousy makes a wicked wife of a good one

B7793-804: If thy wyff a goode woman be And þe soo gelous ouer here see,...
She teneþ þat þou farest ssoo, Sith þou knewest here noȝt misdoo, And
peraventure for thy gelowsye She putteth here to doo folye; And for thy
nysehede makest þou bore Wykkyd wyff þat was goode byfore. Cf. Apperson
332: Jealousy shuts one door and opens two. See C159.

K42 (A King) is above his laws

B6559-60: Lawe is of more auctorite Thenne kyng or any pryncie may be.
(Like the one example in Whiting this contradicts the form of the proverb
given as the heading; cf. F77.)

*L70.5 A Lantern before (*in front*) is worth two behind

B10069-74: If a man goyng be In derkenesse, there he may not see, And a
lanterne goo hym before, Thereof hath he light wel moore Than þogh
behynде hym folowed twoo And for the light of them he might misgoo. See
W576.

L140 As light as Leaf on (a) tree

L10399-400: Pei (*women*) fare as leef vpon a tree þat tourneþ there þe wynde
wole be. See L139 c1475.

L152 Lealty is the fairest thing [*one example only*]

B2491-2: Leaute is the beste thyng That is vnder heuen kyng.

*L157.5 More than half Leasing (*lies*)

L10475-6: He (*a social upstart*) bosteþ him of his hauing And it is more than
half lesyng. See *F448.5 above, W593.

L243 Life is like a flower, *etc.*

L5746-8: Man of his lyf hap no might And is not but ... as a blosme faire and bright. See W671 c1340, a1415, c1450 *Fyrst thou sal.*

L244 Life is often lost soonest when it is held dearest [*one example only*]

B1473-6: Another deth there is also That is bitter to come vnto, As yonge men whan hem liketh beste And dethe cometh on hem as faste.

***L260.5** The lesser Light is not seen for the greater

B7205-6: 3if twoo lightes togeder were, The lasse is nought sey for þe more. Cf. Apperson 609: Sun 13; *Oxford* (3) 788: Sun with a candle; Stevenson 279.9; Tilley S988.

***L261.5** To be a Light to the world (as the eyes are to the body)

L7887-8: For þe worlde þei (*clerks*) ben þe light As to þe bodi is þe sight. Mt 5:14-16, 6:22-3; Lc 11:34-6, etc.

L265 To vanish away as Light that is burned out [*one example only*]

B5499-502: Hit fareth as þe candell light That now brenneth fayre and bright Now thenne is hit oute as tyte—Soo fareth bodely delyte.

L508 Love has no lack (*varied*)

L6960: ‘Loue hap no lak,’ as seiþ þe olde. B8608: ‘Loue,’ men sayne, ‘ne hath no lak.’

L563 He Loves little that hates for nought

B3449-50: He loueth me lytill, be my pate, For well lasse þat wolde me hate.

***L565.5** He that Loves me for mine and not for me ...

B3451-2: He þat loveth me for myn And nought for me, þat is venym. Cf. Stevenson 1462.2: A cupboard love is seldom true. See F644.

***M52.5** A covetous Man is the devil’s gripe (*claw*)

B3821-8: He that is coveytouse and wode After other mannes goode, Other his wyf, wheþer hit be, Grete synne and amys dothe he; And suche a man as we of tell Ys called the devels grype of hell For þe devel coueytes ay To drawe vnto hym þat he may.

M53 A covetous Man never has enough (*varied*)

B3579-66: Þe ryche is hungry ay To gedre moore þenne he may; And gedere he neuer soo moche fee, He may neuer fylléd be.... The poore woll of hunger slake: The ryche hungereth ay to take. L4769-70: Þus ben cōueitous men knownen þat wole haue more þan her owen. L9783-4: A cōueitous man deliteþ him sore For to gadre more and more. See C115, 488, G449.

***M53.5** A covetous Man will never be fat

L4887-90: He þat of trauaille cannot ceese For couetise of worldes encreese And hap ynow wibouten þat, He ne shal neuere be man fat; But euere þe more he may wynne, The more care he is ynne. Cf. *Prose Solomon and Saturn* 50 (Cross and Hill, p. 190): ‘Hwæt syndon þa iiiii ðing ðe næfre fulle næron, ne næfre ne beoð’ ... feorðe ys se gytsyenda man worulde welena’; Stevenson 444.11. See C488, M53, 68, *675.5.

M59 Do, Man, for yourself while you have space (*varied*)

B3505-7: Forþy shall he ȝif the pore vnto Also or he go therfroo; For that he yeveth, þat shall he fynde. See 1435, a1500 Glasgow, University Library Hunter. Mus. 230, a1500 *Man be war*, c1500; E38.

M68 An envious Man waxes lean

L3433-4: Eche envious, as I wene, Comynliche is pale and lene.

***M256.5 The older a Man is the more time of lore (*learning*) he has had**

B8557-8: All the older þat a man is, The moore tyme of lore hathe be his. Cf. Stevenson 36.1; Tilley 037: Older and wiser. See E61, F375, M38 (with a similar comparative formula), M118, 252, 255, S60.

M265 A poor Man is not set by, a rich man shall be worshipped (*varied*)

B3723-8: He (*a rich man*) shall fynde who hym serue shall And his comaundemente doo all: Euery man shall fonde to do his will, And for his rychesse euerie dele. ȝif men worshipp þe poore oughte, That is but wynde and turneth to nouȝt. See M180, 272, 274, 671, 769, P295, 297, 335, 418, R107, 108, 110, 115, 121, etc.

***M288.5 There was never an old Man who was not wight (*valiant*) while he was young**

B9232-4: 'It was neuer olde manne,' As men saye in olde sayyng, 'That he ne was wight (strong L10460) whill he was yyng.' See *F448.5 above.

M311 What profit to a blind Man of a bright sunbeam (lantern)? [*two examples only*]

B2217-20: What helpes wax for to take And a cerge (tapre L3098) therof to make And byfore a man hit light That is blynde and hathe noo sight?

***M367.5 That which is told to Many may not long be kept privy**

L8307-8: May it not longe be kept priue þat is telde to manye. Cf. Stevenson 431.3, 2053.3; Tilley S193, T257. See C454, 461-3, 468-9, 471.

M459 Measure is medicine (*varied*)

L8568-70: Pus is al þe body Kepte in quarte and in hele, Pe man þat mesurþ wel his mele. L10436-7: Al is holsom for to ete So þat it in mesure be take. See E115-16, 119-21, M438-48, 451-8, 460-4, 466, etc.

M467 With what Measure you mete it shall be measured unto you (*varied*)

L4681-4: Crist seith, truly to telle, Wordes þat ben boþe sharpe and felle: 'Suche mesure as ȝe meten to men Shal be moten to ȝow azen.' Mt 7:2, etc.

***M469.5 After Meat (*food*) and drink rest is best**

B5683-4: After mete and drynke is reste To noreshyng of the body best. See L5 c1395 Chaucer *CT V[F] 349*, T441.

M473 Meat savors better to the hungry than to the full

B3753-6: A poore man that hathe noo mete, And he his bely full may gete, He delytes moore berinne Thenne the ryche with all his wynne. See H642.

***M490.5 Meed** (*reward*) is reserved for those who choose the good (*varied*)

L5117-22: If man were made on suchē manere þat he ne mighþe no synne do here, His goodnessse of himself were noȝht But his þat suchē him had wroȝt; For of þat þat þe bihouȝt nede Art þou not worþi to haue mede. B7093-100: A man hath enemyes To tempte hym where he goþ or lies And aungell in no fondyng is Why he dare not do amys; And he þat temptacion withstandis And comeþ nouȝt in þe develes bandes, He is well worthyer þanne he That in noo temptacion may be. L8703-8: As a childe noon yuel can do, Also can it no good þerto. Mede is not ordeyned to alle tho þat wicked dedes ben kepte fro; But to hem is ordeyned mede þat dooth all her owne wille good dede. Cf. Milton, *Areopagitica* 728: I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary.

M506 He is worthy to have Mercy that will crave mercy (*varied*)

B1051-2: They ne may noo mercy have Ne ffor pride no mercy crave.

B6229-32: He þat lesseþ nouȝt[þ] his synne Ne nouȝt þerof woll blynne Nother he woll mercy craue, He is worthy noone to have. See a1338.

M507 Mercy passes all thing(s)

B5207-10: See under W58 below.

M510 Whoso will have Mercy must be merciful

L10285-8: He þat wole no pitee haue, For no mercy þar him not craue; And God habþ pitee vpon tho þat habþ pitee on oþir mo. See a1500, 1513.

***M537.5** The Mightier one is the meeker one should be

B3527-30: Euer þe mightyer he be, The better sholde he hym byse For to be curteys and meke ȝif he woll his honour seke. See G447, H280.

***M675.5** The More a man wins (*gets*) the greater his care

L4888-90: Euere þe more he way wynne, The more care he is ynne. Cf. *Old English Cato* 5.31-33: Forsih þysser wurlde wlænce, gyf þu wylle beon welig on þinen mode. For þan þa þe þas welen gitsigeð, byð simle wædle ond eremingas on heore mode. See *M53.5 above.

M755 Mouth and heart do not agree (*varied*)

B5685-90: Whanne he shall God worshipp do, Loke all his herte be therto; For he that seyth to God his bede, And his þought be in other stede, The toungre were as goode be styrle For hit axeth with noo goode wille. Cf. *Hamlet* III iii 97-8: My words fly up, my thoughts remain below. Words without thoughts never to heaven go; *Meas.* II iv 1-7. See c1415, a1450 Audelay 144, a1450 *Gesta*; L376, T383, W631.

M769 As Much as one has (so) men will love (?praise) him

B9509-16: Bodyly worthynesse, That is neither moore ne lesse But after þat a man hath here: Therafter is he holden dere. And as moche as þou haste

now, Also moche worthy art þou: Haue þou but a peny in all, No moore worthy men holde þe shall. See G344, M265, 274, 671.

N77 He that has a good Neighbor has a good Morrow

L6981-2: Men sein in olde sawes, 'By good neighebore good day men dawes.'

N167 One can lead Nothing from this life more than he brought (*varied*)

B3502-4: Noothynge shall he with hym bere: Oute as he cam, soo shall he fare, Both pore, naked, and bare. B3591-4: See above, q. 92. B5745-8: Naked hedere vs he brought And of ooureselfe we haue nought And naked away shall we wende: With [vs] we bere noght at the ende. B9047-8: Porely we cam and baare And froo hens soo shull wee fare. See c1450 *Secrete of Secretes*, 1483.

N179 Now (this) now (that) (a) *Rich/poor*.

B2325-8: Otherwhile waxith the pore riche And the rich pore euen aliche: Vp and downe catel is brought But kynde of man chaunges nought. See a1440, a1449 ?Lydgate *Pageant of Knowledge*, a1450 *Barlam and Josaphat*, c1516; T354 a1393. (b) *Life (death) is a fowl's flight*. B4766-9: The dethe that men here to wende Thenne is, for to rekyn right, Not ellis but a foules flight That fleeth here and yoonder oute. Cf. a900 Bede 134.28-136.2: Cume an spearwa ond hrædlice þæt hus þurhfleo, cume þurh opre duru in, þurh opre ut gewite. See c1390.

O18 Odd (Even) or even (odd)

B507-8: And foryeven hym even and odde That he hadde doone ayenst his godde. See c1450.

O29 Men may the Old (wise) atren (*outrun*) but not atrede (*outwit*) (*varied*)

B8565-6: The olde may me ouerrenne well But ofreede neuer a dell. See also c1375 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek B VIII 4, fol. 96r: *Quia in senibus viget sapiencia*. Men may þe olde at-ride but noght at-rede.

***O34.5** Better One care (in hell/prison) than two outside

B8045-6: Better with oon care withynne Thanne to come owte and have tweyne.

O40 One may come and quit all

L10990: One shal come and quite (paye B9718) for alle.

***O55.5** Others enjoy the wealth amassed by the covetous (*varied*)

L4875-8: Pei (*covetous men*) shullen deie and goo þerfro And of al her trauaile and al her woo Shal anoþer make him bliþe, Spende and waste and reuel swiþe. L9785-6: Pat he (*a covetous man*) to gadre haue delite Comeþ somtyme oþer to profite. Cf. c1390 *WBible* (Lindberg) Eccl 14:4: To an enuyous man wherto gold? who heþep of his inwit vnriȝtwisli to oþer men gedereþ: and in þe goodis of hym an oþer shal doon lecherie. Stevenson 442.5. See M44, S626: ... Others will broake itt ffine.

***O62.5** He that is Overcome to-day may overcome to-morrow (*varied*)

B9469-70: He þat ouercome [is] today, Tomorowe ouercome y[itt] he may.

L11065-8: Pogh a prince haue som day A rebuke, peraunter he may Anoþer day his worshippe saue And of þat retorne honour haue. Cf. *Oxford* (3) 221: Endures; Stevenson 2336.3: *Hodie mihi, cras tibi*. A corollary of F139, S914, V8, 32.

***P105.5** Entermete (*have dealings*) with your Peers

L5147-50: Lat hem þat ben riche and feers Entirmeten hem wiþ her peers
And þe pouere, where þei fare, Wiþ suche opere as þei are. See E128, P107.

P233 As black as (the, any) Pitch

L9191-2: A synful soule and wicke Is als blak as any picke. L10175-6: It is
a deuel of helle wicke, Lopely and blak as any picke.

P245 He that is in a sure Place is a fool to go from it

B9527-42: Iff þou in a goode stede be now That þou fyndest to thy prow,...
Holde þe stille-renne þou nought Ne for better haue noo thought... if þou
in goode stede be, Holde the þerinne, by rede of me. See S356, 668, W556.

P251 A green Plant may be plied with a man's fingers (*varied*)

B5843-50: With thy childre do þou shall Soo men doþ a grene yerde withall.
Hit may be wrepfen whill hit is grene As a man woll haue hit to beene, And
be hit drye, soone woll hit breke—A with thereof no man shulde make. Soo
shulde men children worche in youthe Till þat they som goode cowthe. See
a1450, 1509; W35.

P351 To Praise oneself is wrong (*varied*)

B3797-800: Pat doughty man is tolde And is an hardy man and bolde, Kepe
his tongue where he gothe And lete oper bere hit forthe. See c1395.

P377 To spurn against the Prick (*varied*)

L5165-6: Whoso wole hurile wiþ a stoon, His heed wole breke þereazein
anoon. See c1450 *Pilgrimage LM*.

P389 Pride is the root of all evils (*varied*)

B2451-4: What envye is, yif thou wilte here, Listen and thou mayst lere: Hit
is a tre þat springes wyde And the rote of hir is pride. See C491.

***P444.5** That which is put in a torn Purse is lost

B2215-16: That men doþe all hit is lorn In a purse that is totorne.

R15 A little Rain lays a great wind (*varied*)

B9365-6: Wynde blowyng ffast with all his mayn, Why dieth itt for a shoure
off rayn?

R111 The Rich shall die as well as the poor

B2339-42: Whenne hit comes to the deede, Than is there non other rede But
boþe alyche shall they fare, Riche and poore, whatso they are. See D101
c1440, P298.

***R194.5** Let not (your wife) have too long a Rope

B7788: Lete *hir* (*your wife*) to longe rope not have. Cf. Apperson 538: Rope 3; *Oxford* (3) 683: Rope enough; Stevenson 2008.1.

*S88.5 What is Scathe to the body is scathe to the heart

B3297-8: The body may take no skathe But yf þe herte fele hit rathe. See H223, 232-3, 254, 272, 301.

S91 Be never too bold to chide against a **Scold** (*varied*)

L4833-4: To ianglers men shulde noght Multiplie wordes. See a1395, a1475.

*S162.5 Serve every man as best you can

B9705-8: 'Shall a man serue ech man Off such þing as he can?' 'A man shall fonde lowde and stylle Euery man to serue at his wille.' Cf. c900 *Old English Cato* 4.23-4: Help æigðer gea cuðen gea uncuðen, þær þu muge; uncuð hware hwa oðres beðurfe. Stevenson 1130.11: In this world one should help another.

S177 To be aghast of one's **Shadow** (*varied*)

B5347-8: If he a shadowe shall see, His herte shall gaste and he shall flee.

*S281.5 It is lorn (*wasted*) to show goodness to a **Shrew**

L3103-4: It is lorn forto shewe Any goodnesse to (byfore B2224) a shrewe.

*S296.5 The **Sick** may not suffer what the whole may

B7449-56: A syk man is ffleble right And his stomak is of noo might; Forwhy moton is best hym vnto And yonge chikenes ben goode also For tendirhede þat men in hem fynde ... For sik men may suffre noo dele Of that an hole man may right well. See B530.

*S306.5 Sight is verier (*more trustworthy*) than hearing

B6135-8: Sight of eye is more verier Thenne þat a man hereth with eare For þat a man [seeth] furste with eye, That may be noo flaterie. See B220.

S408 To beat as the **Smith** does with the hammer [*one example only*]

L10081-3: The fift peyne (*of hell*) is soules to bete As a smyth wiþ hamers grete Betewiþ the yren it to dresse (As a smyth doith iron with hameres grete B8876). See S409.

S437 As white as (any, the) **Snow**

B10271-2: His clothes white of hue As hit were ffallyn snowe newe (As þogh it were al bisnewe L11574) (see a1400 ?Chaucer *Rom. A*, a1422). B10568: As snowe whyte.

S709 As true as (any, the) **Steel**

L11019-20: Kynges and lordes oght right wel To be trewe as any steel.

S770 As steadfast as (the, any, a) **Stone(s)**

L7767-8: To þe sonne is like þat oone, Pat ȝeueþ his light stedfaste as stoone.

S772 As still as (any, a, the) **Stone**

B9613-14: Canne he noght answhere anoon, Holde hym stille as ony stoone.

*S802.5 We are **Strange(rs)** in this world (*varied*)

B9043-52: God made neuer creature Ne neuer shall here endure That he ne

shall, þat warne I the, To this world right straunge be.... Oure heritage is nought here. And ȝif we haue heritage noon, Thanne be we straunge euerychon. B9579-83: Oure dwellyng here is but a stounde: Now we come and now we founde, As a straunge mannes right That herberewith [in] an ynne anyght And on þe morow wendith his way. See P200, 201, W663.

S830 To row (strive) against the Stream (flood, sea) (*varied*)

L7029-30: He þat loueþ þere þat is hat, Aȝenst þe streem he roweþ sore. See L567.

S833 No Strength (power) may (help) against rede (*counsel, wisdom*) (*varied*)

B9595-602: Whanne manne alle his strenkthe hath wrought, Thenne is strengthe to ende brought; Thanne may strengthe noo firther reche And þanne woll sleighe a man teche, Withynne an oure of þe day, To doon þat strengthe ne may. Thanne is sleyte worth wel more Than is strengthe, Payne a man hym neuer soo soore. See a1393; F492, L381, M281, Q5, W418, etc.

S881 As bright as (the, any) Sun (*varied*)

B10091: (*Eyes*) as bright as þe sonne. B10569: as þe shynyng sonne. B2514: as the sonne, þat shewes (ȝeueþ L3394) vs light. B1998: Brighter þenne þe sonne is he. B8141-2: Brighter shall thanne þe body be Thanne is þe sonne in his clerete.

S882 As clear as (the, any, summer) Sun

B10725-6: Þat shal be of mo[r]e clerte Thanne men in þe sonne see.

S891 The Sun never tines (*loses*) its fairness though it shines on the muck-heap (*varied*)

B10413-16: No moore empeire ne can þat same body noo wykkyd man Thanne is empeyred þe sonnes light Of a wardrobe þat here is dight (Þat on a toord shyneþ bright L11732). See also Wenzel *Sins* 376 n. 117.

S899 As bright as (the, any) Sunbeam

B10733-4: He shall shewe hym vnto hem Brighter þanne ony sonnebeme.

S910 As bright as the Sunlight [*two examples only*]

B10269-70: He shall seme vnto here sight As hit were the sonnelight.

S940 In the Sweat of one's face shall he eat bread (*varied*)

L2365-6: Perfore he eet his breed In swynke and sweet til he was deed (see c1390). B1466-8: For Adam, thorow evell rede, A bitter bete of the appell he bote, That drofe hym into swynke and shwote (see c1390; omission of bread a1500, 1529). Gen 3:19.

***S970.5** To teach a Swine to read and write

B10013-18: A wyse man of moche wytte That amonge foles sheweth it, Hit fareth as he þat lereth a swyn To rede and w[rit]e in parchemyn For he forleseþ all his Payne As well as other his trauaille teyne. Cf. Apperson 494: Pig 11; *Oxford* (3) 757: Sow to a fiddle; Stevenson 1792.12, 2175.6; Tilley S679. See A227, S972, T442.

***T72.5 To stalk (*skulk, slink*) like a Thief**

B5341-6: He þat gothe by nyght, That is noon hardynesse of might. To defende hym he is not leffe, Forwhy he stalkeþ as a thefe: In derke he hopith in his thought That men shall perceyue hym nought. Cf. Stevenson 2298.4 (Jer 49:9); Tilley T113. See E184, T75.

***T188.5 To be more glad for a lost Thing found than for all one's other goods**

B2369-74: Yif a man haue a thynge forloren That he loued well byforne And he may hit after fynde, That shall be hym more in mynde And more sholde he therof be gladde Thenne of all that other that he hadde. Lc 15:3-32.

***T229.5 Anon as Thought**

B10833-4: In what stede þey wolde þey were Anoon as thoght þey shull be there. See T231-3.

***T232.5 As smart(ly) as any Thought**

B8795-6: He may come also smerte (smertly L9999) As ony bought in mannes herte. See T231-3.

T233 As swift as (any, a) Thought

L2672: It is as swift as þoght. B1624: ony.

***T237.5 Show your Thought to a wise man, not to a fool**

B10019-28: Telle a fole a wys[dom] vnto, He shall sey hit was neuer soo: For vnderstanding hathe he noon.... Forwhy to a man wyse shewe þou þy þoȝt And amonge fooles shewe right noȝt. See C468, F384.

T315 There is a Time to speak and a time to hold still

B8523-4: Speke and leue is bothe to doo A[s] man seith tyme þerto.

T329 To lose one's Time

L11309: He forleseþ al his tyme.

T351 To-day alive, to-morrow dead (*varied*)

B9049: Today born, tomorrow on bere.

T355 To-day well, to-morrow all amiss, etc.

B4770-2: Be a man neuer soo stowte Ne soo yonge ne fayre tod[a]ye, Tomorrow shall hit all awaye.

***T381.5 To lie hot on the Tongue**

L8309-10: Pat manye mouthes (tonges B7231) woote On somme tunge it lieth ful hoote. Cf. Stevenson 2052.10: Sooner will men hold fire in their mouths than keep a secret.

T384 The Tongue breaks bone though itself has none

B3151-2: The tonge ne hathe noo boon But yt dothe breke many oon.

L10791-2: He þat yuel tunge so bereþ, Manye one þerwib he dereþ. See also Wenzel, *Verses*, p. 139.

T387 A Tongue is man's best member and the worst

B3139-40: The beste thynge of man, iwyssse, And þeworste þe tonge hit is.

T441 After Travail is need of rest [*one example only*]

B3937-8: Therfore is goode in travayll stronge A whyle a man to reste

amonge. L6663-6: *þe body is feble of might And somtyme moste reste wib right; And but it reste here now haue, Longe may he not þe lyf here sauē.*

T442 To tine (lose, cast away) one's *Travail* (swink, labor, pain)

B8534: See under **A59** above. B10017-18: See under ***S970.5** above.

T465 Such *Tree* such fruit (*varied*)

B5621-4: *3if a tre frewte bere, Be hit appill, be hit pere, The frute moste take kynde and hewe Of the roote þat hit on grewe.* B9943-4: *It fallith in euerythyng, Feble seede, feble spryng* (see **c1390 CT VII**).

***T522.5** He who rooses (praises) himself shall be crowned with a horse *Turd*

B3082-4: *Hit sayeth an olde auctour, 'He þat hymselue rouseth (preiseþ L4743) in towne, With an hors torde men shall hym crowne.'* Cf. Stevenson 1863.8: *He that praiseth himself, spattereth himself.*

T526 Not worth a *Turd* (*varied*)

B3795-6: *He was neuer worthe a torde* (two toordis L4735) But a bostmākere of worde.

T547 In (the, a) *Twinkling* (twink) of an (the) eye

B1915-18: *Fro þe bodily (worlds) that are Vnto the gostely for to fare ... Is but a twynkelyng of an eye.* L5946-8: *A good soule might fle Fro erthe and into heuene stie In þe twincling of an yze.*

W58 As mickle as *Water* in the sea (*varied*)

B5207-10: *Mercy is gretttere þanne all erthe may be Or all þe water in þe see; Hit passith all þe leves þat spryne Of herbes or of other thynge.* L7245-54: *Iff alle þe dropes in þe see And al þe grauel þat in erþe may be And alle þe leues þat men kunne neuene And alle þe sterres þat beþ in heuene And all þe fisshes þat swymme can And alle þe heres of beest or man Weren alle in oone summe ibrought, þe tenþe deel were þei noght Of þe mercy of God of heuene For þe somme þerof may no man neuene.* See **a1500; M507**.

***W221.5** To tine (lose, waste) one's *While* (*time*)

B3417-22: *Yif he loue oon wodely That nought his owne is proprely, He travayles in gelosy ... And his whyle he tynes all.* See **T329, W219**.

***W234.5** It is better to be *Whole* than sick

B2070-1: *To goode men say I sekerly, Is better hoole then seke to be.* Cf. Tilley C313: *A naughty Child is better sick than whole.*

***W234.6** *Whole* and fast (*unimpaired, undivided*)

L2451-4: *þe sunne his light cast Poruz þe glas and is hool and fast And cometh out as he firste was Wiboute enpeiryng of þe glas.* L5673-4: *þe water aboue asondre it (the land) castib, But vndre hole and faste it lastib.* (Collocation not recorded in the *Middle English Dictionary* but see next entry and **S10**.)

***W234.7** *Whole* and sound

See MED *hol(e) adj. (2): 4.(a) a1225(c1200) Vices & V.(1), c1300(c1250)*

Floris, c1300 *SLeg. Swithin*, c1330 *St. Greg.*, c1400(?a1300) *KAlex.*,
a1450(a1338), *Mannynge Chron.Pt. I*; 4.(b) c1300 *Sleg.*, c1300 *SLeg. Edm.*
King, c1330 *SMChron.*, (a1387) *Trev. Higd.* (No examples in *Sidrak*.)

*W238.5 A good Wife is the solace (joy) of one's life

B5873-4: If þou forlese þy goode wyff, Thanne lesest þou the solas (ioye L6872) of þy liff. Cf. Stevenson 2503.1, 2502.9. See W241.

W294 As swift as (the) Wind

B10568: Swhifte as wynde.

W320 To fight against the Wind [*one example only*]

B3423-8: He is lyke that man, iwissee, That nyght and day fyghtyng is Agayn the wynde hit to take His owne at his wyll to make, And euer the lenger he dothe soo The furthere is þe wynde hym froo.

W360 Wine does wit (wisdom) away (*varied*)

B9127-34: Folys that wyne drynke shall That drynken here witt withall.... Vnto men of suche couien Were better þe water þanne þe wyn.

*W386.5 Wisdom is thick (*incomprehensible*) amongst fools (*varied*)

L4449-50: As folye among wise is wicke, So is wisdom amonge foolis þicke.

B3547-8: As foly amonge wyse men is but lewdenesse, Soo is wisdom amonge folis expresse. See F384, 391, 443.

*W417.5 Wit and wisdom is world's aught (*wealth*)

B6606-8: Shall Salomon þe wyse Say, ' ... Wit and wisdam is worldis aught'. See W417.

*W563.5 (As) wroth as one were Wood (*mad*)

B670: They were wroth as they were wode. See W299.

W640 Word slays more than sword

L4835-8: Multiplieng of foly wordes Fareþ as two eggid swordes þat kuttib or kerveyþ eueryping þat azeinst it is countering. See T388, 395.

W642 Words (Speech, Saws) and deeds (works) (*varied*)

L7775-6: These ben þe goode, þat techen here And done hemself as þat þei lere. B10239-40: All his lyff shall be alsoo As he techeth other vnto. See c1387-95; D289, L409, 463, P361.

W664 This World is but a vanity

B3471-2: The worlde þat men on affye Is but vanyte and folye.

*W669.5 What one leaves behind (at death) is the World's and not one's own

B3508-10: þat [he] leueth hym byhynde, That is þe worldes and not his: Thereof shall he have lityll blisse. See N167.

Y32 What Youth does age shows (*varied*)

B5851-2: þat yoonge takeþ comounly, In age hit fyndeb redyly. See C210, 226, M308.

A PONTIFICAL OF BENEVENTO
(MACERATA, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE 'MOZZI-BORGETTI' 378)*

Richard F. Gyug

INTRODUCTION

THE analysis of the sources and influences of the Roman liturgy, the traditional goal of liturgical historiography, has been supplemented in recent study by increased attention to the regional character of medieval liturgy and greater concern for the changing relations between the liturgy of Rome and the liturgies of the major western churches. Pontificals, the collections of rubrics and prayers required by a bishop or archbishop for the performance of his liturgical duties, are particularly important in this regard since they are manuscripts proper to individual dioceses and archdioceses, levels of ecclesiastical organisation which often contain significant variants of cult and rite. While the Roman characteristics of the pontifical liturgy have been much studied, the historian must also be aware that the sources used for the histories of the Roman pontifical functioned in their own periods as directories of regional practice and not as archetypes of the future Roman book.¹ In turn, seemingly regional issues, such as which ordines are owed

* I would like to thank the directors of the Biblioteca Comunale 'Mozzi-Borgetti' in Macerata for permission to publish this study with plates of ms. 378. In two visits to the library in 1986 and 1987, the former director, dottore Aldo Adversi, and the present director, dottore Anna Pieroni, were most helpful in permitting examination of the manuscript and answering my many questions.

¹ The introductions and texts of the editions of the medieval Roman pontificals are the authoritative basis for any discussion of the pontifical liturgy: see Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (*Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense* 11, 23, 24, 28, 29; Louvain, 1931-61) (henceforth Andrieu, *OR*); Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, 4 vols. (*Studi e testi* 86-88, 99; Vatican City, 1938-41) (henceforth Andrieu, *PR*); Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 3 vols. (*Studi e testi* 226-27, 269; Vatican City, 1963, 1972) (henceforth Vogel-Elze, *PRG*). For local rites the fundamental work remains Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus ...*, 2nd edition, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1736-38), now complemented by Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène* (*Studi e testi* 279; Vatican City, 1978), and idem, 'Additions et corrections à la documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène', *Ecclesia orans* 3 (1986) 81-105. See Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, 1987), pp. 135-271, for a history of the Roman pontifical with current bibliography, and 273-89 for references to regional rites.

to local developments, where pontificals were copied and modified, and how liturgies changed, are central to an understanding of the Roman liturgy. Such questions of interdependence among western rites and uses cannot be resolved, however, until the books of individual dioceses have been examined. Like many other local witnesses, the Pontifical of Benevento contained in Macerata, Biblioteca comunale 378, has been overlooked in this study of regional and Roman liturgies and their relationships.²

The neglect of the Pontifical of Benevento is especially to be regretted since Benevento was an important centre of the distinctive Old Beneventan and Romano-Beneventan liturgies.³ Indeed, the local character of the pontifical liturgy is particularly evident throughout the region of the Beneventan script, that is southern Italy and Dalmatia, where together with Old Beneventan and Romano-Beneventan liturgies, Greek, Slavic, and Norman practices have left traces in a variety of sources.⁴ Nonetheless, the pontificals of the dioceses of the Beneventan

² Although the manuscript has been described on several occasions, the observations have been almost exclusively codicological and paleographical; the contents have been neither identified precisely nor studied at length. Notices of the manuscript include Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti della Biblioteca comunale di Macerata* (Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia 1.1; Turin, 1887), p. 143: '378. Pontificale. (sec. XIII; membran., di ff. 213 num.; manca la fine [3, D, 5]'; Luigi Colini-Baldeschi, 'Un codice della Comunale di Macerata in littera beneventana', *Atti e memorie della R. deputazione di storia patria per le provincie delle Marche* N.S. 1 (1904) 441-48 with fig. (detail fol. 109v); Antonio Garbelotto, 'Catalogo del fondo musicale fino all'anno 1800 della Biblioteca comunale di Macerata' in *Studi sulla Biblioteca comunale e sui tipografi di Macerata*, ed. Aldo Adversi (Macerata, 1966), pp. 79-122, at 110-14 and fig. (detail of fol. 187r); Réginald Grégoire, 'Repertorium liturgicum italicum', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser. 9 (1968) 463-592, at 516; Libero Paci, *Inventario dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca comunale 'Mozzi Borgetti'*, ed. Aldo Adversi (Macerata, 1972), pp. 142-43; Elias Avery Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, 2 vols. (Sussidi eruditivi 33-34; Rome, 1980), 2.55; Aldo Adversi, *Macerata Biblioteca comunale 'Mozzi-Borgetti'*, 2 vols. (Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia 100; Florence, 1981), p. 92; and Jean Mallet and André Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent*, vol. 1: *manuscrits 1-18* (Paris, 1984), pp. 71, n. 6; 74, n. 4; 83.

³ The outstanding studies of René-Jean Hesbert in *Le codex 10673 de la Bibliothèque vaticane. Fonds latin (XIe siècle). Graduel bénéventain* (Paléographie musicale 14; Tournai, 1931, rpt. Bern, 1971), and 'L''Antiphonale missarum' de l'ancien rit bénéventain', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 52 (1938) 28-66, 141-58; 53 (1939) 168-90; 59 (1945) 69-95; 60 (1946) 103-41; 61 (1947) 153-210, following the articles of Raphaël Andoyer, 'L'ancienne liturgie de Bénévent', *Revue du chant grégorien* 20-24 (1912-1920), have established the outlines of the Old Beneventan and Romano-Beneventan liturgies. See Michel Huglo, 'L'ancien chant bénéventain', *Ecclesia orans* 2 (1985) 265-93, and Thomas Forrest Kelly, 'Montecassino and the Old Beneventan Chant', *Early Music History* 5 (1985) 53-83, for recent discussions of the Old Beneventan corpus. For the manuscripts and editions of liturgical sources in Beneventan script, especially the sources of the Old Beneventan liturgy, see Klaus Gamper, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd edition (Spicilegium friburgensis subsidia 1 [in 2 parts]; Freiburg/Switz., 1980), pp. 238-57, 465-66; for other Beneventan manuscripts and further bibliography, see Loew, *Beneventan Script*.

⁴ For the Norman influence, see Lance W. Brunner, 'A Perspective on the Southern Italian Sequence: The Second Tonary of the Manuscript Monte Cassino 318', *Early Music History* 1 (1981)

zone are better known for their close association with the development of the Roman pontifical than as witnesses to the local hybrid liturgies. Among the manuscripts used by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze in their edition of the Roman-German Pontifical of the Tenth Century (henceforth PRG), none were more important than Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 451 and Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana D 5. These two pontificals in the Beneventan script represent most closely the order of texts of the primitive PRG originating in Mainz in the mid-tenth century and brought to Rome shortly before the millennium.⁵ Of comparable importance for Andrieu's edition of the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century (henceforth PR12) is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 631, a late eleventh-century Cassinese product, which was for Andrieu the first definitive attempt at a book both Roman and truly 'pontifical', that is shorn of Frankish extravagances and no longer burdened with presbyteral functions.⁶ Much less important for the edition of the PR12, but carefully described and analysed by Andrieu among the manuscripts mixing Roman-German and more developed Roman traits, were two other Vatican manuscripts from the region of the Beneventan script: Vat. lat. 7818, a manuscript from Chieti containing a

117-64, and David Hiley, 'The Norman Chant Traditions - Normandy, Britain, Sicily', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 107 (1980-81) 1-34; for Greek influences on southern Italy and Dalmatia, see André Jacob, 'L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici bizantini in Calabria e in Sicilia dall'VIII al XVI secolo, con particolare riguardo ai riti eucaristici' in *Calabria bizantina. Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative. Atti del primo e secondo incontro di Studi bizantini* (Reggio, Calabria, 1974), pp. 47-69, the studies of Klaus Gamber ('Die griechisch-lateinschen Mess-Libelli in Südtalien', 1299-1306) and Branka Pecarski ('Testimonianze artistiche, letterarie e storiche sulla liturgia greca nella Dalmazia dall'VIII al XIII secolo', 1237-45) in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiiale*, Bari, 30 apr.-4 magg. 1969, 3 vols. (*Italia sacra* 20-22; Padua, 1973), also Louis Brou, 'Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines', *Sacris erudit* 1 (1948) 165-80, 4 (1952) 226-38, Egon Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant* (Oxford, Boston, 1947; rpt. Copenhagen, 1967) and Hesbert, *Pal. mus.* 14.291-337 (Good Friday). For the Glagolitic liturgy of Dalmatia, see Gamber, *CLLA*, no. 895, pp. 405-406; Stephen Smržík, *The Glagolitic or Romano-Slavonic Liturgy* (Series cyrillomethodiana 2; Cleveland, Ohio, and Rome, 1959); and Lucas Jelić, *Fontes historici liturgiae glagolito-romanae a XIII ad XIX saeculum* (Krk, 1906).

⁵ Vogel-Elze, *PRG* 1.xiii: 'il ne fait pas de doute que l'ordonnance primitive du Romano-germanique soit conservée le plus fidèlement dans le groupe I (*Cassinensis* 451 et *Vallicell.* D. 5)' (et passim). Although both were considered independent copies from a now-lost exemplar, Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 451 (Monte Cassino, s. xi med., cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.87; Andrieu, *OR* 1.176-211), was thought to date to the second quarter of the eleventh century, perhaps shortly before Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana D 5 (Monte Cassino, s. xi med., cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.128; Andrieu, *OR* 1.177-211). In fact, paleographic opinion now tends to date Vallicelliana D 5 to about the mid-point of the century and Monte Cassino 451 to later in the third quarter, without of course disturbing the textual relationship: see Giuseppe Riggio, 'Liturgia e pastorale della confermazione nei secoli XI-XII-XIII', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 87 (1973) 445-72, at 456.

⁶ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 631 (Monte Cassino, s. xi ex., cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.162; Andrieu, *PR* 1.61-71, 95-97). In the development of the Roman pontifical, Andrieu wrote of Barb. lat. 631 that 'cet exemplaire annonce mieux que les précédents ce que sera définitivement le Pontifical romain' (*PR* 1.95).

pontifical written in Caroline and other texts written in Beneventan, and Burghesianus 49, a pontifical in Gothic script from Sora.⁷

Given the prominence of such regional manuscripts in the development of the Roman pontifical, and the extraordinary survivals in the Beneventan zone of other liturgical features, such as Old Beneventan and Romano-Beneventan chant, the unstudied pontificals in the Beneventan script are promising ground both for fresh research into the critical moments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the Roman pontifical was developing and for a more complete history of the Beneventan liturgies. The regional manuscripts cited in the editions of the Roman pontificals scarcely exhaust the available resources. Omitting individual ordines of the pontifical liturgy isolated in missals or other sources, there are five other pontificals in the Beneventan script, two from Dalmatia and three from Benevento,⁸ the latter including Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale 'Mozzi-Borgetti' 378, the subject of the present description.

The Macerata manuscript is a pontifical in a Beneventan script of the early twelfth century with marginal additions in Gothic text and cursive hands. Although the oath of fidelity sworn to the archbishop of Benevento during the consecration of a bishop (Ordo 14: 28, fol. 37r) indicates an origin in the archdiocese while

⁷ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 7818 (Chieti, s. xii, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.153; Andrieu, *PR* 1.52-61, 92-93). On the classification of the pontifical, Andrieu wrote, 'Somme toute, ce type de pontifical, déjà nettement romanisé, mais gardant encore de l'ancien pontifical mayençais quelques traits destinées à disparaître bientôt, devait se rencontrer couramment à Rome, aux environs de l'année 1100' (*PR* 1.93). Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Burghesianus 49 (Sora, s. xiii, cf. Andrieu, *PR* 1.71-77, 93-94; Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque vaticane*, 5 vols. [Studi e testi 251, 253, 260, 267, 270; Vatican City, 1968-72], 3: no. 37).

⁸ From Dalmatia: Leningrad, Sobranie inostrannykh rukopisei Otdela rukopisnoi i redkoi knigi Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR F. no. 200 (Kotor, s. xii, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.50; Liudmila I. Kiseleva, *Latinskie rukopisi Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR. Opisanie rukopisei latinskogo alfavitva X-XV vv.* [Leningrad, 1978], pp. 63-65; Richard Gyug, *An Edition of Leningrad, BAN, F. no. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor* [Ph.D. diss., Toronto, 1983]; Dusan Sindik, 'Pontifikal Kotorske biskupije u Leningradu', *Istorijski časopis* 31 [1984] 53-66); and Dubrovnik, Franjevacki Samostan 'Mala Braća' 5310/230/7, 8 (2 folios of the Dedication ordo, Kotor, s. xii, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.37). From Benevento: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 614 (s. xii/xiii, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.121), Casanatense 724 (3 rolls, s. x, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.122-23), and Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale 'Mozzi-Borgetti' 378. Early pontifical manuscripts (pre-1000) from the region written in Caroline with Beneventan features include Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1997 (*Collectio canonum* with Ordinations, s. ix, cf. Paola Supino Martini, 'Per lo studio delle scritture altomedievali italiane: la collezione canonica chietina [Vat. Reg. lat. 1997]', *Scrittura e civiltà* 1 [1977] 133-54); and Vat. lat. 7701 (Chieti, s. x, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.153; Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge. Genèse du livre de l'évêque* [Thèse du doctorat, Institut catholique de Paris; Arhus, 1977]). Several Sicilian pontificals and collections of ordines also survive from later centuries: e.g., Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 678 (pontifical, s. xiii), 715 (pontifical, s. xiv), and 742 (ordinis, s. xiii); see José Janini and José Serrano, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de la Biblioteca nacional* (Madrid, 1969), nos. 32, 33, 37.

a series of later additions to the oath locate it there from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, the individual scriptorium remains unidentified.⁹ The manuscript contains a collection of ordines, incomplete at the end, including episcopal ceremonies for the ordination of clergy, the consecration of a bishop, the dedication of a church, the holding of a synod, the performance of Holy Week services, and the consecration of monastic officers. It also includes presbyteral ordines for the administration of extreme unction, the burial of the dead, the performance of marriage, and the blessing of pilgrims. It is thus typical of early pontificals in its seemingly eclectic mixture of services, including some found in the modern ritual.¹⁰

The inclusion of some texts suggests a monastic use for the manuscript, in addition to its more general pontifical functions. Thus, there are ordines for the consecration of virgins (Ordo 42), and the blessing of an abbot (Ordo 33) and abbess (Ordo 34). Other ordines for the anointing of the sick (Ordo 36) and the burial of the dead (Ordo 37) contain references to the 'fratres' and 'prior' of a monastic community. These ordines are similar in several features to the contemporary texts of Rome, *Biblioteca Vallicelliana C 32*, a ritual in Beneventan script from a Benedictine house in the Cassinese region.¹¹ The Pontifical of Benevento contains more ordines properly episcopal than the Vallicelliana ritual, but the difference may lie in the rights of the respective houses for which the manuscripts were intended. The pontifical prerogatives of an abbot could vary from the full pontifical status of abbots functioning as ordinary for the abbey and its lands, as at Monte Cassino itself, to the simple use of the episcopal regalia

⁹ See below, pp. 375-77 and Pl. 1.

¹⁰ On the typology of early pontificals, see Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, and 'Unité et diversité des Pontificiaux latins aux VIII, IX et X siècles' in *Liturgie et l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle. Conférences Saint-Serge, XXIIe semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, 30 juin-3 juillet 1975* (Rome, 1976), pp. 393-410. The Tridentine distinctions of typology are appropriate for medieval sources only in a very general way. Thus, all the pontificals mentioned above contain directions for ceremonies later restricted to rituals, books of liturgical directions for presbyteral functions; similarly, medieval books of the mass and office often overlap with medieval pontificals in citing, for instance, directions for the ceremonies of Holy Week or in listing episcopal benedictions. Such blurring of boundaries makes categorisation often misleading. The discussion below of the Old Beneventan features of the Holy Saturday rite in the Macerata manuscript (see Ordo 28) demonstrates the point. Although the manuscript was known early in this century from Loew's references in the first edition of *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914) and from the literature cited there, nonetheless, René-Jean Hesbert's otherwise authoritative studies of the Old Beneventan rites of Holy Saturday do not consider its witness: see Hesbert, *Pal. mus.* 14.337-446, and "Antiphonale missarum", *Ephemerides liturgicae* 61 (1947) 153-210.

¹¹ Rome, *Biblioteca Vallicelliana C 32* (s. xi ex., cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.128). The manuscript is edited by Ambros Odermatt, *Ein Rituale in beneventanischer Schrift. Roma, Biblioteca vallicelliana, cod. C 32, Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Spicilegium friburgense 26; Freiburg/Switz., 1980).

bestowed on an abbot during his consecration.¹² If episcopal functions were copied in a monastic ‘pontifical’, they may reflect the status of the abbot as ordinary, as is surely the case in the books copied at Monte Cassino, or they may reflect no more than the copyist’s fidelity to a more complete exemplar. Nonetheless, despite a choice of ordines in the Macerata manuscript appropriate for an abbot with such pastoral concerns outside the monastery as the administration of the marriage and baptismal ordines, the manuscript appears from the marginal additions to have been used by the archbishop of Benevento during the twelfth through fourteenth centuries.¹³

The structure and contents of the Pontifical of the Macerata manuscript are typical of the adaptations of the PRG to local use. In particular, it shares many common features with the second generation of Roman pontifical in southern Italy, especially the regional witnesses, such as Vat. lat. 7818 and Burghes. 49, which modify the PRG but do not share fully in the developments of the PR12.¹⁴ These pontificals have a restricted series of ordines drawn for the most part from the PRG but without the many alternative prayers and didactic texts characteristic of the PRG. The following comments on individual ordines point further to the association of the Pontifical of Benevento with the PR12. The individual similarities with Burghes. 49, such as the marriage liturgy of Ordo 38, suggest that within the group of southern Italian witnesses to the transition from the PRG to the PR12, the twelfth-century Macerata manuscript from Benevento and the thirteenth-century Pontifical of Sora represent a particular tradition.

INDIVIDUAL ORDINES

Ordo 6. Ordinatio ostiariorum: In the series of ordinations, the incorporation of the fragment from the *De officiis vii graduum* (PRG ordo 14: 1; PR12 ordo 4: 1) in the ceremony for each of the orders is characteristic of the PR12; the PRG usually gives the entire text en bloc.¹⁵ Nonetheless, among Beneventan sources, Barb. lat. 631 and Vat. lat. 7818, although witnesses to PR12, copy the whole

¹² See Maur John Dloughy, ‘Abbot nullius’, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, 1967), 1.10; Matthew Aloysius Benko, *The Abbot Nullius* (Catholic University of America, Canon Law Studies; Washington, 1943).

¹³ See below p. 377, n. 61.

¹⁴ See Andrieu, *PR* 1.112-13, including Vat. lat. 7818 and Burghes. 49 among the sources pertinent only to the ‘préhistoire’ of his subject (i.e., the PR12); Andrieu also cites Barb. lat. 631, the Pontifical of Monte Cassino, as an early text of the PR12, although more closely related to its later developed form than Vat. lat. 7818 and Burghes. 49.

¹⁵ See Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The *De officiis vii graduum*: Its Origins and Early Medieval Development’, *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) 113-51.

tract; on the other hand, the Pontifical of Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina 173, an eleventh-century Roman copy of the PRG, breaks the tract into sections.¹⁶

Ordo 14. Ordinatio episcopi: The Ordo for the Consecration of a Bishop corresponds for the most part to PR12 10, which is based on the ‘romanised’ form of PRG 63 found in Aless. 173 (ed. PRG 63 App.). In the German church, the consecration of a bishop differed in several essential elements that were incompatible with Roman and suburbicarian practice. Whereas the German ordo describes, for instance, the consecration of an Imperial candidate by the metropolitan in the candidate’s own cathedral and the voiced consent of the clergy and laity instead of an election, the Roman ordo requires the candidate, chosen by the clergy and people of his own church, to go to Rome for confirmation of the election and consecration. The ceremony consists of a scrutiny during Saturday evening and consecration on the following Sunday in a Roman basilica.¹⁷ Although the earliest Beneventan pontificals (Monte Cassino 451 and Vallicelliana D 5) contain the German ordo of PRG 63, the more appropriate Roman ordo of Aless. 173 and PR12 10 is found in later regional pontificals, regardless of the presence of other archaizing or transitional features in the later books.

The ordo is also distinguished by a series of questions addressed by the archbishop to the electors (Ordo 14: 13). Since in a Roman ordo the pope is minister and the electors are not present, the interrogation is suited only to an archiepiscopal setting such as Benevento. To isolate the passage from the surrounding Roman material, the scribe has marked ‘non dicatur secundum Romanos’ in the margin (Ordo 14: 13, n. 76).

Ordo 16. Edictum quod dat apostolicus episcopo cui benedicitur: The edict given to a newly consecrated bishop existed in southern Italy in two distinct redactions, a Roman text (Andrieu, *OR*, ordo 35 App., and PR12 11) and the PRG text of Monte Cassino 451 and Vallicelliana D 5. From its Roman origins, the text was modified in the PRG and re-introduced to Italy with the imported copies of the PRG. In Italy, it underwent further modifications, including the re-addition of paragraphs from the primitive Roman text that had been deleted in the German recension. The text of the Macerata pontifical corresponds to the Roman form of PR12 11. Between the two manuscripts used in Andrieu’s edition of PR12 11 (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale 570 [siglum L] and Barb. lat. 631), the Macerata manuscript and Barb. lat. 631 attest to a regional recension, consistently sharing variants not found in Lyon 570, the Pontifical of Apamea.

Ordo 19. Ordo ad aecclesiam benedicendam: The rubrics and prayers of the Ordo for the Dedication of a Church follow neither PRG nor PR12 exactly. Although

¹⁶ Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina 173 (Rome [?], s. xi, cf. Andrieu, *OR* 1.282-87; Vogel-Elze, *PRG*, passim): probably copied in Rome from a pontifical originating in Salzburg.

¹⁷ See Andrieu, *PR* 1.11-12.

based on PRG 40, there are numerous local modifications and later Roman practices, which represent developments similar to those in PR12 17 but distinct in detail. Among the later texts, the incipit paralleled only in the Pontifical of Apamea is particularly striking. Practices attested in regional sources, such as Leningrad, Biblioteka Akademii nauk, F. no. 200, a twelfth-century pontifical in Beneventan script from Kotor in southern Dalmatia (siglum PKot), include the prayers and lections of the preparation of lustral water (Ordo 19: 11-17), the rubric for the bearing of relics to the new church (Ordo 19: 25), and the antiphon *Pax aeterna* sung during the entrance into the church (Ordo 19: 38).

Ordo 22. Ordo in purificatione sanctae Mariae: The rubrics of the Ordo for the Purification are in general shorter and more succinct than the corresponding passages of PRG 99; the text also bears little relation to PR12 28, edited from the Pontifical of Apamea. A similar process of abbreviation of the PRG ordo is found, however, in at least one witness of PR12 not used in the edition of PR12 28: Burghes. 49 (fols. 89v-90v; Andrieu, *PR* 1.74). In other witnesses of PR12 the blessing of candles on the Purification follows forms unrelated except in their brevity; e.g., Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale 140 (fols. 51v-52v; Andrieu, *PR* 1.26); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 7114 (fol. 113r-v; Andrieu, *PR* 1.50); and Vat. lat. 7818 (fol. 59r-v; Andrieu, *PR* 1.55).

Ordo 23. Ordo caput ieunii: The Ordo for Ash Wednesday is both more abbreviated than PRG 99 and more explicitly structured, that is the pairing of antiphons and prayers apparent in Ordo 23 is not clear in the presentation of either PRG 99 or PR12 28, edited from the Pontifical of Apamea. As was the case with Ordo 22, at least one other later witness of PR12 (Burgh. 49, fols. 91r-92v; Andrieu, *PR* 1.75) contains a similar abbreviated ordo for Ash Wednesday developed from PRG 99.

Ordo 25. In caena domini; Ordo 26. Ordo in die predictae caenae domini: The two ordines of the Pontifical for Holy Thursday divide the penitential service (Ordo 25) from the mass and blessing of the chrism (Ordo 26). Although the prayers correspond for the most part with the Holy Thursday ordo of PRG 99: 222-281 and PR12 30a, the separation of the ceremonies and the generally shorter rubrics resemble the developments found in PR12 30b (London, British Library Add. 17005, fols. 99r-100r; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ottob. lat. 270, 72r-76v; and Vat. lat. 7818, fols. 157r-160v).

Ordo 28. Ordo de sabbato sancto: The Ordo for Holy Saturday is a distinctive mixture of Old Beneventan and Roman practices. The vigil containing the blessing of the Paschal candle before the last lection has many regional features, but thereafter the directions for the procession to the font, the baptisms, confirmations and the mass are largely Roman.¹⁸

¹⁸ See Hesbert, “Antiphonale missarum”, *Ephemerides liturgicae* 61 (1947) 153-210, and *Pal.*

The regional vigil survives in several forms, each a Romano-Beneventan creation formed from elements of imported Roman liturgies and greater-or-lesser references to relict practices of the Old Beneventan liturgy. The characteristic form of the hybrid ordo consists of a litany and the antiphon *Ad vesperum* followed by a series of eleven lections with tracts and prayers after each lesson, then the blessing of the Paschal candle, and lastly the lection *Haec est hereditas* with its tract; several alternative ‘ambrosian’ tracts, i.e., Old Beneventan tracts, are provided as doublets in the most conservative sources; during the procession to the font the antiphon *Omnes sittentes* is sung. In the Roman rite the blessing of the candle precedes the vigil, the order of lections differs, canticles with the melodies of tracts are sung after only three of the lessons as continuations of the texts, and the tract *Sicut cervus* accompanies the procession to the font after the last lesson.

The Pontifical of Benevento, following Romano-Beneventan practice, begins with a litany (Ordo 28: 1-2) but omits the Old Beneventan antiphon *Ad vesperum*. Although the lection list is much reduced from the more usual twelve to only six, a similar shortened series is found also in Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 33, a late-tenth or early-eleventh-century Beneventan missal,¹⁹ and the choice of lections is regional. Thus the fifth reading of the series *Angelus est dominus* (Dan 3:49), immediately before the blessings, is found only in Beneventan sources; similarly the final reading *Haec est hereditas* (Is 54:17), found after the blessings in Beneventan sources including the Pontifical (Ordo 28: 28), is usually the fifth of the Roman series of twelve readings.

The incipits of the tracts accompanying the lections in the Pontifical follow the usual Romano-Beneventan correspondence of lections and tracts: *Domine audivi* (Ordo 28: 5) with Gen 1:1, *Cantemus* (Ordo 28: 8) with Ex 14:24, *Adtende caelum* (Ordo 28: 11) with Deut 31:22, *Vinea facta* (Ordo 28: 14) with Is 4:1 and *Sicut cervus* (Ordo 28: 29) with Is 54:17. None of the tracts have musical notation but the references are probably to the Romano-Beneventan settings found in other regional sources.²⁰ The incipit ‘*Benedictus es domine*’ (Ordo 28: 17), however, of the canticle from Daniel (Dan 3:52) which follows the fifth reading *Angelus domini* (Dan 3:49) is set with red Beneventan neumes; the melody corresponds to the Old Beneventan setting of the canticle accompanying the reading *Nabuchodonosor rex fecit* (Dan 3:1) on Good Friday and the reading *Angelus domini* on Holy Saturday

mus. 14.337-446 for discussions of the Old Beneventan and Romano-Beneventan rites of Holy Saturday. I am also indebted to Thomas Forrest Kelly for his remarks in correspondence on the Ordo for Holy Saturday in the Pontifical, especially for his identification of the music of the canticle *Benedictus es domine* as Old Beneventan.

¹⁹ Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 33 (missal, s. x/xi, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.21; Jacques Froger and Jacques Hourlier, *Le manuscrit VI-33 Archivio arcivescovile Benevento. Missel de Bénévent (début du XIe siècle)* [Paléographie musicale 20; Bern, 1983]).

²⁰ See Hesbert, *Pal. mus.* 14.356 for a table of the regional tracts and pp. 340-49 for citations of Romano-Beneventan sources.

in the most conservative sources, including Benevento 38.²¹ The parallels among Benevento 33, Benevento 38, and the Macerata manuscript, that is the shortened lection list and the Old Beneventan canticle *Benedictus es*, are indicative of a liturgy in Benevento itself that preserved features of the Old Beneventan ordo for Holy Saturday well into the twelfth century.

In the manuscript, the blessing of incense (Ordo 28: 21), followed by two alternatives attested in no other source to the best of my knowledge (Ordo 28: 22, 23), is carried out during the singing of the canticle, as the preceding and following rubrics make clear (Ordo 28: 18, 24). After the blessing of incense, and the conclusion of the canticle with its accompanying prayer, the blessing of the Paschal candle follows, to be followed in turn by the procession to the font, the baptismal ordo, and the mass.

After the vigil and the blessing of the Paschal candle, the elements of the Ordo for Holy Saturday in the Pontifical are predominantly Roman. Nonetheless, there are distinctive features here also: the procession to the font is accompanied by the chant *Rex sanctorum* (Ordo 28: 31), different from the Beneventan *Omnes sittentes* and without counterpart in Roman sources; and on the return from the font, while both the Pontifical and Roman sources specify that litanies are sung in place of the introit, the rubric of the Pontifical is more closely related in detail to the corresponding rubric of Benevento 33 (fol. 79r) than to contemporary Roman ordines in Beneventan sources (PRG 99 in Monte Cassino 451 and PR12 32 in Barb. lat. 631).

Ordo 34. Ordinatio abbatissae monasticam regulam profitentis: The Ordo for the Blessing of an Abbess is closely related to PRG 32. In the PR12 the ordines for abbot and abbess are combined, with some loss of specificity. Nonetheless, individual exemplars of PR12 continue for some time to separate the ordines (e.g., Burgh. 49, fols. 123v-126v; Andrieu, *PR* 1:76). Indeed, the process of assimilation is begun even in Ordo 34, where two prayers found also in Ordo 32 (Ordo 34: 9, 13 = Ordo 32: 10, 13) are given in incipit with reference to the earlier texts:

²¹ See Hesbert, *Pal. mus.* 14.320-21 for the melody of the Old Beneventan canticle; and *Pal. mus.* 14.340-49 for the citations on Holy Saturday. In some Romano-Beneventan sources, the Holy Saturday lection of Dn 3:49 omits the canticle, also called the *Benedictiones* (Dn 3:52-90); a second group of central Italian sources includes the canticle on Holy Saturday but uses a recitative setting common to other canticles; it is a third group, consisting of Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 38 (gradual, s. xi, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.22), and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 10673 (gradual, s. xi, cf. Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2.155-56; facs. ed. *Pal. mus.* 14), that includes the incipit of the canticle with reference to Good Friday. In Vat. lat. 10673, for instance, the singing of the Old Beneventan *Benedictiones* and the distinction between Roman and Beneventan lections is explicit:

Lectio Daniaelis. Angelus domini. Item Benedictiones.

Secundum romanum legatur Nabuchodonosor. usque nec quicquam molestie intulit. Post hec accendatur ignis novi ... (Vat. lat. 10673, fol. 35r).

‘*Require retro sex foliis.*’ (fol. 161r, Ordo 34: 9); and ‘*Require retro foliis sex.*’ (fol. 162r, Ordo 34: 13).

Ordo 35. Ordo pro his qui Romam uadunt: The Ordo for the Blessing of Pilgrims, like many later medieval regional texts, bears little relation to the ordines for pilgrims in the Roman pontificals, despite a few shared benedictions (cf. PRG 128, 212; PR12 47; PRCur 20; PRDur 2.31).

Ordo 36. Ordo pro infirmis: The Ordo for the Anointing of the Sick (Ordo 36: 1-40) in the Pontifical is a common structure of litanies, reconciliation, unction, prayers over the sick, and absolution formed from elements of PRG 139 (*Ordo ad visitandum et unguendum infirmum*) and 143 (*Ordo ad unguendum infirmum*) with several texts from other sources and some prayers apparently without counterparts elsewhere.²² The most striking difference between the ordines of the PRG and Ordo 36 is the monastic setting of the latter, specified in the rubrics by references to the ‘fratres’ (Ordo 36: 1, 8) and ‘congregatio’ (Ordo 36: 6), and implicit in the structure of alternating prayers and sung responses (Ordo 36: 19-36).

Ordo 38. Ordo ad sponsum sponsamque benedicendum: The marriage Ordo follows closely the Ordo of PR12 App. 8 (Burgh. 49), omitting only the mass of PR12 App. 8 and adding in its place the mass found in PRG 253 and PR12 37.

Ordo 41. Reconciliatio excommunicati: Among witnesses of PR12, a similar Ordo for the Reconciliation of Excommunicates is found in Vat. lat. 7818 (fols. 165r-v; Andrieu, *PR* 1:61) and Barb. lat. 631 (fols. 50r-51v; Andrieu, *PR* 1:65).

The description of the Macerata manuscript that follows is divided into a codicological description and a detailed list of contents.²³ The marginal additions, important for the history of the manuscript and its use, are described and cited in an appendix; musical items with notation are listed in a second appendix.

DESCRIPTION

Identification (S)

Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale ‘Mozzi-Borgetti’ 378. Pontificale beneventanum, s. xii in.

²² For discussion of the Ordo for the Anointing of the Sick in other Beneventan sources, see Odermatt, *Rituale*, pp. 172-81.

²³ The identifications within parentheses following each sub-heading of the description correspond to the plan determined by the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (Paris) in *Guide pour l'élaboration d'une notice de manuscrit* (Centre national de la recherche scientifique; Paris, 1977).

Codicological Information (D)

Covers, Binding (D. 1): The codex is covered fully in pale parchment over cardboard boards (297 x 190/195 mm.; h x w) with square edges and no decoration or titles on the covers. A title on dark brown leather with gold trim has been pasted on the spine; it reads in gold letters 'ORDO / ROMANUS / SEU / PONTIFICALE / ANTIQUUM' (slashes indicate turnovers). A library label has been added on a lower panel of the spine; it reads 'Biblioteca Comunale / MACERATA / MANOSCRITTI / 378' (the number has been added in ink; the rest of the label is printed on blue paper).

The binding consists of modern, natural-coloured threads sewn around seven thongs of twisted hemp; the thongs at the ends of the spine are covered in rolls of alternating light-green and red threads.²⁴ The modern binding threads run through what appear to be new holes, but the older series of binding holes can be discerned on the inner leaves of some gatherings.²⁵

Foliation (D. 2): Foliation is marked 1-216 with Arabic numerals on the upper right recto of each folio, beginning '1' on the recto of the first parchment folio. The front paper pastedown is marked '1' at the upper left in pencil; the second and third paper flyleaves, containing an index of the manuscript in an eighteenth-century Italic hand, are numbered 'I' and 'II' in pencil on the lower left recto. The foliation of the manuscript is written in brown ink by the same eighteenth-century hand that wrote the index, the scribe identifiable with one responsible for preparing several indices for the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Benevento during the reform of the library in 1709.²⁶

Dimensions (D. 3): The folios measure 280 x 185 mm., with differences from the norm no greater than 5 mm. (the bottom edges are consistently 5-8 mm. narrower than the top). The codex has been cut to these uniform dimensions, however, some considerable time after its writing, since many of the marginal additions from as late as the thirteenth century have been trimmed, resulting in loss of text (e.g., Plate 1, fol. 37r).

²⁴ The thongs show in bands on the spine at 20-40-85-130-175-220-250 mm., measured from the top edge.

²⁵ In the trough between fols. 52v-53r the original binding holes lie at 22-37-65-142-205-245-265 mm. from the top.

²⁶ On the reorganisation of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Benevento, by Archbishop Vincenzo Maria Orsini, later Benedict XIII, see Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pp. 22-25 at p. 23 for the nine hands involved in writing indices: the Macerata index resembles the indices prepared for Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 3-6, 8, 10-14, 16-18, 20-23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 36-38, 40-42, 44, 50, 62, 66, and 68. At the time of the reorganisation, many of the volumes were rebound in cardboard with parchment covers and the heraldic stamp of Orsini (see Mallet-Thibaut, p. 24). Most of the codices still in Benevento have been rebound since; because, despite its parchment covers, it lacks the Orsini stamp, the Macerata manuscript would also appear to have been rebound since 1709.

Material (D. 4): The folios are made of a stiff, fairly thick parchment with distinct differences in the texture of hair and flesh sides.

Condition (D. 5): The manuscript as it stands is incomplete. The first folios of the opening gathering are much worn, especially fol. 1r. The final folio, which ends in mid-text, is, however, without sign of wear. Evidently the codex was once complete and remained so for some time, thus limiting the wear at the end to the gathering or gatherings now lost. Nonetheless, by the eighteenth century, the compiler of the index (fols. I-II) was able to note that it finished at that time in the middle of the Ordo for the Consecration of a Virgin, as it does now.

Organisation (D. 6): Inside the covers, at the front there is a paper pastedown (284 x 180 mm.) and an unnumbered paper flyleaf (284 x 184 mm.) attached under the pastedown on the front board. Similarly, inside the back cover are a paper pastedown and a flyleaf attached under the pastedown to the back board. The pastedowns and flyleaves are formed from the same paper stock.²⁷ The first gathering consists of the index on two paper flyleaves formed from a single sheet; the paper differs from that used for the pastedowns and end leaves.²⁸

The Pontifical itself is composed of two hundred and sixteen parchment folios in twenty-seven regular gatherings of eight folios (four sheets, hair side out, alternating hair-flesh openings). Gatherings VII-XXVI (fols. 49r-208v) are each signed in the lower margin of the opening folio by letters of a Gothic cursive hand writing with green-brown ink, from 'a' for gathering VII to 'u' for gathering XXVI.²⁹ Gatherings I-VI and XXVII are without signatures; there are no catchwords in the MS.

Page Layout (D. 7)

Pricking (D. 7.1): No pricking has survived for the text rules or the horizontal margin rules, but many folios retain pricks at the top or bottom of the leaf for the vertical margin rules.³⁰

²⁷ The wide lines of the chains are 28 mm. apart; the narrow screening perpendicular to the wide lines number 8 per 10 mm. A fleur-de-lis watermark (c. 65 x 40 mm.) on the rear pastedown has no parallel in Charles M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 2nd edition, 4 vols. (New York, 1966).

²⁸ The wide lines of the chains of the first gathering are 30 mm. apart; running perpendicularly to the wide lines are narrower lines, 7 per 10 mm.

²⁹ Although uncial or capital letters are used as signatures in Beneventan manuscripts until the mid-twelfth century, Roman numerals were the most common method of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and catchwords of the thirteenth (see Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.290-93). The signatures used for gatherings VII to XXVI were probably added during a later rebinding.

³⁰ The distance between the pricking and the written space is consistent within each gathering but varies from gathering to gathering, from 30 mm. between the bottom rule and the pricking in the lower margin of gathering XIII (fols. 97-104) to between 40 and 45 mm. in other gatherings.

Ruling (D. 7.2): To mark the writing space, single rules for the top and bottom margins and double side rules (6-10 mm. apart) were drawn in dry point on the flesh side of every sheet. Both vertical and horizontal margin rules run to the edge of each folio, with the top and bottom rules connecting between conjugate leaves; the dry-point text rules stop at the inside lines of the vertical margin rules. The average distance between horizontal rules is 13 mm.

Number of Lines (D. 7.3): There are seventeen horizontal rules per folio, except in gathering I (folis. 1r-8v) with nineteen lines, and gatherings II (folis. 9r-16v), III (folis. 17r-24v) and VI (folis. 41r-48v) with eighteen lines.

Justification (D. 7.4): The written space varies slightly from gathering to gathering, but averages 210/234 x 112 mm., with initials added between the marginal rules at the left and the text occasionally extended into the space between the marginal rules at the right.³¹ The greater variation in the vertical dimension results from differences in the number of lines per folio.

Scripts (D. 8)

The manuscript is written in a single Beneventan hand of the twelfth century. The initials and capitals are formed from a mixed uncial and rustic alphabet with some later developments, such as *N* drawn from Caroline minuscule and broken-*C* from Beneventan. With several forms of many letters, the capital alphabet is far from consistent, except in being distinguishable from the surrounding Beneventan minuscule.

Colour (D. 8.1.1): The text is written in brown ink between fol. 1v-24v and black ink thereafter;³² rubrics are written in red throughout; alternatives, such as indications of plural or singular forms added between the lines of text, are written in red before fol. 24 and black thereafter (the same division of colours noted for the text hand between brown and black inks), although red ink is used again after fol. 209v for such additions.

Appearance (D. 8.1.3): Despite a first impression of extreme regularity shared with the hands of the mature period of the script (1025-1125), the hand of the Pontifical has neither the unerring alignment nor the precise contrast of thick and

³¹ The space between the rules is 205/230 x 112 mm., but the measure of the justification includes the distance between the bottom rule and the headline of the top line of text; the width is the distance between the inner margin rules. The distance from the margin rule to the binding averages 17 mm.; outer margins vary from 32-40 mm. (after trimming).

³² The original scribe appears to have added some corrections and texts in brown ink to the later sections (e.g., fol. 55v at Ordo 19: 10); these additions are cited in the notes to the description of the contents.

thin strokes drawn parallel in letter after letter of the eleventh-century Cassinese forms of the script.³³ The letters are formed by thinner lozenges than the eleventh-century script, the thick strokes, especially in *i*, approach the vertical, and the lower curves are not aligned with such perfect regularity. The result is a more open script with letters usually distinct except for the ligatures and biting curves. Nonetheless, the result shows none of the angular forms of thick strokes nor the broken letters without connecting thin strokes apparent in hands from late in the twelfth century or the thirteenth century. The hand is closer in general appearance, therefore, to twelfth-century products of the script.³⁴

Dimensions (D. 8.1.4): The scribe of the Pontifical did not, of course, write an invariable text-hand throughout. Although in general a text-minim is about 5 mm. high with ascenders rarely adding more than 3 mm. to the height, and descenders never more than 4 mm., not only are musical items of the choir distinguished from the prayers of the celebrant by a smaller script, as is common in liturgical books, but a hierarchy of scripts and colours is used for the various rubrics, capitals, and initials.

Morphology (D. 8.1.5): The letters are typically Beneventan, following all the rules of the script.³⁵ Datable features of the pontifical hand tend to fall within the mature to later periods of the history of the script. Thus, indications of a date after the mid-eleventh century are the invariable use of *uncial d* and the use of descending *r* in final position. As in hands at the height of the script between the mid-eleventh and twelfth centuries, the hast of *f* is aligned with the headline and broken *c* is still occasionally used (e.g., fol. 27v line 17, 28v line 11, 29r line 15). The manuscript lacks, however, the superscript final *s* found in some products of the eleventh century and many later manuscripts. Unlike thirteenth-century hands, *uncial a* is rarely used (and then only at line ends, e.g., fol. 26v line 16), *i* is never dotted by the original hand except as an accented vowel, and 2-shaped *r* is infrequent.

Ligatures are found in several datable forms: the pre-eleventh-century ligatures of *mi*, *ta*, *te*, and *tu* are not used; final *-nt* appears in the ligature standard from the early-eleventh century; and *or* with 2-shaped *r* is used only in the *-orum* abbreviation and not in the body of other words, where it is commonly seen only after

³³ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.122-27 for discussion of the periods of the script.

³⁴ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.125-26 and pl. 5 for the later products of the script. For similar scripts, see Loew, pl. 4 (Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 47, dated between 1159-1173), and the twelfth-century manuscripts from Benevento reproduced in Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pls. 1-10 (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 17, and Monte Cassino, Archivio Privato 1). Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 12 (s. xii in.), illustrated in Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pls. 13 and 15, is also very similar, especially in the form of the point-and-hook medial stop (see below n. 41).

³⁵ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.132-49.

the mid-twelfth century.³⁶ The manuscript joins the bows of curved letters frequently, as do other products of the maturity of the script, but not with the invariable regularity of later manuscripts.³⁷

Abbreviations (D. 8.1.6): As in many liturgical manuscripts, abbreviations in the text are relatively few, restricted for the most part to *nomina sacra* (*ds, dns, ihs xps, sps scs*), the most frequently repeated elements of a Latin vocabulary (*per, pro, -que, -ibus, -m, -tur*), and the more common liturgical terms (*eccla = ecclesia, frs = fratres, mia = misericordia, nr = noster, qs = quesumus*). In the rubrics and titles, additional abbreviations for the technical terms of the liturgy, especially titles of celebrants (*diac = diaconus, eps = episcopus, pbr = presbiter*) and elements of the ceremonies (*a/ant = antiphona, gr = graduate, ps = psalmus*, etc.), are often used.

The system of abbreviation is typically Beneventan, following the practices of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Standard Beneventan features are the use of a simple line as the most common sign of contraction and a point as the most common mark of truncation,³⁸ the distinctive superscript 3 form of final *-m*, a semi-colon for final *-us* and *-ue* in *-ibus* and *-que*, *au* for *autem*, and the distinctive *ei* with a stroke through the descending *i* for *eius*. The datable features of the abbreviation system used in the manuscript are the distinctions among the abbreviated forms of *-tur*, *-ter*, and *-tus*, indicated respectively by *t* and a superscript 2-sign, *t* with a contraction line (or written in full), and *t* with an attached apostrophe sign (after the first third of the eleventh century); superscript letters are not used for abbreviation (another eleventh-century introduction that became most common in later manuscripts); the forms of *omnis* are abbreviated by *omis*, *oms*, *omi*, etc. and not *ois*, *os*, *oi* (the latter system introduced in the mid-eleventh century and ubiquitous in the later periods of the script).³⁹

*Punctuation (D. 8.1.8):*⁴⁰ The manuscript uses most often a simple point on the line for final stops and many medial stops; the point is diamond-shaped as in manuscripts after the tenth century. In the few instances where the final stop is formed from two points and a comma (see Pl. 1, fol. 37r), the elements are clearly distinguished, unlike the merging of the points and comma in later manuscripts.⁴¹ The form of the point-and-hook medial sign in the Macerata manuscript resembles

³⁶ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.140-48.

³⁷ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.149.

³⁸ A double horizontal line is occasionally used as a sign of contraction, e.g., fol. 7r line 17.

³⁹ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.173-226, esp. pp. 210-13 for the abbreviations of *omnis*.

⁴⁰ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.232-34.

⁴¹ See also Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pls. 1-10, cited above n. 34, for twelfth-century products of Benevento that use the later joined form of the final stop. Only Benevento 12 is illustrated with a similar, separated form of final stop (Mallet-Thibaut, pl. 13), although the merging of points occurs also in the same manuscript (pl. 15).

other products of the early twelfth century, especially in the thick initial part of the oblique hook; later products tend to a simple oblique line instead of the hook.⁴² A fine hair-stroke is used for lesser pauses throughout. The Macerata manuscript uses the distinctive Beneventan system of marking questions with a 2-shaped sign over the first word and a question mark following the last word of the sentence.⁴³

Corrections (D. 8.1.13): The Pontifical received a number of early corrections, probably at or shortly after the time of its composition. These include the ubiquitous accents in brown ink, the occasional addition of extra punctuation, and some interlinear and marginal additions. Corrections are sometimes added over erasures (e.g., fols. 27v-28r); in other instances they are keyed to the text with crosses or carets (e.g., fol. 134v).⁴⁴ Given the frequent discrepancy between the colour of text and the colour of the musical notation, brown text with black notation and black text with brown notation, the different colour used for many of the ‘corrections’ probably indicates no more than a careful rereading by the original scribe holding a quill loaded with a different colour, just as the addition of musical notation was done sometimes with a different colour.

Although the appearance of the script gives some indication of a date between the mature and declining periods of the Beneventan script, that is in the first or second quarter of the twelfth century, the morphology of the letters and ligatures points to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, and the system of abbreviations would be entirely suitable in a manuscript of the eleventh century. The paleographic evidence supports, therefore, an attribution to the first half of the twelfth century.

Additional Hands (D. 8.2): Three non-Beneventan hands have made the most extensive additions to the ms. The later additions are all liturgical, either adding new texts, or commenting on old texts, or making specific the passages originally written in general terms. a) A Gothic text-hand of the thirteenth century has added prayers and directions in black and red inks up to fol. 57v. b) Prayers in a Gothic cursive written in brown ink have been added throughout (see Pl. 1, fol. 37r). c) Another Gothic cursive, using black ink and usually much larger letters than scribe (b), has added practical notes on the selection of prayers throughout, perhaps in preparation for the making of a copy.⁴⁵ For instance, in the Ordo for

⁴² For a similar medial sign see Benevento 12 in Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pl. 15; for the point and line see pls. 1-10.

⁴³ See Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.236-70.

⁴⁴ Corrections added by the original scribe are noted in the description of the contents at the appropriate points. Later additions are cited in Appendix 1.

⁴⁵ See Adversi, *Macerata Biblioteca comunale* 1.92: ‘alcune delle quali riguardano un copista che (forse nel sec. XIV) deve trascrivere il testo (ad esempio: cc. 17b, 18a, 19a, 37a, 41b, 140a, 202b, 217a) ... mentre altre contengono aggiunte liturgiche’.

Holy Thursday (Ordo 25: 12, 14-15), prayers have been marked ‘sic’ or ‘non’, depending on the liturgist’s choice of service to be followed. Many of the additions are so brief that sure identification of the hands is impossible; the last category of cursive addition, for instance, may in fact represent the work of several scribes, but without longer passages comparison is often fruitless.

Musical Notation (D. 9)

Throughout its history, Beneventan notation is almost without exception diastematic, that is from simple, usually earlier instances where the neumes are heighted relative to each other, to later examples where the position of the neumes is set with regard to a baseline, Beneventan notation is characterised by careful indications of change in pitch.⁴⁶ Although the manuscript is in this regard typical, it contains four different musical layouts (see Pls. 3 and 4).

(a) Some musical items are distinguished only by a smaller script than the surrounding text; usually these items are given in incipit. They tend to be pieces sung by the choir and likely to be found in the standard choir books, the gradual, antiphonary, or processional; items sung only at pontifical ceremonies, such as those during the dedication of a church, are more often noted in extenso.

(b) Other musical items are written in smaller script on every line like style (a), but neumes, usually black but occasionally red,⁴⁷ are added above the text. No special space is provided for the musical notation apart from the extra space left by smaller lettering. Again, most of the items with interlinear musical indications are given in incipit.

(c) Musical notation has also been added between the lines for several of the prefaces; the text is full size, written on every rule, without provision of space for notation. Notation is restricted, however, to the *positurae* or flexes and not provided for every syllable of the text. The added notation is usually in red ink, with some exceptions (fols. 70r-71v, 75v-76r).

(d) Lastly, items written in extenso with complete notation are provided with a more elaborate layout. The text of the musical item is written in smaller letters on every second text-rule, leaving space for heighted neumes written in brown or black inks to be added around the rule left vacant to guide their placement.

⁴⁶ On Beneventan notation, see Solange Corbin, ‘Neumatic Notations’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 13.128-44 with bibliography; Jacques Hourlier and Michel Huglo, ‘Étude sur la notation bénéventaine’ in *Le codex VI.34 de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent (XIe-XIIe siècle). Graduel de Bénévent avec prosaire et tropaire* (Paléographie musicale 15; Tournai, 1937), pp. 72-161; Grégoire M. Sunol, *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne*, trans. André Mocquereau (Paris-Rome, 1935), pp. 221-27.

⁴⁷ E.g., the interlinear notation of Ordo 28: 17, fol. 127v, ‘Benedictus es domine’, is added in red ink.

Supports (D. 9.1): Even in the most developed pieces (those given in extenso on every second line), the supports used in the Pontifical are limited to the direct at the end of each musical line to show the relative pitch of the first note of the next line. The form of the direct corresponds with others of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from Benevento. A reserved text-rule is often used to guide the placement of the neumes in the Pontifical, a feature shared with other Beneventan manuscripts beginning in the later eleventh century. The manuscript lacks, however, the more complex ruling systems, clefs, and coloured pitch-lines that are introduced in Beneventan sources from the late eleventh century, and become ubiquitous by the end of the twelfth century.⁴⁸

Notation (D. 9.2): In general, the neume forms resemble those of the twelfth-century Gradual of Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 34, edited in facsimile in *Paléographie musicale* 15. For instance, the *virga* takes the form of a thick vertical line curved slightly to the left at the bottom and embellished with a leading hook at top left; the *punctum* is drawn as a diamond or lozenge; and the horizontal *punctum* is a thick line with a lead stroke at lower left and a finish at upper right.⁴⁹ The *quilisma*, a neume used until the late eleventh century, is absent. The general elongation, an emphasis on the vertical strokes, is typical also of the twelfth century.

Decoration (D. 10)

Initials (D. 10.1.1): Initials of the pontifical text are usually written in red over two text-rules and decorated with yellow, green, and blue lights.⁵⁰ In general the text initials are written in the left margin at the edge of the writing space. Initials of the rubrics are written in red with highlights in blue or green, and the letters are larger than the text but do not exceed the space between two rules. The initials of the musical items written in smaller letters are usually entered as required (not necessarily at the left margin) and are not larger than the space between the rules; musical initials are either red or black without clear preference for either colour. Text capitals are black (as the surrounding text) and entered on the line as required (i.e., not necessarily at the margin); usually the capitals are slightly larger than the text and highlighted with blue, green, or red.

Only two initials are more lavishly decorated: the *A* beginning the first prayer of the manuscript (fol. 1v) and the *T* of the *Te igitur* in the Canon of the Holy

⁴⁸ See Hourlier-Huglo, *Pal. mus.* 15.109, n. 1 (table of Beneventan directs), pp. 110-11 (staff), pp. 111-12 (clefs).

⁴⁹ See Hourlier-Huglo, *Pal. mus.* 15.114-18 (*virga*), pp. 118-21 (*punctum*) and p. 120 for the horizontal *punctum* (late eleventh century).

⁵⁰ Most initials have all three decorative colours, although some leave out one or two of the highlight colours.

Thursday Mass (fol. 109v). Both initials are drawn in brown outline, but the *A* is filled in white, yellow, red, and blue, while the *T* is coloured with red, yellow, green, and blue fills. The *A* is formed of halves meeting in a geometric pattern embellished with floral sprays; each foot of the *A* is split into simple floral terminals. The shaft of the *T* is split in coloured halves; the halves separate at the top in a geometric interlace that ‘sprouts’ into a crossbar composed of floral elements and biting animal-heads; the foot ends in a simple interlace. Both initials are similar in the use of coloured shafts, geometric connections, and floral terminations to manuscripts of the twelfth century from Benevento. The other, earlier forms of Beneventan decoration, especially the white interlaces and zoomorphic initials, are strikingly different.⁵¹

Marks of Possession (D. 12): All the later marks and labels in the manuscript relate to its possession by the Biblioteca Comunale of Macerata. Apart from the label on the spine cited above (see D. 1.2), there are stamps in the manuscript on fols. 1r and 35r.⁵² The rear pastedown is marked ‘5.3.D.5.’ (the former catalogue number) in black ink.

History (H)

Origin (H. 1): Although an attribution of date to within a half-century (1100–1150) is possible from the script and musical notation, there is no paleographic opinion on the localisation of the manuscript, apart from a surety that it must be southern Italian and probably from the Monte Cassino-Benevento region. More convincing evidence for dating and localising the manuscript is found in the contents of the text and marginal additions. Of course, the additions can define only a *terminus ante quem* for the date, but when considered in conjunction with

⁵¹ See Colini-Baldeschi, ‘Un codice’, pl. 1 for a reproduction of fol. 109v. The history of the decoration of the manuscripts of Benevento remains to be written: with the anticipated appearance of volume two of Jean Mallet and André Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent*, including an art-historical study by Mme Hélène Toubert, much more precision in these identifications should be possible (see Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, p. 97). For the moment a rough chronology of decorative styles may be attempted from the plates in Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, vol. 1: the initials of Monte Cassino, Archivio Privato 1 (s. xii; pls. 2, 4) are most like those of the Macerata manuscript; the other twelfth-century products are less similar but related in many features (e.g., pls. 1-6, 8, 10); least comparable are the zoomorphic initials of Benevento 11 (s. x/xi, pl. 11), the interlaces of Benevento 6 (s. xi ex., pl. 12), and the floriated vine-stems of Benevento 2 and 3 (s. xii, pls. 7, 9). For other instances of a more elaborate interlace-style from Benevento, see Hans Belting, *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei* (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 7; Weisbaden, 1968), pls. 244-45 (Benevento 33, fols. 80r-v), pls. 246-47 (Vat. lat. 9820), and pl. 242 (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 724).

⁵² Fol. 1r: ‘Biblioteca Comunale Borgettiana Macerata’; fol. 35r: ‘Biblioteca Comunale Mozzi-Borgetti Macerata’.

the less specific paleographic indications, the localisation of the manuscript can be made much more accurately.

That the manuscript was intended for the archdiocese of Benevento is clear: the *decretum* requesting the ordination of a candidate to the episcopacy is addressed to the archbishop of Benevento (Ordo 14: 3, fol. 24r), and the formula of fidelity (Ordo 14: 28, fol. 37r, see Pl. 1) is sworn by the newly consecrated bishop to the archbishop of Benevento and his successors. Although the names of successive archbishops, recipients of the oath, have been erased, some traces of two names remain. A Gothic capital *A* begins the name ‘Adenolfe’ in the vocative, archbishop of Benevento (1301-1302).⁵³ However, traces of letters inconsistent with this name suggest that ‘Adenolfe’ was written over an earlier entry. Examined under ultra-violet light, the erasure appears to yield ‘Rogérie’, archbishop in the late twelfth century (1179-1221).⁵⁴ The name ‘Rogérie’ itself may have been added over the name of an earlier archbishop. The ink is a different colour than the surrounding text, and the letter-forms, although Beneventan, are not coeval with the script of the manuscript. The date of the surrounding text must, therefore, be sought somewhat earlier in the century, a conclusion in agreement with the paleographic analysis.⁵⁵

The continued use of the manuscript in the archdiocese of Benevento is affirmed by the additions of Rogerius (1179-1221) and Adenolfus (1301-1302) to the formula of fidelity on fol. 37r, by the insertion in a Gothic hand of reference to the archbishop of Benevento in the question of obedience posed during the interrogation of the episcopal candidate (Ordo 14: 11, fol. 28r), and by marginal additions on fols. 1r and 37r citing specific archbishops. A Beneventan hand on fol. 37r adds the oath of Robb<...>, abbot of a monastery (name illegible) ‘in plano Beneventane diocesis’, to the vicar of Archbishop <...>ferrus, probably Romanus Cappoferrus (1252-1282).⁵⁶ Two re-enactments of the formula have

⁵³ The episcopal list is cited from Fourier Bonnard, ‘Bénévent’ in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1934), 7.1287-88; Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Regensburg, 1873), pp. 671-73; and Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, p. 79, n. 2, for the early twelfth century.

⁵⁴ For the same observation, see Paci, *Inventario dei manoscritti musicali*, p. 143. For the episcopacy of Rogerius, see Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, 2nd edition, 10 vols. (Venice, 1717-22), 8.124-133.

⁵⁵ Could the erasure read ‘Roffride’? Tempting though this is, since both archbishops of the name (Roffridus I [1076-1107] and Roffridus II [1120-1130]) fall within the period suggested by paleographic considerations, the visible letters can be read only as ‘Rogerie’, although lower layers of erasures may conceal other names.

⁵⁶ The blessing of an abbot in the Pontifical (Ordo 32) follows a slightly modified form of PRG 26, without an oath of fidelity. In many dioceses, the thirteenth century saw the elaboration of the ordo with an interrogation of the candidate and a *promissio* modelled on the oath of a new bishop to his archbishop: see Adrien Nocent, ‘La bénédiction d'un abbé dans la liturgie latine’ in *L'église en prière*, ed. Aimé-Georges Martimort, revised edition, 4 vols. (Desclée, 1983-84), 3.321-28, at

been added on fol. 1r: the entry in the lower margin contains the incipit of the oath sworn by the abbot (name illegible)⁵⁷ of St. Peter's 'in plano Beneventane diocesis' to Johannes, archbishop of Benevento (probably Johannes de Castrocielo, 1282-1295).⁵⁸ The other addition on fol. 1r, although largely illegible, appears to be an oath of fidelity sworn by 'frater Bernardus abbas monasterii s. Marie <...>

325; also Victor Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937), 1.civ. The addition of the *promissio* of the abbot in the margins of the episcopal ordo is intelligible, therefore, as an attempt to adapt the Pontifical to a changed liturgy: presumably, to use the book in the new thirteenth-century liturgy, an officiating bishop would follow the Ordo for the Blessing of an Abbot until the interrogation and oath, when he would turn to the amended Ordo for the Consecration of a Bishop. Later, even this adapted oath was modified further. On fol. 37v, the marginal additions extending the oath have received interlinear notes replacing 'monasterium' with 'episcopatus'. The new, more extensive abbatial oath must have found favour with the archbishops and been applied to the ordination of bishops also.

⁵⁷ Libero Paci transcribes the name of the abbot as Bartolomeo (*Inventario dei manoscritti musicali*, p. 143).

⁵⁸ The reference on fol. 1r from the archiepiscopacy of Johannes de Castrocielo (1282-1295) to the 'monasterium s. Petri in plano Beneventane diocesis' (presumably the same monastery is cited in the oath to Romanus Cappoferrus [1252-1282], fol. 37r, although the name is now illegible) has been interpreted in previous studies as indicative of the origin of the manuscript: see Colini-Baldeschi, 'Un codice', 447 ('Il monastero di S. Pietro in quel di Benevento è notissimo'); Loew, *Beneventan Script* 1.67 ('Pontificale monasterii S. Petri Benev.); and Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pp. 71, n. 6; 74, n. 4; 83, the first to consider it among the manuscripts of St. Peter's *extra muros*.

A major difficulty with this suggestion lies in the identification of the monastery: both important monasteries in Benevento dedicated to St. Peter were convents of nuns (see Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pp. 66, n. 5; 71, n. 6 [St. Peter's *extra muros*]; pp. 76-81 [St. Peter's *intra muros*]). Although male references in the monastic profession of nuns are not unparalleled, even the professions of Benevento, *Biblioteca Capitolare* 37, a Martyrology-Obituary used at the female convent of St. Peter's *intra muros*, are only masculine until the actual name and title of the abbess is required (see Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, p. 79, n. 2). The oaths of the 'abbas monasterii s. Petri in plano Beneventane diocesis' (fol. 1r, 37r) must refer, therefore, to another monastery. A first possibility is a dependency of Monte Vergine with the same name in the suffragan diocese of Ascoli Satriano: see Giovanni Mongelli, 'Ascoli Satriano: S. Pietro in Piano' in *Puglia e Basilicata*, ed. Giovanni Lunardi, Hubert Houben and Giovanni Spinelli (*Monasticon Italiae* 3; Cesena, 1986), no. 18, p. 31; idem, 'Ascoli Satriano (Foggia): S. Pietro in Piano e S. Donato', *La scala* 29 (1975) 295-98. The monastery of St. Peter's in Piano of Ascoli Satriano was, however, a priory without an abbot; moreover, it was moved into the city to become the monastery of Saints Peter and Donatus in the thirteenth century (the new monastery remained a priory): see Mongelli, 'Ascoli Satriano: S. Donato' in *Puglia e Basilicata*, no. 16, pp. 30-31. A second, equally problematic candidate is the church of St. Peter's 'de Plano' near Taurasi, in the suffragan diocese of Avellino: less is known about this house, indeed was it even a monastery? See Giovanni Mongelli, *Abbazia di Montevergine. Regesto di pergamene*, 6 vols. (Publicazioni degli Archivi di stato 25, 27, 29, 32, 33, 49; Rome, 1956-62), no. 2140, 3.58 (15 Sept. 1264), cites 'una chiusa di vigne presso la chiesa di S. Pietro de Plano'; no. 2288, 3.98 (July 1275), testamentary bequest includes gift for two hermits 'reclusi nella chiesa di ... e nella chiesa di S. Pietro di Taurasi'. A final, more likely, possibility is the monastery of 's. Petri de Planisio' in the diocese of Benevento itself. In this case, despite the onomastic irregularity that must preclude definite identification ('Planisio' for 'Plano') the monastery is known to have had an abbot, and to have been in the diocese of Benevento itself: see Mauro Inguañez, Leone Mattei-Cerasoli and Pietro Sella, *Rationes decimatarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Campania* (Studi e testi 97; Vatican City, 1942), nos. 4994 (a. 1327), 5094 (a. 1328).

Beneventane diocesis' to the vicar of Archbishop Johannes, perhaps Johannes de Castrocielo again. On fol. 37r, another oath of fidelity is sworn by 'Iohannes abbas s. Marie di Rocca Beneventi' to the vicar of an unknown archbishop of Benevento.⁵⁹ Finally, probably latest among the identifiable additions, on fol. 24v in the *decretum* addressed to the archbishop proposing a candidate for the episcopacy (Ordo 14: 3) a scribe has added 'fratrem Laurentium de ordine minorum Electum confirmatum in Episcopatum Ecclesie Ariane<n>sis', referring to the consecration in 1331 of Laurentius, bishop of the suffragan diocese of Ariano (Ariano di Puglia / Ariano-Irpino).⁶⁰ All these references would be appropriate in a book used by the archbishop of Benevento; indeed, the range of dates and places would be very difficult to reconcile in a book held by anybody else.⁶¹

After its medieval use, the manuscript appears in the fifteenth century among the first inventories of the Biblioteca capitolare of Benevento. The Inventory of 1447

⁵⁹ The citations of the 'monasterium s. Marie' and 'monasterium s. Marie di Rocca Beneuenti' may refer to the small monastery of S. Maria di Rocca in the extreme northeast of the diocese near Volturara: see Inguanez, *Rationes decimarum*, nos. 4842 (a. 1308-1310), 5030 (a. 1327), 5125 (a. 1328).

⁶⁰ See Ughelli, *Italia sacra* 8.216 for Laurentius, O.F.M., bishop of Ariano. Colini-Baldeschi transcribes the location as 'Ariminensis' ('Un codice', 447).

⁶¹ Unfortunately the scriptorium of origin for the manuscript cannot be specified more precisely, despite the previous consensus that it comes from a monastery of St. Peter's in Benevento. In addition to the difficulties of identification cited above (see note 58), a second difficulty relates to the use of the Pontifical. While monastic professions are given by a new monk to his abbot and may thus function usefully in a 'monastic' pontifical, the *promissio* of an abbot requires a bishop (or archbishop) as recipient; the latter is minister of the blessing and must be present. In general, this has meant that record of the oaths of abbots has been kept in episcopal books. Among the pontificals described by Leroquais there are many such additional oaths; in each case, he considered the oaths as evidence for the use of the pontifical by a bishop or archbishop (see Leroquais, *Pontificaux* 1.cxxi, on locating pontificals: 'Plus fréquentes sont les prestations de serments ajoutées au début ou à la fin des pontificaux sur les feuillets de garde. Ces prestations de serments ou "professions" avaient presque toujours lieu lors du sacre des évêques ou de la bénédiction des abbés. Il était donc naturel de les inscrire sur le pontifical de l'archevêque' with instances; see also 1.147, 2.66, 235, 364, and 402).

In summary, whether each reference may or may not be used to locate the manuscript, from the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteenth centuries the Pontifical contains mentions of the following people and places:

a. 1179-1221	Rogerius, archbishop	fol. 37r
b. 1252-1282	Romanus Cappoferrus, archbishop monastery 's. Petri in plano' Abbot Robb<...>	fol. 37r
c. 1282-1295	Archbishop Johannes de Castrocielo monastery 's. Petri in plano'	fol. 1r
d. 1282-1295	Archbishop Johannes de Castrocielo monastery 's. Marie <...>' Abbot Bernardus	fol. 1r
e. ?-	Archbishop ?	fol. 37r
f. 1301-1302	monastery 's. Marie di Rocca' Abbot Johannes Adenolfus, archbishop	fol. 37r
g. 1331	Laurentius, bishop of Ariano	fol. 24v.

lists two hitherto-unidentified pontificals in Beneventan script; given the use of the manuscript by the archbishop of Benevento in earlier centuries, one reference could allude to the Pontifical now in Macerata.⁶²

The manuscript remained in Benevento until the eighteenth century. In 1709, the Archbishop Vincenzo Maria Orsini, the future Benedict XIII, reorganised the archive and library of Benevento with the aid of as many as nine assistants, who prepared the indices that now preface most of the codices of the Biblioteca capitolare.⁶³ The identification of the hand of the index of the Macerata manuscript with the scribe responsible for several of these indices is clear evidence that the Pontifical was in the archdiocesan collection early in the eighteenth century, although it had lost its final gathering or gatherings by that time.⁶⁴ Alienated from the collection shortly after the reorganisation of the library, the manuscript entered the Biblioteca comunale of Macerata in 1833 as part of the gift of Tommaso Borgetti, O.P.⁶⁵ Although its signature in the Biblioteca comunale was originally '5.3.D.5', as noted on the rear pastedown, the manuscript is now identified by the signature '378', as indicated on the spine of the volume.

⁶² For discussion of the Inventory of 1447 (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 451, ed. Alfredo Zazo, 'L''Inventario dei libri antichi' della Biblioteca capitolare di Benevento (sec. xv), *Samnium* 8 [1935] 6-25), see Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pp. 9-20: although many of the Beneventan manuscripts listed by Bartolomeo Pantasia on fols. 3v-4v of the fifteenth-century inventory may be identified by the contemporary *ex libris* and notes of Luigi Theuli, other dispersed manuscripts can only be associated with the ancient fonds on liturgical grounds (e.g., Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 457 and 724; see Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, p. 15). On the pontificals, see Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, p. 18, n. 4, stating that the Beneventan section of the inventory lists six books of chant, 'outre deux pontificaux et trois antiphonaires dont on ne peut rapprocher les manuscrits Casanatense 724, I, et Naples, Bibl. Naz. XVI. A. 19' (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 451, fol. 4v; ed. Zazo, 'L''Inventario', 19-21).

⁶³ See Mallet-Thibaut, *Manuscrits*, pp. 22-25.

⁶⁴ See above pp. 366.

⁶⁵ Tommaso Borgetti, O.P., was born to the Borgetti di Ferentino, a noble family of the province of Frosinone. He was professor of theology and sacred history at the University of Macerata. On the suppression of the order by Napoleon, Don Borgetti became tutor in Latin and Greek to the children of Camillo Luciano Bonaparte. His biographer notes that Borgetti took advantage of the turmoil of the Napoleonic period to acquire a large collection of rare books and manuscripts, including an important part of the Colonna library. In 1833, Borgetti donated his by-then-considerable collection to the Biblioteca Comunale of Macerata, already a substantial library with books from the old Jesuit college and the Mozzi bequest. He also contributed to the construction of a new library, completed in 1836. Borgetti died 20 January 1850, in Naples. For his biography, see the manuscript of Antonio Natali, *Cenni biographici di benemeriti concittadini*, 2 vols. (in Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale 'Mozzi-Borgetti' 562-562/II), 2.59r-63v. According to Colini-Baldeschi, the Pontifical is described in the catalogue of the Borgetti donation as 'Ordo romanus seu Pontificale antiquum. "In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, incipit ordo Sac. Rom. Ecclesiae." Codice corredato di una lettera del Sig. Vande-Vivere, il quale dice che il presente codice è del secolo XI, in-4° grande, legato carta pecora con tassello' ('Un Codice', 447). I have not been able to confirm this citation.

Contents (C. 1-5)

Incipit: (fol. 1v) ‘In nomine domini nostri iesu christi. Incipit ordo sanctae romanae aecclesiae’ (caudate *e* transcribed as *æ*).

Second folio incipit: ‘propter fidem uestrae dilectionis hortamur’.

Explicit: (fol. 216v) ‘in quasdam mentes de largi-’ (incomplete at the end).

The following detailed analysis of the contents is constructed from comparison of the Macerata manuscript with the editions of the PRG and PR12. The contents are divided into numbered ordines and paragraphs corresponding to the divisions of the PRG and PR12. Where similar or only slightly different, the paragraph number of the manuscript is followed by indications of the comparable paragraph in the PRG and PR12; where the text corresponds to a previously edited Beneventan text, the edition is also cited by siglum and paragraph or page number. Texts lacking in the PRG or PR12 have been compared to other editions.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Sources cited in the Description of Contents, Appendix 1, and Appendix 2:

- Anselm Luc. = Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum*, ed. Friedrich Thaner (Innsbruck, 1906-15; rpt. Aalen, 1965).
- AR = *Antiphonale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* (Desclée no. 820; Tournai, 1924).
- B = *Le manuscrit VI-33 Archivio arcivescovile Benevento. Missel de Bénévent (Début du XIe siècle)*, ed. Jacques Hourlier and Jacques Froger (Paléographie musicale 20; Bern, 1983).
- Ben 34 = *Le Codex VI.34 de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent (XIe-XIIe siècle). Graduel de Bénévent avec prosaïre et tropaire*, ed. Joseph Gajard (Paléographie musicale 15; Tournai, 1937; rpt. Bern, 1971).
- Ben 38 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 38.
- Ben 40 = Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 40.
- Bib = *Das Klosterterrituale von Biburg (Budapest, Cod. lat. m. ae. Nr. 330, 12. Jh.)*, ed. Walter von Arx (Spicilegium friburgense 14; Freiburg/Switz., 1970).
- Burchard = Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140.537-1066.
- CBP = *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, ed. Edmond Moeller, 4 vols. (CCSL 162, 162A-C; Turnhout, 1971-79).
- Coll. V. Lib. = *Collectio canonum in V libris (lib. I-III)*, ed. Mario Fornasari (CCCM 6; Turnhout, 1970).
- Decr. ps-Isid. = *Decretales pseudo-Isidoriana et capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863).
- Flor = *Das Rituale von St. Florian aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert*, ed. Adolph Franz (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904).
- Franz = Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909; rpt. Graz, 1960).
- Ge = *Liber sacramentorum gellonensis* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 12048), ed. Jean Deshusses and Antoine Dumas, 2 vols. (CCSL 159, 159A; Turnhout, 1981).
- GR = *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis cum Missae propriae Ordinis s. Benedicti* (Desclée no. 696a; Tournai, 1952).
- Gratian = *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. Emil Albert Freiberg and Aemilius Ludwig Richter (*Corpus iuris canonici* 1; Leipzig, 1879).
- GS = *Graduale sarisburicense. A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Walter Howard Frere (London, 1894; rpt. Farnborough, 1966).
- Ha = *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. 1.1: *Hadrianum ex authenticō (Cambrai 164)*, ed. Jean Deshusses, 2nd edition (Spicilegium friburgense 16; Freiburg/Switz., 1979).

- Ivo = Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia*, PL 161.1037-1344.
- LA = *Antiphonaire monastique, XIIe siècle (codex 601 de la Bibliothèque de Lucques)*, ed. André Mocquereau (Paléographie musicale 9; Tournai, 1906).
- Lambot = *North Italian Services of the Eleventh Century. Recueil d'ordines du XIe siècle provenant de la Haute-Italie* (Milan, Bibl. Ambros. T. 27. Sup.), ed. Cyrille Lambot (HBS 67; London, 1931).
- Liber ordinum = *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. Marius Férotin (Monumenta ecclesia liturgica 5; Paris, 1904).
- LR = *Liber responsorialis pro festis I. classis et communii sanctorum iuxta ritum monasticum* (Solesmes, 1895; rpt. Paris, 1950).
- LU = *The Liber usualis with Introduction and Rubrics in English* (Desclée no. 801; Tournai, New York, 1961).
- Martène = Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus ...*, 2nd edition, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1736-38).
- Odermatt = *Ein Rituale in beneventanischer Schrift. Roma, Biblioteca vallicelliana, cod. C 32, Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ambros Odermatt (Spicilegium friburgense 26; Freiburg/Switz., 1980).
- OR = *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, ed. Michel Andrieu, 5 vols. (Spicilegium sacrum lovanicense 11, 23, 24, 28, 29; Louvain, 1931-61).
- PEgb = *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York (A.D. 732-766)*, ed. William Greenwell (Surtees Society 27; Edinburgh, 1853).
- PKot = *An Edition of Leningrad, BAN, F. no. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor*, ed. Richard Gyug (Ph.D diss., Toronto, 1983).
- PLan = *Pontificale Lanaletiense. (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A.27. Cat. 368). A Pontifical Formerly in Use at St. Germans, Cornwall*, ed. Gilbert Hunter Doble (HBS 74; London, 1937).
- PMon = *Processionale monasticum ad usum congregationis Gallicaee ordinis sancti Benedicti* (Solesmes, 1893).
- Pontifical Romanum = *Pontificale romanum Clementis VIII. ac Urbani VIII. jussu editum et a Benedicto XIV. recognitum et castigatum* (Mecklin, 1873).
- PR12 = *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, vol. 1: *Le pontifical romain du XIIe siècle*, ed. Michel Andrieu (Studi e testi 86; Vatican City, 1938).
- PRCur = *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, vol. 2: *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Michel Andrieu (Studi e testi 87; Vatican City, 1940).
- PRDur = *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, vol. 3: *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand*, ed. Michel Andrieu (Studi e testi 88; Vatican City, 1940).
- PRG = *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 3 vols. (Studi e testi 226, 227, 269; Vatican City, 1963-72).
- PRobt = *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. Henry Austin Wilson (HBS 24; London, 1903).
- Regino of Prüm = Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis iussu domini reverendissimi Archiep. Trever. Ratbodi ex diversis sanctorum patrum concilii atque decretis collecti*, ed. Friedrich G. A. Wasserschleben (Leipzig, 1840).
- Schlager = Karlheinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire* (Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2; Munich, 1965).
- Sg = *Das fränkische Sacramentarium gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall. No. 348)*, ed. Kunibert Mohlberg, 3rd edition (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 1/2; Münster, 1971).
- Sp = *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. 1.2: *Hadrianum revisum Anianense cum supplemento (Autun 19)*, ed. Jean Deshusses, 2nd edition (Spicilegium friburgense 16; Freiburg/Switz., 1979).
- Syg = *Le codex 903 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (XIe siècle, Graduel de Saint-Yrieix)*, ed. André Mocquereau (Paléographie musicale 13; Solesmes, 1925).
- Va = *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316 / Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 7193, 41/56)*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo

Degrees of comparison have been indicated following the source references by 'm.v.' ('minores variationes') for lesser variants and 'var.' ('varia') for considerable divergences.

Many paragraphs, particularly among the rubrics where local adaptations of common texts were most likely, are either without counterpart in the standard editions of the medieval Latin liturgy or distinctive enough to warrant complete transcription. Comparable sources are cited where known; paragraphs without listed source attributions remain unidentified. In the transcriptions and in the citation of the incipits and explicits of each ordo, the folio is cited, but line turnovers are not indicated, except at folio breaks. Although all abbreviations except *A.*, *Ps.*, *R.*, and *V.* are expanded silently and caudate *e* has been transcribed *ae*, scribal practice has been followed for the orthography and punctuation of the text: *u* and *v* have not, therefore, been distinguished. Accents have not, however, been cited. For punctuation, '..' and '.' correspond to the final stops of the MS, ':' and ';' to the two forms of medial pause, and ',' to the hair stroke used for briefer pauses. Rubrics are italicised. The transcription presents the text of the manuscript without emendation. Textual notes, corrections by the original scribe and comments are indicated in the notes. Illegible passages have been marked between angle brackets by dots representing the approximate number of letters in question. Items with musical notation are marked with an asterisk.

The texts of the later additions are listed in an appendix; musical items are listed in a second appendix. The conventions of transcription for the marginal additions follow the forms used for the text itself; for the musical items, the abbreviations and source references are explained in a separate introduction to the appendix.

CONTENTS

I. Front flyleaves (paper)

fol. i-ii^r: list of contents in italic cursive (18th century), brown ink.⁶⁷

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| | Eizenhöfer and Petrus Siffrin (<i>Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 4</i> ; Rome, 1960). |
| Vat. lat. 10673 | = <i>Le codex 10673 de la Bibliothèque vaticane. Fonds latin (XIe siècle). Graduel bénéventain</i> , ed. Joseph Gajard (<i>Paléographie musicale 14</i> ; Tournai, 1931; rpt. Bern, 1971). |
| Vigil, Epist. ad Profut. | = Vigilius Pp., <i>Epistola ad Eutherium</i> , PL 69.15-20. |
| W | = <i>Missale Beneventanum von Canosa</i> (<i>Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W6</i>), ed. Sieghild Rehle (<i>Textus patristici et liturgici 9</i> ; Regensburg, 1972). |
| Wo | = <i>Antiphonaire monastique, XIIIe siècle, codex F. 160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester</i> , ed. André Mocquereau (<i>Paléographie musicale 12</i> ; Tournai, 1922). |

⁶⁷ The following transcription of the Index follows the orthography of the manuscript, except that caudate *e* is transcribed *ae*; abbreviations are expanded silently; line breaks are indicated with slashes: '/ Ir / INDEX / Observationes pro jeunijs - f. 1. at. / Benedictio super illum, qui promovetur ad

II. Pontificale beneventanum (parchment)

fol. 1r: no original Beneventan text (see Appendix 1).

Ordo 1 (fol. 1v): *In nomine domini nostri iesu christi. Incipit ordo sanctae romanae aeccliae. Annua nobis ... pariter et futuris. Amen.*

1)⁶⁸ = PRG 5/ 99: 31.

Ordo 2 (fols. 1v-2r): *Item imitato (!) plebis de iejunio mensis primi. quarti. septimi. et decimi. Hac ebdomada nobis ... optineat.*

1) = PRG 6/ 99: 32.

Ordo 3 (fols. 2r-3r): *De quattuor temporibus iejunii. Primi. quarti. ... consumetur.*

1) fol. 2r: Primi. quarti. septimi. et decimi mensis. Id est. in primo mense quarta et sexta feria, uel in sabbato, in prima ebdomada mensis primi, primum iejunium celebretur. Et si primi mensis dies sabbati ante dominicum diem quando est initium quadragesimae euenerit; ebdomada prima quadragesimae sabbatum in duodecim lectionibus celebretur (cf. PRG 7: 1).

2) fol. 2v: *Incipit de secundo tempore iejunii. Secundi temporis iejunium celebretur in quarto mense in secunda ebdomada quam facit ipse mensis. quarta et sexta feria et sabbato consumetur. Et si ieunia quarti mensis ante pentecosten euenerint; in ebdomada quae est post pentecosten celebrentur* (cf. PRG 7: 2; OR 37b: 2).

3-5) PRG 7: 3-5 (m.v.).

Ordo 4 (fols. 3r-6v): *Benedictio super illum qui promouetur ad ordinem clericatus. Primum fiat haec letania. Kyrieleyson ... custodias. per dominum nostrum.*

ordi/nem Clericatus - f. 3. / Ordo conferendi sacros ordines - f. 6. àt. / Ordinatio Ostiariorum - f. 7. àt. / Ordinatio Lectoris - f. 8. àt. / Ordinatio Exorcistae - f. 9. àt. / Ordinatio Acoliti - f. 10 àt. / Ordinatio Subdiaconi - f. 11. àt. / Ordinatio Diaconi - f. 13. àt. / Ordinatio Presbiteri - f. 17. / Ordinatio Episcopi - f. 23. / Ordo ad Concilium peragendum - f. 44. àt. / Ordo ad ecclesiam benedicandam et consecrandam - f. 52. / Reconciliatio aeccliesiae violatae - f. 88. / Ordo in purificatione Sanctae Mariae - f. 92. / Iv / Ordo in feria IV. caput iejunij - f. 96. / Item in dominica Palmarum - f. 98. àt. / Item in Caena domini - f. 101. / Item in feria VI. - f. 119 àt. / Item in Sabbato Sancto - f. 125. / Benedictio ignis incendendi - f. 127 àt. / Benedictio incensi novi - f. 128 àt. / Benedictio fontis - f. 131. / Sequitur infantium baptismus - f. 127. / Item confirmatio eorundem - f. 138. àt. / Benedictio sacrorum vestimentorum et omnium / quae altari deserviunt - f. 140 àt. / Missa in die Paschae cum benedictione casei, ovo/rum, lactis, et mellis, agni, carnium, lardi, / panis, uvae, vel favi - f. 147. / Ordo ad Abbatem benedicendum - f. 151. / Item ordinatio Abbatissae - f. 156. / Ordo pro his, qui Romam vadunt - f. 162 àt. / IIR / Ordo pro infirmis - f. 167. / Ordo in exeguijs - f. 177. / Ordo ad sponsum, et sponsam benedicendos - f. 194. àt. / Praephatio, et secreta in missa - f. 201. / Anathematio - f. 208. àt. / Reconciliatio excommunicati - f. 209. àt. / Consecratio virginis. (finis desideratur.) f. 212.' The Index is also transcribed in Garbelotto, 'Catalogo del fondo musicale', 110-114.

⁶⁸ Fol. 1v (1: 1): The 'A' in 'Annua' is a floriated initial, four-lines high, drawn in brown ink with white, yellow, red, and blue colouring.

- 1) fol. 3r-5v: *Primum fiat haec letania. Kyrieleyson ... exaudi orationem meam* (cf. PR12 1: tit. n. 1 [add. BJ]).⁶⁹
- 2) = PRG 3: 1 (expl. var.) ... PR12 1: 1
- 3) *A. Haec est generatio quaerentium dominum. Ps. Domini est terra* (cf. PR12 1: 3).
- 4) = PRG 3: 2 ... PR12 1: 2
- 5) *A. Tu es domine qui restitues hereditatem meam. Ps. Conserua me domine.*
V. Dominus pars hereditatis (cf. PRG 3: 3; PR12 1: 3).
- 6) = PRG 3: 5 ... PR12 1: 5.

Ordo 5 (folis. 6v-7v): *Item ordo consecrationum de sacris ordinibus iuxta romanos. Primo ingrediuntur pontifex uel sacerdotes ... statuuntur ante pontificem.*

- 1) = PRG 7: 7 (var.)
- 2) 8
- 3) fol. 7r: *Deinde sequitur quattuor lectiones cum sequentibus datis orationibus. et eiusdem numeri gradalibus decantatis, sicut in libro missali et antiphonario continentur. Deinde sequitur lectio danielis. Angelus domini. Hac finita; decantatur ymnus trium puerorum sicut in antiphonario continetur. deinde facienda sunt laetaniae cum apostolorum nominibus ac Sanctae Mariae solummodo dictis. et christe audi nos, et kyrie, in fine; Quibus expletis; assistente pontifice in sede sua; dextra leuaque /7v/ <pres>biteris et diaconibus; tunc qui in hostiariorum ordine consecrandi erunt adducuntur curui primi, singuli a singulis sacerdotibus sacris induitis uestibus, imponentibusque manus dexteras super capita eorum; sinistram uero sub mentis. ac statuuntur ante pontificem* (cf. OR 37b: 9, 10, 12, 11).

Ordo 6 (folis. 7v-8v): *Ordinatio ostiariorum. Psalmistae, hi sunt cantores. ... probetis. Ostiarium oportet percutere cimbalum; ... habere mercedis. per dominum nostrum iesum christum.*⁷⁰

- | | | |
|----------------|------------|------|
| 1) = PRG 15: 8 | ... PR12 3 | |
| 2) | 14: 1 | 4: 1 |
| 3-5) | 15: 9-11 | 2-4. |

Ordo 7 (folis. 8v-9v): *Ordinatio lectoris. Lectorem oportet ei qui predicit et lectiones cantare, ... resonent aecclesiae. per dominum.*

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|---|
| 1) = PRG 14: 2 | ... PR12 5: 1 | |
| 2) | 15: 12 | 2 |

⁶⁹ Fols. 3r-5v (4: 1): litany includes Mary, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Symon, Thaddeus, Mathias, Barnabas, Mark, Luke, the Innocents, Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Vincent, Syriacus, Silvester, Gregory, Martin, Paulinus, Barbatus, Marcianus, Anthony, Basil, Benedict, Agnes, Cecilia, Agatha, Symeon, Joseph, and Zaccheus.

Fol. 4r (4: 1): clete corr. ab anacleto.

⁷⁰ See above pp. 360-61.

3)	14	3
4)	13	4
5-6)	15-16	5-6.

Ordo 8 (fol. 9v-10v): *Ordinatio exorcistae. Exorcistam oportet abicere demones; ... uirtute confirmati. per dominum.*

1) =	PRG 14: 3	... PR12 6: 1
2-4)	15: 17-19	2-4.

Ordo 9 (fols. 10v-12r): *Ordo acoliti. Acoliti cum ordinantur, primum ... in aecclesia tua. per. Et si ibi ad presens uoluerit eos ad subdiaconatus /12r/ officium promouere; promoueat in subscripto ordine.*

1) =	PRG 15: 20-22	... PR12 7: 2-4
2)	24	6
3)	23	5.

Ordo 10 (fols. 12r-13v): *Ordinatio subdiaconi. Capitulum Sancti gregorii papae. Sicut qui inuitatus renuit, ... consequantur. per dominum.*

1) =	PRG 9	
2)	14: 4	... PR12 8: 1
3)	16: 5 (var.)	2 (var.)
4-6)	6-8	3-5.

Ordo 11 (fols. 13v-14r): *Item ordo qualiter in romana sede apostolica /14r/ diaconi, presbyteri, eligendi sunt. Mense primo. ... communionis suaee.*

1) =	PRG 16: 1	... cf. PR12 9: 1, 2, 5.
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Ordo 12 (fols. 14r-17r): *Ordinatio diaconi. Diaconi cum ordinantur; ... instructi complaceant. per.*

1) =	PRG 16: 9	... PR12 9: 9
2)	12	11 (C)
3)	13 (17a: A)	15
4)*	14 (A)	12

5) fol. 16v, marg. sinist.: *Tunc de terra eleuatis, episcopus manu sua oraria ponat super sinistros humeros eorum. et dicat. Accipe stolam tuam. imple ministerium tuum; potens est enim deus; ut augeat tibi gratiam (cf. PRG 16: 15 [= or.]; PR12 9: 13 [or. var.]).*

6) =	PRG 16: 19 (var.)	... PR12 9: 16 (L)
7)	10	10
8)	18	16 (C).

Ordo 13 (fols. 17r-23r): *Ordo ad presbiterum ordinandum. Paulus apostolus precepit timotheo; ... secessum abierint.*

1) =	PRG 12
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2) fol. 17v: *Aliter. Sicut ergo in ordinationibus maiorum particeps est peccatorum, qui tales constituit; sic in ordine sanctorum particeps est eorum /18r/ iustitiae qui bonos elegit.*

3)⁷¹ = PRG 16: 21 (m.v.) ... PR12 9: 17 (BCO: m.v.)

4) fol. 18r: *Et e contra ipse se erigens, interroget eum ita* (PRG 16: 22; PR12 9: 17).

5) = PRG 9: 25 (var.)

6)⁷² 15 (rubr. var.) ... PR12 9: 13 (C)

7) fol. 18v: *Exuatur dalmatica, quando casulam accipit. episcopus dicens. Accipe casulam sacerdotalem /19r/ per quam caritas intelligitur. potens est enim deus, ut augeat tibi caritatem et opus perfectum. qui uiuit* (cf. PRG 16: 31; PR12 9: 22).

8) = PRG 16: 27 (abbr.) ... PR12 9: 18 (abbr.)

9-10) 28-29 19-20

11) 33 —

12-14) 34-36 23-25

15) 37 27

16) fol. 22v: *His expletis dat orationem ad missam. Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flamas ignium; concede propitius; ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma uitiorum. per. Sequitur lectio et apostolum; deinde tractum et euangelium. Omnes enim qui /23r/ consecrantur eodem die, et offerunt et communicant. et singulis presbiteris die eodem sacratis dantur singulae oblatae ab episcopo sanctificate; ex quibus per totam sequentem ebdomadam mixtim cum sacrificio quod illi sacrificauerint communicent; et per integrum sequentem ebdomadam, oraria presbiteri semper appensa in collo habeant et portent. excepto si iacuerint, aut secessum abierint* (cf. PRG 17).

Ordo 14 (fols. 23r-37v): *Ordinatio episcopi. Nos dominus seruet; ... uerba euangelii.*⁷³

1) fol. 23r: *Nos dominus seruet; custodiat atque gubernet. Nos regat et saluet; caelestis conditor aulae. Gaudia caelorum; det nobis rector eorum* (PRG 63 App. [A]: 1; PR12 10:1).

2) = PRG 63 App. (A): 2 ... PR12 10: 2

3)⁷⁴ 3 3

4) fol. 25r: *Versus ad electum. Lux de luce deus; sancto nos lumine lustret. Protegat et saluet, nos christus conditor orbis. Sedibus a superis, ueniat benedictio nobis* (cf. PRG 63 App. [A]: 5).

⁷¹ Fol. 18r (13: 3): cum amictu, et camisu et cingulo, et stola, et desuper dalmatica cum mappula] cum orario PRG orario tantum PR12.

⁷² Fol. 18v (13: 6): The bestowal of the stole is found in the Ordo for a Deacon in the Roman pontificals.

⁷³ See above p. 361.

⁷⁴ Fol. 24r-25r (14: 3): the decretum is addressed to the archbishop of Benevento.

5) =	PRG 63 App.(A):	6 (m.v.)	...	PR12 10: 6
6)		7 (m.v.)		7
7)		8 (m.v.)		7
8)		11		15

9) fol. 26r: *Alia.* Oremus itaque pro hoc uiro; /26v/ ut deus et dominus noster tribuat ei cathedram episcopalem, ad regendam aeccliam suam, et plebem uniuersam (cf. PRG 63 App. [A]: 26; PR12 10: 19).

10-12)⁷⁵ = PRG 63 App. (A): 12-14 ... PR12 10: 10-11

13) fols. 30v-31r: *Item.* Dilectissimi fratres; elegistis hunc, N, presbiterum, episcopum? *R.* Ipsum elegimus omnes. *Et hoc tertio.* *Iterum archiepiscopus.* Est iustus et dignus hoc subire ministerium? /31r/ *R.* Dignus est. iustus est. *Et hoc tertio.* *Item.* Auxiliante domino nostro iesu christo, et beato petro apostolo intercedente; uolumus hunc, N, fratrem nostrum, ordinare episcopum, si uobis omnibus placet. *R.* Placet omnibus. *iii. uicibus.* Orate pro nobis.⁷⁶

14) fol. 31r: *Inuocatio.* Oremus fratres; ut deus et dominus noster iesus christus, nos et electum (-os) nostrum (nostros) gratia sancti spiritus illustrare dignemur. qui uiuit et regnat cum patre in unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti deus.

15) fol. 31r: *Hic ponatur euangelium super caput eius* (cf. PRG 63 App. [A]: 24; PR12 10: 21).

16-19)* PRG 63 App. (A): 27-30 ... PR12 10: 22-25

20) fol. 35r: *Tunc debent ei manus ungi.* Consecrentur manus istae quesumus domine et sanctificentur per istam unctionem, et nostram benedictionem. ut quaecumque benedixerint, benedicta sint; et quaecumque sanctificauerint, sanctificentur. per (cf. PRG 63 App. [A]: 31; PR12 10: 26).

21) =	PRG 63 App. (A):	32	...	PR12 10: 26
22)		36		—
23)		37		—
24)		33	PRCur	11: 28 (app.)
25)		34	PRDur	1.14: 14 (app.)
26)	63:	43	PRCur	11: 29 (app.)
27)		—	PR12	10: 29

28) fol. 37r-v: *Ius iurandum.* Ego. N; tibi archiepiscope <.....>⁷⁷ iuro. quoniam fidelis ero tibi (sibi),⁷⁸ aeccliaeque sanctae beneuentanae, ab hac die in

⁷⁵ Fol. 27v-28r (14: 11): throughout the questioning of the new bishop the response 'In quantum possem' has been erased leaving simply 'uo' as in the Roman pontificals.

Fol. 28v, left margin (14: 11, keyed at 'inuisibilia, + et spiritualia?'; Beneventan hand, black ink): <tem>poralia.

⁷⁶ Fol. 30v, left margin; fol. 31r, right margin (at 14: 13, beginning and end; Beneventan hand, black ink): <...> non dicatur <secundum> romanos <...>nc incipit ... /31r/ ... usque hic.

⁷⁷ Adenolfe eras., *scripsitur super Rogérie (ut vid.).*

⁷⁸ Third person forms added between the lines throughout 14: 28 in brown ink.

antea, omnibusque successoribus tuis (suis) qui in uita mea futuri sunt in sede beneuentana, secundum electionem cleri et populi.⁷⁹ obaediensque tibi (sibi) ero et illis, pro posse meo et oportunitate. In uitationes tuas (suas) sed neque⁸⁰ illorum, ad synodum non euitabo; nisi canonica excusatione. Nuntios tuos (suos) et illorum, secundum oportunitatem meam adiuuabo et honorabo eundo et redeundo... /37v/ Quemammodum hic scriptum est sic attendam secundum meam conscientiam. absque fraude et malo ingenio.⁸¹ per deum et haec sancta uerba euangelii (cf. PR12 App. 3; PRDur 1.14: 65).

Ordo 15 (fols. 37v-38r): *Missa in ordinationem episcopi.* Benedicet te hodie ... consortes. per.

1) fol. 37v:	Benedicet te hodie deus. <i>Ps.</i> Deus deorum.	
2) = PRG 63: 49 (all.)	... PR12 10: 31	
3)	49 (tr.)	31
4)	52	33
5)	54	—
6)	55	35
7)	60	37

8) fol. 38r: *Oratio post communionem.* Haec nos communio domine purget a crimen; et caelestis remedii faciat esse consortes. per (= Ha 26).

Ordo 16 (fols. 38r-44v): *Incipit edictum quod dat apostolicus episcopo cui benedicitur.* Dilecto nobis ... intra in gaudium domini tui. Amen.⁸²

1-10)⁸³ PR12 11: 1-10 (cf. PRG 66: 1-2, 4-13, 18).

Ordo 17 (fols. 44v-51v): *Ordo Romanus qualiter concilium agatur. Conueniente ... Et ita conuentus absolutuitur.*

1-8) = PRG 79: 1-8	... PR12 36 (BO): 1-6, 8
9-21)	9-21
22)	22-23 (var.)
23)	24

24) fol. 51r-v: *Hanc dicit ille episcopus in cuius sede ipsum concilium celebratur.* Deus qui uos ad explecionem huius fecit peruenire concili; absolutos uos efficiat ab omni contagione delicti. Amen.

Et ab omni /51v/ reatu liberiores effecti, absoluti etiam per donum spiritus sancti; felici reditu, uestiarum sedium cubilia repetatis illesi. Amen.

⁷⁹ secundum electionem cleri et populi *del. per cancell.*

⁸⁰ sed neque] eras., et add. corr.

⁸¹ absque fraude et malo ingenio *add. eadem manu interlin.*

⁸² See above p. 361.

⁸³ Fol. 42v (16: 7): 1 1/2 lines left blank between ‘conuenit abscidere;’ and ‘ne si plusquam res exigit’; corresponds to omission of ‘ut non possis ulcerare quod sanum esse videtur’ (PR12 11: 7).

Christus dei filius qui est initium et finis; complementum uobis tribuat suae caritatis. *Respondeant omnes. Amen* (PEgb 128v-130r [CBP 417 a-c]; var.: PRG 79: 25, PR12 36: 2).

25) = PRG 79: 26

26) 27 ... PR12 36: 28 (var.).

Ordo 18 (fols. 51v-52r): *In nomine sanctae et indiuiduae trinitatis. Incipit nuntiatio cum reliquiae /52r/ sanctorum ponendae sunt. Dilectissimi fratres, inter caetera uirtutum solemnia ... negetis.*

1) = PRG 38 ... OR 41: 1.

Ordo 19 (fols. 52r-88r): *Incipit ordo ad /52v/ aecclesiam benedicendam. Primitus decet episcopum ... accommodes. per dominum.⁸⁴*

1) =		PR12 17: 1 (L)
2)		2 (var.)
3) = PRG 40: 27		21-22
4)	30	23
5)	32	24
6)	8	6
7)	37 (rubr.)	27 (rubr.)
8)	33	... PRDur App. V: 3
9)	105: 7	
10) ⁸⁵	181: 24	

11) fol. 56v: *Postea canat hos psalmos. Domine quis habitabit. Afferte domino. Qui habitat. Benedicte omnia.*

12) fols. 56v-57r: *Exorcismus aquae. Deinde dicit. Dominus uobiscum. Exorcizo te creatura aquae in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti; ne communices ... defendat exercitus. per (Franz 2.48, n. 4; PKot 74v-75r).*

13) fol. 57r-v: *Lectio aepistolae beati pauli apostoli ad corinthios. Fratres; Nolo uos ignorare; ... christus (1 Cor 10:2-4. PKot 75r).*

14) fol. 57v: *Tractus. Sicut ceruus (Ps 41:2. PKot 75r).*

15) fols. 57v-58r: *Sequentia Sancti euangelii secundum matheum. In illo tempore. Dixit iesus discipulos suis. Vos estis sal terrae. ... et glorificent patrem uestrum qui in caelis est (Mt 5:13-16. PKot 75r).*

16) fol. 58r-v: *Item exorcismus salis et aquae. Exorcizo te creatura salis et aquae, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. qui per heliseum prophetam in aquam*

⁸⁴ See above pp. 361-62.

⁸⁵ Fol. 55v, interlin. (19: 10, keyed between 'paradysi manare,' and 'et totam terram'; Beneventan hand, brown ink): in quattuor fluminibus exire iussit.

Fol. 55v, left margin (19: 10; Beneventan hand, brown ink; trimmed): <i>n quattuor flu</i><mi>nibus exire.

mitti iussit. haec dicit dominus. sanaui aquas istas. non est in eis mors, neque sterelitas. et qui diuina uoce oris sui ait; uos estis sal terrae. et per apostolum; cor uestrum sale sit conditum. ut omnes qui ex te sumpserint, sanctificati animis et corporibus permaneat. et ubi /58r/ cumque fueris aspersa prestes omnibus remissionem peccatorum. sanitatem mentis; protectionem salutis; ad expellendas et excludendas demonum temptationes; in nomine domini nostri iesu christi. qui uenturus (var.: cf. PRG 40: 5; PR12 17: 3).

17) fol. 58v: *Sequitur. Pater noster. Credo in deum. Deinde insufflans ter in aqua in modum crucis, dicat. Bene ✠ dictio dei patris omnipotentis, et filii ✠ et spiritus ✠ sancti, descendat super hanc creaturam salis et aquae. R. Amen* (PKot 75r: m.v.).

18) =	PRG 40: 41	... PR12 17: 31
19)	40 (var.)	30 (var.)
20)	1 (var.)	41 (rubr.)

21) fol. 59v: *et det aepiscopus orationem; primitus dicens. Deus in adiutorium meum. Post. antiphonam. Isti sunt sancti. Ps. Dominus regnauit. A. Sancti tui domine. A. Sancti et iusti. A. In ciuitate domini. A. Gaudent in caelis. V. Laetamini. Antiphona in euangelium. O quam pretiosum. Oratio. Tribue quesumus domine* (cf. PRG 40: 10; PR12 17: 43).

22) fol. 59v: *Postea facta laetania, dicat orationem hanc. Actiones nostras quesumus domine, et aspirando preueni, et adiuuando prosequere. ut cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiatur, et per te cepta finiatur.* per (Ha 198; PKot 69r; PRobt p. 73; PEgb p. 27; PLan p. 4; cf. PRDur 2.1: 10, 2.2: 16).

23) =	PRG 40: 3	... PR12 17: 41 (oratio)
24)	4	43

25) fol. 60r: *Postea uero induuntur duo presbiteri uel tres, seu quattuor sacris uestibus. et acceptis ab episcopo reliquiis, stant flexo capite* (PKot 70r).

26) =	PRG 128: 2	
27)*	40: 10 (var.)	... PR12 17: 44 (var.)
28)*	—	10
29)	14 (m.v.)	10 (m.v.)
30)* ⁸⁶	15 (vers. var.)	11 (ant. var.)
31)	16 (rubr. var.)	12 (rubr. var.)
32)	17 (m.v.)	13 (m.v.)
33)	18 (vers. var.)	14 (cf.17:8)
34-35)	19-20	15-16

36) fol. 63v: *Interim canatur Antiphona. Tollite portas. Ps. Domini est terra.*
37) = PRG 40: 21 ... PR12 17: 16

⁸⁶ Fol. 62r (19: 30): *V. Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis domine. et aeternitas temporum ibi* (om. PRG, PR12).

38)* fol. 63v-64r: Crux pellit hostem. Crux christi triumphat. *Interim canatur antiphona.* Pax aeterna ab aeterno patre huic domui. pax perhennis uerbum patris sit pax huic domui pacem pius consolator huic prestet do/64r/mui. euouae (PKot 71r; PPlan p. 5; PRobt p. 76).

39) = PRG 40: 22	... PR12 17: 17 (ant. var.)
40) ⁸⁷ 23	—
41) 24	19 (rubr. om.)
42) 25 (Latin alphabet)	20 (Greek)
43) ⁸⁸ 26 (MS V: Greek)	20 (Latin)
44) 26 (MS V: ant.)	21
45-46) 42-43	32-33
47) 44 (m.v.)	35 (m.v.)
48-52)* 45-49	36-40
53) 50 (m.v.)	40 (var.)
54) 51	—
55) ⁸⁹ 52 (m.v.)	55-56 (m.v.)
56) 55	57 (BCO: var.)
57)* ⁹⁰ 57 (m.v.)	58 (ant. var.)
58) 58 (ant. var.)	59 (rubr., ant.)
59-60) 59-60	59, 62 (m.v.)
61) 70	19: 7
62)* 61	17: 63
63) fol. 74v: <i>Hic ungatur altare chrismate.</i>	
64) = PRG 40: 62	17: 61 (m.v.)
65)* 63	64
66)* 71	—
67) 73	66 (rubr.)
68-69)* 68-69	19: 14-15
70) 74 (m.v.)	17: 66 (ben.: m.v.)
71) 66	19: 2
72) ⁹¹ 65	13

⁸⁷ Fols. 64r-65v (19: 40): Litany includes Mary, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Taddeus, Mathias, Barnabas, Mark, Luke, the Innocents, Stephen, Linus, Anacletus, Clemens, Sixtus, Cornelius, Lawrence, Vincent, Syriacus, Sylvester, Gregory, Martin, Paulinus, Barbatus, Marcianus, Anthony, Basil, Benedict, Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia, Symeon, Joseph, and Zaccheus.

⁸⁸ Fol. 67r-v (19: 43): Greek letters labelled ‘alfa, bita, gamma, delta, e, zeta, hita, thita, iota, kappa, landa, mi, ni, xi, o, pi, ro, sema, tau, ipsilo, phe, che, pse, otomega’.

⁸⁹ Fol. 71v, left margin (19: 55): diagram of places to be anointed on the altar (red borders with yellow, green, and blue fill).

⁹⁰ Fol. 72r (19: 57): Ant. *Lapides pretiosi* (PRG 40: 57) omitted.

⁹¹ Fol. 78v (19: 72): blank space of six letters between ‘effunditur ad suscipienda’.

73)	77	— (Troyes 2272)
74)	131	17: 47
75)*	132	48 (Vers.: var.)
76)*	133	48 (BCO: m.v.)
77-78)*	134-135	50, 49 (ben. var.)
79)*	137	52
80)	140	52-53 (or.)
81)	141 (var.)	54 (var.)
82)*	143 (ant.)	68 (var.)
83-84)	145-146	69-70
85)	83	21: 2
86)	89	22: 1 (B)
87)	91	22: 3
88-89)	92-93	24: 1-2
90)	106	... PRDur 2.15
91)	107	
92)	148	... PR12 17: 71 (rubr. var.)
93)	149	—
94) = PRG 42: 1		72 ... Ha 817
95) fol. 84r-85r: <i>Lectio epistole beati pauli apostoli ad corinthios.</i> Fratres. dei enim sumus adiutores. ... Templum enim dei sanctum est; quod estis uos (1 Cor 3:9-17).		
96) = PR12 17: 74 (grad.)		
97)	73 (Apoc 21:2-5)	
98) fol. 85v: Alleluia. <i>V.</i> Vox exultationis et salutis in tabernaculis iustorum.		
99) fol. 85v: Alleluia. <i>V.</i> Bene fundata est domus domini supra firmam petram.		
100) = PR12 17: 75 (Lc 19:2-10)		
101)	76 (off.)	
102) fol. 86v: <i>Secreta.</i> Altare hoc domine quod sacrificiis caelestibus inchoando reuerenter aptamus; concede propitius; ut gratum semper oculis tuae maiestatis appareat; et salutare fieri populis christianis beati, illius, per quem tibi dicatur meritis optineat. per (W 795).		
103) = PRG 41: 3 (GKL)	... Ha 821 (preph.)	
104) ⁹²	42: 3	... PR12 17: 79 (ben. populi)
105)	—	78 (com.)
106)	42: 4	80 ... Ha 822 (postc.).

Ordo 20 (fol. 88r): *Item reconciliatio aecclesiae uiolatae. Quod si altare uiolatum aut motum fuerit; ... et episcopus missam cantet super altare.*

⁹² Fol. 87v, interlin. (19: 104, above the closing ‘Amen’; Beneventan hand, black ink): Quod ipse prestare (cf. PRG 42: 3, n. 12).

1) Cf. Vigil., Epist. ad Profut., 4 = Decr. ps-Isid. (Hinschius, p. 711); Burchard, 3:11 (PL 140.675); Coll. V Lib., 1:180 (Fornasari, p. 116); Anselm Luc., 5:13 (Thaner, p. 236); Ivo, *De cons.*, 2.20 (PL 161.1087); Gratian, *De cons.*, D. 1 c. 19.

Ordo 21 (fols. 88r-92r): *Reconciliatio uiolatae aecclesiae. Primum ueniat episcopus ante ipsam aecclesiam /88v/ ... uota sanctifica. qui cum deo patre.*

1-3) ⁹³ = PRG 50: 1-3	... PR12 18: 1-3
4-7)	4-7 3 (or.), 4-6
8)	9 (or.) 7 (or.)
9)	10 (rubr. var.) 8
10)	10 (or.) 9.

Ordo 22 (fols. 92r-96v): *Ordo in purificatione sanctae mariae. Primum incipiat pontifex hanc antiphonam. Responsum accepit symeon ... contra thalamum. Adorna thalamum. A. Aue gratia plena dei genitrix.⁹⁴*

1)* = PRG 99: 27 (CK: m.v.)	... PR12 27 (L): 11 (var.)
2)	14 10
3-4)	17-18
5)	19 + 22 (resp.)
6)*	23
7) fol. 94v: A. Responsum accepit (cf. PRG 99: 27; PR12 18: 11).	
8) = PRG 99: 21	... PR12 27 (L): 3
9)	22 (or.) 4
10) fol. 95v: <i>Dum accenduntur candelae; canetur antiphona haec. Symeon iustus et timoratus.</i>	
11) fols. 95v-96r: <i>Oratio. Benedic domine hoc lumen quod usibus humanis prestitisti; et presta; /96r/ ut sicut exterius hoc illuminamur igne; ita interius splendore gratiae tuae semper illuminati; flamma caritatis ardeamus. per (Flor p. 33).</i>	
12) =	PR12 27 (L): 7 (rubr. var.)
13) = PRG 99: 26 (rubr. var.)	8 (or.)
14)	27 (rubr. var.) 11 (rubr. var.).

Ordo 23 (fols. 96v-98v): *Ordo caput ieunii. A. Exaudi ... manere intacta decernas. per dominum.⁹⁵*

1) fol. 96v: A. Exaudi nos domine. Ps. Miserere mei deus. Pater noster (cf. PRG 99: 78; PR12 28 [L]: 5).

⁹³ Fol. 89r (21: 3): ... *Et inter alia dicat. Ut domum istam ad honorem tui nominis consecratam, regalem aulam tibi deo nostro consecrare digneris te rogamus audi nos* (om. PRG 50: 3, PR12 18: 3; vide PRG 40: 2 [p. 128, ll. 9-10]).

⁹⁴ See above p. 362.

⁹⁵ See above p. 362.

2) =	PRG 99: 79	... PR12	28 (L): 5
3)	80 (a. 'Iuxta')		6
4)	83 (m.v.)	... PRCur	50: 5, n.1 (D)
5) fol.	97r: <i>A. Aduenerunt nobis dies.</i>		
6) =	PRG 99: 75	... PR12	28 (L): 3
7) fol.	97v: <i>A. Viuo ego dicit dominus.</i>		
8) =	PRG 99: 74	... PR12	28 (L): 2
9)	78 (a. 'Immutemur')		5
10)	71 ('Memento')		5
11)	76	... PRDur	3.1: 8.

Ordo 24 (fols. 98v-101r): *Dominica in palmis. Postquam uentum ... quatinus omni tuo populo proficiant ad salutem. per.*

1) fol. 98v: *Postquam uentum fuerit ad aecclesiam, ubi benedicenda sunt palmae;*

2) =	PRG 99: 164	... PR12	29: 3
3)	165 (rubr. var.)		4 (var.)
4)	166		5
5)	168 (m.v.)		6 (m.v.)
6)*	169 (m.v.)		—
7)	174		11.

Ordo 25 (fols. 101r-108r): *In caena domini. Sedente enim pontifex in foribus aecclesiae ... de tua mereantur uenia gratulari. per.⁹⁶*

1) =	PRG 99: 224 (m.v.)	... PR12	30a (B): 3 (m.v.)
2)	228 (m.v.)		7 (m.v.)
3)	225 (C)		4

4) fol. 103r: *Moxque surgat episcopus; faciatque omnes paenitentes ante se prosternere; simulque cum astantibus cantet psalmos hos. Miserere mei deus. Deus in nomine. Miserere mei deus miserere mei. Deus misereatur. Domine deus in adiutorium (cf. PRG 99: 229; PR12 30a [B]: 8-9).*

5) =	PRG 99: 226 (C: rubr. var.)	... PR12	30a (B): 5(var.)
6)	230		10
7)	245		20
8)	227 (C)		6

9) fol. 106r: *Et moneantur ab episcopo paenitentes; ut quod paenitendo diluerint, iterando non reuocent. Et imponat episcopus antiphonam. Venite. Venite filii. Et clerus simul cum episcopo psalmum. Benedicam dominum. Et uersibus psalmi finitis semper sequatur antiphona. Venite (cf. PRG 99: 228; PR12 30a [B]: 7).*

10) =	PRG 99: 229 (m.v.)	... PR12	30a (B): 8-9 (m.v.)
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⁹⁶ See above p. 362.

- 11) fol. 107r: *Postea sequantur preces, xii^m.*
 12) = PRG 99: 236 ... PR12 30a (B): 15
 13) fol. 107r: *Alia oratio.* Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris; et hanc famulorum tuorum confessionem benignus assume. ut qui auxilium tuae miserationis implorant; et sanctificationis gratiam accipient, et quae precantur obtineant. per.
 14-15)=PRG 99: 239-240 ... PR12 30a (B): 17-18
 16) 241 —.

Ordo 26 (fols. 108r-119r): *Incipit ordo in die predictae caenae domini. Feria. V. maioris ebdomadae. In cena domini mane primo mansionarii ordinent ... immortalitatis tuae munere consequamur. per.*

- 1) = PRG 99: 222 ... PR12 30a (B): 1
 2) fol. 108v: *Hora tertia sonetur signum, ut omnes ueniant ad aecclesiam in qua chrisma debet consecrari* (cf. PRG 99: 223; PR12 30c [L]: 3).
 3-5) = PRG 99: 252-254 ... PR12 30a (B): 27-29
 6) 256 33
 7)⁹⁷ 258 34-35
 8-10) 259-261 38-39
 11) 262 41 (var.)
 12) fol. 114v: *Expleta autem hac secreta. recedens ab altari episcopus parumper; uelatur in circuitu curtinula cum ministris. benedit oblatum a diacono aliud sanctum oleum ita* (cf. PRG 99: 277; PR12 30a [B]: 56).
 13)* = PRG 99: 279 ... PR12 30a (B): 58
 14) fol. 115v: *Post hoc incipit presul hanc. antiphonam.* Zelus domus tuae. *Ps.* Saluum me fac deus. *Alia a.* Diuiserunt sibi. *Ps.* Deus deus meus respice. *Alia a.* Oblatus est. *Ps.* Deus laudem meam.
 15) fol. 115v: *Tunc mittat episcopus balsamum in altero oleo ad conficiendum chrisma. Et modicum agitet illud idem episcopus cum uirgula palmae, ut pleniter commisceatur* (cf. PRG 99: 271; PR12 30a [B]: 47).
 16) fols. 115v-116r: *Deinde prebeat eandem uirgulam ad miscendum predictum chrisma archidiacono uel subdiacono; usque dum oratio consecrationis /116r/ finiatur.*
 17)* = PRG 99: 275 ... PR12 30a (B): 53
 18-20) 264 ... Ha 17-19

⁹⁷ Fol. 109v (26: 7): inc. ‘Te igitur’, begins with a 6-line floriated initial at the left margin; brown outline with red, yellow, green, and blue fills.

Fols. 110v-111r (26: 7): Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James the lesser, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Taddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, Hilary, Martin, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Benedict, and Isidore are cited in the *Communicantes*; the saints of the *Nobis quoque* (fol. 113r-v) are the same as those of PRG 99: 258.

21)	266	... PRDur 3.2: 60 (app.)
22)	281	... PR12 30c (L): 19 (var.).

Ordo 27 (fols. 119v-125r):⁹⁸ *Feria vi. In parasceue. Conueniant omnes aecclesiastici ... caeteris omnibus tribuat. et finitum est.*

1) fol. 119v: *Conueniant omnes aecclesiastici ad aecclesiam; et preparent se presbiteri et diacones quantum opus est ad ministrandum pontifici; uestibus quadragesimalibus induiti, non nudis pedibus. non enim licet presbyterum uel diaconem altari ministrare per nudos pedes. Veniente autem episcopo ad sedem; annuntiat archidiaconus subdiacono ut ascendat ad legendum lectionem primam in oseae (cf. PRG 99: 304).*

2-5)⁹⁹ = PRG 99: 305-308 (m.v.) ... PR12 31 (L): 2-4, 6

6-13)* 309-317 (C) ... Ha 338-345

14) fol. 122r: *Oremus et pro christianissimis principibus nostris, illo, et, illo; ut deus et dominus noster pacificas illis faciat in circuitu nationes, ad nostram perpetuam pacem. Oremus. Et diaconus. Flectamus genua.*

15) fol. 122r-v: *Et episcopus.* * *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates; et /122v/ omnium iura regnorum; respice ad langobardorum afflictas reliquias; ut gentes quae in sua feritate confidunt. potentiae tuae dextera comprimantur (cf. PRG 99: 317; Ha 345).*

16-25) = PRG 99: 318-327 ... Ha 346-355

26) fols. 124v-125r: *His orationibus finitis; accedat ad altare. ponatque calicem unius et dicat. Oremus; Preceptis salutaribus moniti. Et caetera quae sequuntur; usque quo munus diuini /125r/ corporis expleatur. ex formata mittat in calicem; de quo sibi communicans caeteris omnibus tribuat; et finitum est (cf. PRG 99: 335; PR12 31 [L]: 11).*

Ordo 28 (fols. 125r-140r): *Incipit ordo de sabbato sancto. Expleto matutino ... tuae caritatis.*¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ See Hesbert, “Antiphonale missarum”, *Ephemerides liturgicae* 60 (1946) 103-141, and *Pal. mus.* 14.290-337 for discussions of the Old Beneventan and Romano-Beneventan rites of Good Friday.

⁹⁹ Fol. 120r (27: 4): only the Tr. *Eripe me* is given (cf. PRG 99: 307 with the additional Tr. *Qui habitat*). Before the later addition to 27: 5 of the antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis* (see Additions 27 b), Ordo 27 contained no reference to the Adoration of the Cross, normally conducted between the solemn prayers and communion of Good Friday in Roman ordines (cf. PRG 99: 330-335). The brief additions to Ordo 27: 5, before the solemn prayers, are tantalising indications of Old Beneventan practice: among the sources studied by Hesbert (*Pal. mus.* 14.296-97, 300-301), all the Old Beneventan ordines and only one Romano-Beneventan ordo describe an Adoration of the Cross before the solemn prayers and communion (*Old Ben.*: B, Vat. lat. 10673, Ben 40, Ben 39; *Romano-Ben.*: Ben 38). The lack of other reference to the Adoration in Ordo 27 is in itself surprising and suggests perhaps another (Old Beneventan?) Good Friday ordo for the Adoration of the Cross, known to the compiler of the Pontifical but, for whatever reason, not copied.

¹⁰⁰ See above pp. 362-64.

1) fol. 125r: *Expleto matutino cum prima; diuidantur clerici in quattuor partes; et unaqueque pars faciat laetanias per singulas basilicas eius aeccliae; ut in simul fiant quattuor paria.*

2)*¹⁰¹ fol. 125r-126r: *In hora uero officii, stante episcopo ad sedem sacerdotalibus pannis induito, cum toto ministrorum altaris; iterum incipiatur a cleris in choro haec letania. Kyrie leyson. Christe leyson. Domine miserere /125v/ miserere nobis. Christe audi nos. Sancta maria ora pro nobis ... Kyrie leyson. Christe leyson.*

3) fol. 126r-v: *Qua expleta dicat presul, orationem. Deus qui diuitias ... patiaris offensae. per (PRDur 3.4: 11; Va 431; Sp 1023; B 73r).*

4) fol. 126v: *Tunc legatur lectio libri genesis. In principio fecit deus caelum et terram (Gn 1:1. PRG 99: 352, rubr. var.; B 73r).*

5)¹⁰² fol. 126v: *Tractus. Domine audiui (cf. B 73v).*

6) fol. 126v: *Oratio. Deus qui mirabiliter ... peruenire. per (PRG 99: 353; B 74r).*

7) fol. 126v: *Sequitur lectio libri exodi. Factum est in uigilia matutina (Ex 14:24. PRG 99: 354; B 75r).*

8) fol. 126v: *Tractus. Cantemus domino (PRG 99: 354; B 75v).*

9) fol. 126v-127r: *Deinde oratio. Deus cuius antiqua miracula ... plenitudo. per (PRG 99: 355; B 75v).*

10) fol. 127r: *Lectio libri deuteronomii. In diebus illis; Scripsit moyses canticum (Dt 31:22. PRG 99: 360).*

11) fol. 127r: *Tractus. Adtende caelum (cf. Pal. mus. 14.340, 356; PRG 99: 358).*

12) fol. 127r-v: *Oratio. Deus, celsitudo humilium; ... transeat in salutem. per (Va 440; Sp 1045).*

13) fol. 127v: *Lectio. In diebus illis; Apprehendent septem mulieres uirum unum (Is 4:1. PRG 99: 356; B 75v).*

14) fol. 127v: *Tractus. Vinea facta est (PRG 99: 356; B 76r).*

15) fol. 127v: *Oratio. Deus qui nos ad celebrandum ... futurorum. per (PRG 99: 357).*

16) fol. 127v: *Lectio. In diebus illis; Angelus domini (Dn 3:49. B 76r).*

17)*¹⁰³ fol. 127v: *Benedictus es domine (Ben 38 45v; Vat. lat. 10673 35r; cf. Pal. mus. 14.320-21).*

18) fol. 127v: *Dum hoc canitur; interim episcopus benedicat ignem incendandam.*

19) fol. 127v-128r: *Benedictio. Deus, qui per filium ... ualeamus. per (Feria V: PRG 99: 216; Sabb.: PR12 32 [L]: 2; B 76r).*

¹⁰¹ Fol. 125v-126r (28: 2): Mary, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, John, Peter, Paul, Bartholomew, Stephen, Lawrence, Januarius, Silvester, Gregory, Barbatus, Agatha, Lucy, and Cecilia are invoked in the litany.

¹⁰² For the Romano-Beneventan tracts, see above p. 363.

¹⁰³ See above pp. 363-64.

- 20) fol. 128r-v: *Alia.* Domine deus noster pater omnipotens; exaudi nos, lumen indeficiens, ... mereamur. per (Feria V: PRG 99: 217; Sabb.: PR12 32 [L]: 3).
- 21) fols. 128v-129v: *Benedictio incensi noui.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus, mundi conditor, ... assistat. per (Ge 676; cf. Va 426-429, PRG 99: 343 [C]).
- 22) fols. 129v-130r: *Alia.* Domine deus noster, qui suscepisti munera abel, noae et abrahae; sacrificium aaron, samuhel, zachariae; et omnium sanctorum tuorum incensum. sic et de manibus nostris peccatricibus suspicere digneris incensum istud in odorem suavitatis; /130r/ in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum et populi tui. per.
- 23) fol. 130r-v: *Alia.* Dominator omnipotens rex gloriose. deus qui nosti omnia antequam fiant. tu adesse digneris nobiscum in sancta hora ista. et munda nostram conscientiam et sensum. et salua nos a desideriis et temptatione carnis; et saecularibus fallaciis, et ab omnibus diabolicis operibus. et suscipe de manibus nostris peccatricibus incensum istud in odorem suavitatis. sicut suscepisti munera abel, noae et abrahae. aaron, samuhel, zachariae et omnium sanctorum tuorum. et libera nos ab omnibus malis; et conserua nos in omni tempore; /130v/ ut possimus placere tibi. et laudare, adorare, et glorificare te patrem cum unigenito filio tuo et cum spiritu sancto, nunc et semper, et per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.
- 24) fol. 130v: *Dehinc postquam clerici finierint, benedictus es domine; episcopus dicat orationem.*
- 25) fol. 130v: Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti ... flamma uitiorum. per (Va 1049, 1174; Ha 199).
- 26) fols. 130v-131r: *His dictis, et domno episcopo procedente, diaconus ascendit in ammonem. Tunc episcopus aut presbiter, accendat cereum preparatum ad benedicendum. deinde diaconus tangens cereum, pronuntiat ter. Lumen christi. R. in choro. /131r/ Deo gratias* (var.: PRG 99: 346; B 76v).
- 27) fol. 131r: *Et incipit benedicere his uerbis.* Exultet iam angelica turba caelorum (PRG 99: 347).
- 28) fol. 131r: *Qua completa. legatur lectio.* Hec est hereditas seruorum domini (Is 54:17. PRG 99: 358; B 77v).
- 29) fol. 131r: *Tractus.* Sicut ceruus (PRG 99: 360; B 77v).
- 30) fol. 131r: *Oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus; respice propitius ... sanctificet. per (PRG 99: 362; B 78r).
- 31)¹⁰⁴ fol. 131r-v: *Post haec; cum processione cleris et populus procedant ad fontem, cantando hos uersus. Rex sanctorum angelorum. Dum uero ad fontem uenient; ex circumgiro fontis pergant ipsi septem uicibus /131v/ cantantes has laetanias* (cf. PRG 99: 364; PR12 32 [L]: 12).

¹⁰⁴ Fol. 131r, interlin. (28: 31, keyed between ‘ipsi’ and ‘septem’; Beneventan hand, black ink): clerici.

32)¹⁰⁵ fols. 131v-133r: Kyrieleyson. Christe eleyson. *iii. uicibus.* Saluator mundi ... Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. Pater noster.

33) fol. 133r: *Oratio. Omnes sancti tui quesumus domine, nos hic et ubique laetificant. ut dum eorum merita recolimus, patrocinia sentiamus. per.*

34) = PRG 99: 365 (K: m.v.)

35) 366 ... PR12 32 (L): 21

36)* 367 22

37) 368-369 (var.) 23 (m.v.)

38) fol. 137r: *Benedictio fonte; proprius accedant compatres et commatres qui suscepturi sunt baptizandos* (cf. PRG 99: 370).

39) = PRG 99: 372 (C: m.v.) ... PR12 32 (L): 16 (m.v.)

40) 373 24 (m.v.)

41) 375 (K) 24-25

42) 377 (m.v.) 26 (m.v.)

43) 378 (K) 26 (or.)

44) fol. 138r: *Recepto infante, det ei sacerdos pannum de chrismate dicens. Accipe uestem candidam; sanctam et immaculatam; quam perferas ante tribunal domini nostri iesu christi; ut habeas uitam aeternam. Amen* (rubr. var.: PRG 99: 380; PR12 32 [L]: 27).

45) fol. 138r: *Tunc det ei cereum accensum dicens. Accipe lampadem ardentem, et esto preparatus. ut cum uenerit dominus, possis introire cum eo ad nuptias; et epulari cum sanctis in conuiuium aeternae iocunditatis. Et pax tibi* (cf. PR12 32 [L]: 28).

46) fol. 138r-v: *Tunc extrahatur foras cubellam; et permaneat /138v/ in aecclesia usque dum missa celebretur. et dominicis sacramentis confirmetur.*

47) = PRG 99: 383 (C: m.v.) ... PR12 32 (L): 31 (m.v.)

48) 386 32

49) 387 (var.) 33

50) 388 35

51) 387 (verses) 34

52) fols. 139v-140r: *Expleto baptismate, cum reuersi fuerint omnes a fonte; incipient canere laetanias pergendo usque in chorum; ubi ipsae letaniae finiantur. quia pro introitu cantantur illo die. Ita tamen pensandum est; ut /140r/ per septem uices fiant laetaniae in eo die. iuxta septiformem spiritus sancti gratiam. Et mox ut finitae fuerint; incipiat sacerdos. Gloria in excelsis deo* (B 79r. Cf. PRG 99: 390-391; PR12 32 [L]: 38-39).

53) = PRG 99: 392 (or.)

54) — ... B 79r (Col 3:1-4)

¹⁰⁵ Fols. 131v-133r (28: 32): Mary, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, and Andrew are invoked in the litany.

- 55) 393 (all.)
 56) 393 (evang.)

57) fol. 140r: *Officium secundum romanum non habet. Secreta. Suscipe domine quesumus, et plebis tuae. et tuorum hostias renatorum* (B 79v; Va 455; Ge 718; Sg 556).

58-61) = Ha 379-382 (preph., *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, postcomm.).

Ordo 29 (fols. 140v-141v): *Item benedictio uestimentorum. Exorcizo te creatura uestimenti ... Saluator mundi qui uiuis.*

1) fol. 140v: *Item benedictio uestimentorum. Exorcizo te creatura uestimenti in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti; ut nulla aduersitas inimici; nulla pompa diaboli sub te possit caelari; aut habitare non habeat potestatem; sed sis munda atque perfecta super altare, ad ministeria domini celebrandum. Quod ipse prestare.*

2) fols. 140v-141r: *Oratio. Domine deus omnipotens, pater creaturarum et conditor; qui ad usum aecclesiae tuae catholicae, uestimentum fieri iussisti; exaudi preces nostras, et dignare benedicere hoc uestimentum preparatum adornandum altare tuum et circundandum, /141r/ eique superponendum; ut per inuocationem sancti nominis tui, sit tua semper benedictio et sanctificatio super ipsum. per.*

3) = PRG 40: 79 ... PR12 20: 1.

Ordo 30 (fols. 141v-147r): *Benedictio ad albas. planetas. stolas. uel cingula, et casulas benedicendas. Domine deus, pater omnipotens, rex ... resurrectionis gaudia uidere mereamur. per.*

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1) = PRG 40: 80 | ... PRDur 2.9: 5 |
| 2) | — |
| 3) = PRG 40: 82 | ... PR12 17: 66 (rubr. var.) |
| 4) | 81 |
| 5) | 85 |
| 6) | 103 |
| 7) | 98 |
| 8) | 97 |
| 9) | 99 |

Ordo 31 (fols. 147r-150v): *Dominica sanctum pascha. Dum episcopus procedit, cantent cleri hos uersus. Salve festa dies. Deinde introitum. Resurrexi ... actione percipere. in nomine domini nostri iesu christi. Per quem haec omnia domine.*

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) = PRG 99: 402 | |
| 2-3) | 404 (intr., or.) ... Ha 383 |
| 4-8) | — ... Ha 384-388 |
| 9) | 397 (C) |

10) fol. 148r-v: *Benedictio ouorum. Subueniat quesumus domine tuae ... su- mentibus. per (Franz 1.592 n.; Bib 214).*

- 11) = PRG 99: 410 ... PR12 38
 12) 409 41 (CL)
 13) fol. 149v: *Benedictio carnium.* Deus qui per resurrectionem ... deliciis. per eundem (Franz 1.589).
 14) fol. 149v: *Benedictio lardi.* Benedic domine creaturam istam lardi; ... percipient. per (Franz 1.589).
 15) fol. 149v: *Benedictio panis in die dominico populo distribuendi.*
 16)* fol. 149v: *Antiphona.* Panis quem ego. *Psalmus.* Adtendite populus.
 17) = PRG 224: 1 ... PR12 43 (L)
 18) 225 —
 19)* fol. 150v: *A.* Panem de caelo.
 20) fol. 150v: *Oratio.* Sumentibus domine panem benedictum, gratiam tuam benignus concede; et contra omnes morbos omnesque callidi hostis insidias sit eis obstaculum. per.
 21) = PRG 226.

Ordo 32 (fols. 151r-155v): *Ad abbatem benedicendum. Veniat ille ... ad exemplum iustae seueritatis et correptionis.*

- 1) fol. 151r: *Veniat ille qui benedicendus est ad puplicam missam. et post introitum prosternat se ante altare. Tunc incipiat episcopus letaniam* (cf. PRG 26: 2-3; PR12 15: 1).
 2) = PRG 26: 4 (var.) ... PR12 15: 2 (var.)
 3) fol. 151r: *Tunc erigatur; et posito capite super altare, dicat episcopus hanc orationem.*
 4) = PRG 26: 5 ... PR12 15: 5
 5)* 32: 7 —
 6) fol. 153r: *A.* Qui michi ministrat.
 7) = PRG 26: 6 ... PR12 15: 6
 8) fol. 154r: *A.* Si quis michi ministauerit.
 9) = PRG 26: 7 ... PR12 15: 7
 10) 9 8
 11) fol. 155v: *Cum induitur cappa. dicat episcopus.* Induat te dominus stola iocunditatis et gloriae, in sanctitate ueritatis.
 12) fol. 155v: *Sequitur.* Stolam iocunditatis. *Alia Amauit eum dominus.*
 13) = PRG 26: 13 ... PR12 15: 12 (C)
 14) 12 10.

Ordo 33 (fols. 155v-156r): *Missa pro abate. Concede quesumus ... credito perueniat sempiternam. per.*

- 1-2) = PRG 27: 2-3 ... PRDur 1.20: 30-31
 3) 26: 8.

Ordo 34 (fols. 156r-162v): *Ordinatio abbatissae monasticam /156v/ regulam profitentis. Capitulum ex canone theodori anglorum episcopi. In ordinatione ... Deus cui omnis potestas.*¹⁰⁶

1-5) =	PRG 32: 1-5
6-7)*	6-7 (CDTV)
8-10)*	8-10
11-14)	12-15.

Ordo 35 (fols. 162v-167r): *Ordo pro his qui romam uadunt. In primis dicit. Deus in adiutorium ... et bene disponat itineri uestro. Amen.*¹⁰⁷

1) fol. 162v: *In primis dicit. Deus in adiutorium. Ps. Leuaui oculos. Ps. Ad te leuaui. Ps. Ecce nunc benedicite. Kyrie. Pater noster* (cf. PRDur 2.31: 1).

2) fol. 162v: *Saluos fac seruos tuos. Esto eis domine turris fortitudinis. Nichil proficiat inimicis in eis. Beati immaculati in uia. Mitte eis domine auxilium de sancto. Angelis suis deus mandauit. Domine exaudi orationem meam* (cf. PRG 128: 1).

3) fols. 162v-163r: *Oratio. Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris; et uiam famulorum tuorum in saluas tuae prosperitate dispone.* /163r/ *ut inter omnes uiae et uitae huius uarietates, tuo semper protegantur auxilio. per* (cf. PRG 128: 2 [var.]).

4) = PRDur 2.31: 5 ... Franz 2.263

5) = PRG 128: 5

6) fols. 163v-164r: *Benedictio perae et baculi. Omnipotens sempiterne deus; qui unicum filium tuum dominum nostrum iesum christum pro salute humani generis misisti in mundum; mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum de caelis; qui benedicit hos baculos et scarsellas; et mittat in eis abundantiam helemosinarum ad alendos pauperes; et quicumque eos* /164r/ *atque eas gestauerint; sani et alacres perueniant ad optabilem et desideratum locum, ad limina apostolorum petri et pauli, et aliorum sanctorum. et peracto itinere, incolumes et alacres et sine ullo discrimine cum gudio ad propria remeare facias. per.*

7) fol. 164r-v: *Alia. Signaculum dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti, sit super hos baculos et super has peras, ... gestauerint, in saecula saeculorum. Amen* (Franz 2.277).

8) fols. 164v-165r: *Super homines. Deus, qui dispersa congregas et congregata conseruas; auge fidem famulorum familiarumque tuarum; et mitte in eis perfectam caritatem, et dilectionis amorem. perseuerantiam fraternitatis. et quia serui et ancillae tuae esse profitentur; conserua et libera eos ab omni malo et ab omni aduersitate diabolica. ab insidiis inimicorum; a morsu serpentium. ab incursu uel*

¹⁰⁶ See above pp. 364-65.

¹⁰⁷ See above p. 365.

infestatione demonum uel latronum. et per tui sancti nominis inuocationem /165r/ presta; ut gressus istorum in semitis tuis dirigantur. et ad limina apostolorum petri et pauli cum salute perueniant. ubi remissis criminibus et peccatis uniuersis, te auxiliante et protegente, cum gratiarum actione peruenire mereantur ad propria. per (inc.: cf. PR12 20: 2).

9) = PRCur 20: 2 (m.v.)

10) fol. 165v: *Ad dandos baculos.* In nomine domini, accipe hunc baculum, sustentationem itineris ac laboris; uiam peregrinationis tuae. ut deuincere ualeas cateruas inimicorum; et peruenire possis ad limina beatorum apostolorum petri et pauli, uel aliorum sanctorum quo pergere cupis. et peracto itinere tuo, cum illorum gratia ad nos reuertaris cum gaudio (cf. PRCur 20: 3 [var.]..,

11) fol. 165v: *Deinde confessio.* Confiteor deo.

12) fols. 165v-166r: *Responsum.* Per intercessionem beatae dei genitricis mariae uirginis, et omnium sanctorum; si iudicium uobis euenerit aut in die uel in nocte; et ad aliam confessionem uel paenitentiam siue /166r/ absolutionem non potueritis peruenire; cum ista absolutione et confessione perueniatis ad uitam aeternam. et faciat uos deus omnipotens resurgere ad dexteram suam. et non reddatis rationem de peccatis uestris, in die iudicii. Amen.

13) fol. 166r: *Oratio.* Omnipotens deus; qui habet potestatem dimittendi peccata. qui et sanctis apostolis dedit potestatem ligandi atque soluendi, dicens. quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis in aeternum; et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt. ipse uos absoluat ab omnibus peccatis uestris. nec uos dampnet cum peccatoribus, in die tremendi iudicii. Amen (Lambot p. 40).

14) fol. 166v: *Alia.* Benedicat uos deus omnipotens; et per abundantiam sancti spiritus cor uestrum corroboret; mentem sanctificet castimoniam decoret; atque sensus uestros in bonis operibus informet; prospera tribuat; pacem concedat. salutem conferat. pietatem nutriat. karitatem muniat. et ab omnibus diabolicis et humanis insidiis sua uos semper protectione defendat. ut quaecumque ab eo postulaueritis, clementer concedat. auferat a uobis omnia mala quae gessistis; et tribuat gratiam quam semper rogasti. Amen (Liber ordinum 329 [CBP 118]).

15) fols. 166v-167r: *Alia.* Benedictio dei patris omnipotentis et filii et spiritus sancti decendat super uos. /167r/ et angelus domini bonus comitetur uobiscum. et bene disponat itineri uestro. Amen.

Ordo 36 (fols. 167r-177r): *Incipit ordo pro infirmis. Si necesse fuerit ... uitam merearis habere sempiternam. per eundem.¹⁰⁸*

1) fol. 167r: *Si necesse fuerit, ut ungatur oleo sancto, et caeteris sicut mos est; ingrediantur ad eum fratres, et ibi cantent VII^m psalmos. et post letanias has* (cf. PRG 139: 1-4).

¹⁰⁸ See above p. 365.

2)¹⁰⁹ = PRG 139: 5 (litany: var.) ... Odermatt 194

3) fol. 169r: *Capitulum.* Saluum fac seruum tuum. Emitte ei domine auxilium de sancto. Esto illi domine turris fortitudinis. Dominus opem ferat illi. Dominus custodiat te ab omni malo. Exurge domine adiuua nos (cf. PRG 139: 6; Odermatt 195).

4) = PRG 143: 48 (m.v.)

5) fols. 169v-170r: Per istam unctionem et dei benedictionem, mundetur ab omni sorde et contagione peccati, ... semper tecum. ipso prestante, qui uiuit et regnat (PLan p. 138; Flor p. 80; Martène 1.924).

6) fol. 170r-v: *Post; cum fuerit reconciliatus; ingrediatur ad eum omnis congregatio cum precibus ad hoc pertinentibus. et facto signo /170v/ crucis cum pollice dicat sacerdos.*

7) fol. 170v: Vnguo caput tuum oleo sancto in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. in remissionem ... uirtus domini nostri et spiritus sancti (Flor p. 78 [m.v.]; cf. PRG 143: 14).

8) fol. 170v: *Interim fratres cantent psalmos.* Domine ne in ira tua. Ad te domine leuaui. Miserere mei deus. Deus in adiutorium. De profundis clamaui.

9-12) = PRG 143: 16, 15, 17, 18

13) fol. 171v: *Ad pectus.* Vnguo pectus tuum de oleo sancto; ut hac unctione protectus fortiter certare ualeas contra ignita inimicorum iacula. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti (Flor p. 79 [m.v.]; PRG 143: 21 inc. + 19 ex.).

14-19)=PRG 143: 20, 19, 23-25, 3

20)* fol. 173r: *R.* Domine ne in ira.

21) fol. 173r-v: *Oratio.* /173v/ Omnipotens deus, qui per os apostoli tui iacobi, ... sentiat. per christum (Flor p. 80; Martène 1.887).

22)* fol. 173v: *R.* Deus qui sedes.

23) = PRG 143: 50

24) fol. 174r: *R.* Exurge domine.

25) fol. 174r-v: *Oratio.* Miserere nobis domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus; qui non uis miseria consumere miseros, sed misericorditer liberare festinas. nec per uindictam absorbere peccatores, sed expiare intendis. sentiat quesumus domine famulus tuus manum tuam medentem, potius quam percutientem. fouentem magisquam ferientem. et sic presentia adhibe flagella; ut arceas supplicia sempiterna. paterna pietate corripias et non abicias. eruidas et non confundas. tribue peccatori propitius indulgentiam, /174v/ et aegroto integerrimam sanitatem. per christum.

26) fol. 174v: *R.* A dextris est michi dominus.

¹⁰⁹ Fols. 167r-169r (36: 2): Mary, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, Stephen, Lawrence, Maurice and companions, Silvester, Martin, Benedict, Felicitas, Perpetua, and Lucy are invoked in the litany.

- 27) = PRG 143: 36
- 28) fol. 174v: *R. Notas michi fecisti domine.*
- 29) fols. 174v-175r: *Oratio. Inclina domine quesumus aures tuae pietatis ... futurae. per christum dominum* (Flor p. 85 [m.v.]. Cf. PR12 51b [L]: 24).
- 30) fol. 175r: *R. Custodi me domine ut pupilli.*
- 31) = PRG 139: 19
- 32) fol. 175r: *R. Diligam te domine.*
- 33) = PRG 139: 12
- 34) fol. 175v: *R. Ad te domine leuaui.*
- 35) = PRG 139: 24
- 36) fol. 175v: *R. Adiutor meus esto deus.*
- 37) fols. 175v-176r: *Oratio. Domine deus iesu christe saluator noster; qui temetipsum ad exhaustienda /176r/ multorum peccata, singulare sacrificium deo patri in ara crucis optulisti; concede huic infirmo famulo tuo misericordiam postulantibus; ut mortificatis uitiis et uoluptatibus et omnibus desideriis carnis, ualeat amplius pie, caste, sobrie, sincere, et humiliter uiuere sub leui iugo pacatissimae et quietissimae seruitutis. ut per innocentiam et rectitudinem bona actionis, fieri mereatur hostia uiua in altare fidei concremandam in odorem suauitatis, ad laudem et gloriam dei patris, et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.*
- 38) fol. 176r-v: *Absolutio. Dominus iesus christus qui dixit discipulis suis; /176v/ quecumque ligaueritis ... ad regna caelorum. qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto uiuit* (Flor pp. 77-78; Martène 1.895, 936, 946, 948, 949, 963).
- 39) = PR12 49b (L): 20
- 40) fol. 177r: *Alia. Absoluimus te uice sancti petri apostoli. cuius uice nobis indignis collata est potestas ligandi atque soluendi. ipse te absolutus ab omni uinculo delictorum. et quantum nostrae fragilitati permittitur; sis absolutus ante tribunal domini nostri iesu christi. ut uitam merearis habere sempiternam. per eundem (inc.: PRCur 46: 18).*
- Ordo 37** (fols. 177r-194r): *Incipit ordo, qualiter agatur in /177v/ exequiis defunctorum. In primis ... partem ei primate resurrectionis annue. per dominum.*
- 1) fol. 177v: *In primis quando anima in exitus agone uisa fuerit laborare; conueniant fratres; et pro requie eius decantent VII^m psalmos* (cf. PR12 51b [L]: 1).
- 2)¹¹⁰ = PRG 149: 2 (m.v.)
- 3) fols. 179r-180v: *Oratio quandiu spirat aliquid. Libera domine animam serui tui ... in bonis caelestibus. /180v/ per dominum nostrum iesum christum filium tuum qui uenterus est* (Odermatt 216 [m.v.]).

¹¹⁰ Fols. 177v-179r (37: 2): Mary, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and the general categories of saints, angels, and religious are invoked in the litany.

4) fol. 180v: *Mox ut anima egressa fuerit a corpore; incipient omnes.*

5)* = PRG 149: 5

6) 10 (rubr. var.)

7) 28 (m.v.)

8-9) 52-53

10) fol. 181r-v: *Oratio. Suscipe domine animam ... non est secundum opera tua. qui uenturus est* (Va 1602; Ge 2903; Odermatt 218).

11) fol. 181v: *R. Qui lazaram* (Odermatt 230).

12) = PRG 149: 9 ... Odermatt 220

13) fol. 182r-v: *Alia. Omnipotens sempiterne deus, suscipe quesumus animam serui tui reuertentem ad te. assit ei angelus testamenti tui michahel. libera eam domine de principibus tenebrarum et de locis paenarum. nec iam ullis primae nativitatis confundatur erroribus. cognoscatur a tuis. et misericordiae /182v/ tuae bonitate in sinum transferatur abrahæ. per* (Va 1621 [var.]; Flor, p. 91 [inc. var.]. Cf. PRG 149: 47).¹¹¹

14) = PRG 149: 82 (m.v.) ... Odermatt 381 ... Sp 1405

15) fols. 182v-183r: *Alia. dum exiuitur. Deus qui iustis supplicationibus semper presto es; qui pia uota dignaris intueri; qui uniuersorum es conditor et redemptor; misericordia peccatorum, et tuorum beatitudo sanctorum. da famulo tuo, illo, cuius depositionis officia humanitatis exhibemus, cum sanctis et electis tuis beati munera portionem. eumque a corporeis nexibus absolutum, in prima resurrectione facias presen/183r/tari. per resurgentem a mortuis dominum nostrum iesum christum* (cf. PRG 149: 67).¹¹²

16) = PRG 149: 20

17) 23 ... Odermatt 263

18) fol. 184r: *Cum positum fuerit corpus in feretro* (cf. PRG 149: 19; Odermatt 221).

19) = PRG 149: 21

20) fol. 184r: *Tunc efferatur ad aecclesiam cum. antiphona. Tu iussisti nasci me domine* (var.: Odermatt 222).¹¹³

21) = PRG 149: 24 (ps. var.) ... Odermatt 223

22) 81 314

23-28) fol. 184v: *Deinde uigilia. antiphona ad inuitatorium. Regem cui omnia uiuunt. A. Dirige. Ps. Verba mea. A. Conuertere. Ps. Domine ne in ira. A. Ne quando. Ps. Domine deus meus in te sperauit. V. Requiem aeternam. (24) Lectio.*

¹¹¹ For the Gallican prayer for the dead, see Damien Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 63; Münster, 1978), pp. 323-27.

¹¹² See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 283-85.

¹¹³ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 132-33.

Parce michi domine. (25) *R.* Credo quod redemptor. (26) *Lectio.* Tedet animam. (27) *R.* Qui lazarum. (28) *Lectio.* Manus tuae (PRG 149: 30, 32, 31, 33, 32, 33; Odermatt 226-231).

29) fol. 184v: *R.* Domine secundum actum (Odermatt 242).

30-31) fol. 184v: *Vigilia. II. antiphona.* In loco pascuae. *Ps.* Dominus regit me. *A.* Delicta iuuentutis. *Ps.* Ad te domine leuaui. *A.* Credo uidere. *Ps.* Dominus illuminatio. *V.* Anima mea turbata est ualde. (31) *Lectio.* Responde michi (PRG 149: 34-35; Odermatt 233 [var.]-234).

32-33) fol. 184v: *R.* Subuenite sancti dei. (33) *Lectio.* Homo natus (Odermatt 228, 236).

34-36) fol. 185r: *A.* Heu michi domine. (35) *Lectio.* Quis michi tribuat? (36) *R.* Ne recorderis (PRG 149: 35-37; Odermatt 237-239).

37) fol. 185r: *Vigilia III. Antiphona.* Complaceat tibi domine. *Ps.* Expectans. *A.* Sana domine. *Ps.* Beatus qui intelligit. *A.* Situit anima. *Ps.* Sicut ceruus. *V.* Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes (cf. PRG 149: 38; Odermatt 240).

38-40) fol. 185r: *Lectio.* Spiritus meus attenuabitur. (39) *R.* Peccante me cotidie. (40) *Lectio.* Pelli meae consumptis (PRG 149: 36, —; Odermatt 241, —, 243).

41-42) fol. 185r: *R.* Redemptor meus uiuit. (42) *Lectio.* Vir fortissimus iuda.

43-44) fol. 185r: *R.* Libera me deus de uiis. (44) *R.* Libera me domine de morte (PRG 149: 40-41; Odermatt 246-247).

45) = PRG 149: 42 (m.v.) ... Odermatt 270 (m.v.)

46) fol. 185r: *Antiphona in euangelio.* Absolute domine animam eius ab omni.

47) = PRG 149: 43 (m.v.) ... Odermatt 270 (m.v.)

48) fol. 185r: *Antiphona in euangelio.* Lux perpetua luceat eidem.

49) fol. 185v: *Tunc si prior uoluerit, uesperam indirectam psallant priusquam de aeccllesia exeant.*

50) fol. 185v: *In die uero sepulturae post celebrationem missarum; paratis omnibus quae necessaria sunt; sacerdos iuxta feretrum stans inponat R.*

51-55)* = PRG 149: 36, 55, 59, 35, 50

56)* 41 (var.) ... Odermatt 247 (var.)

57) fol. 188r: *Sacerdos interim cum aqua et incenso feretrum consignet. Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. Pater noster. Non intres in iudicium. A porta inferi. Requiem* (cf. PRG 149: 84; Odermatt 269).

58) fol. 188r: *Oratio.* Tibi domine commendamus animam famuli tui; ... absterge. per (Odermatt 269).¹¹⁴

59) fol. 188r: *Post haec feretrum leuatur ut ad tumulum deferatur; et si innocens estimatur; haec antiphona imponatur.* Laeto animo pergo ad te (cf. PRG 149: 56; PR12 51b [L]: 24; ant.: PRG 149: 78; Odermatt 266).

¹¹⁴ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 355-58.

- 60) = PRG 149: 61 ... Odermatt 259
 61) fol. 188r-v: *Cum feretrum ponitur ante tumulum. /188v/ dicit. Dominus uobiscum.*
 62) = PRG 149: 65 ... PR12 51a (B): 6
 63) fol. 188v: *A. Haec requies mea. Ps. Memento domine dauid.*¹¹⁵
 64) fol. 188v: *Interim sacerdos, incensum ponens et aqua sepulchrum conspergens, dicit hanc orationem.*
 65) = PRG 149: 60 ... Odermatt 258
 66) 64 (ps., rubr. var.). 261
 67) 62 260
 68) 66 (rubr. var.) 257
 69) 68 (var.) 221
 70) fol. 190v: *Alia. Deus apud quem omnia morientia uiuunt; ... indulgendo. per christum (Va 1627; Flor p. 92. Cf. PRG 149: 14; PR12 51a [B]: 2).*¹¹⁶
 71) fols. 190v-191r: *Alia. /191r/ Redemptor animarum, deus aeternitatum; ... patiaris. Salvator mundi. qui uenturus (Va 1622. Cf. PRG 149: 74).*¹¹⁷
 72) fol. 191r-v: *Alia. Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus. te supplices deprecamur pro spiritu famuli tui, illius; quem ab huius saeculi uoragine accersiri precepisti; ... regnum consequatur aeternum. per te iesu christe qui uenturus es (inc. var.: PRG 149: 22; PR12 51a [B]: 9; Odermatt 256).*¹¹⁸
 73) = PRG 149: 72 ... Odermatt 264 (m.v.)
 74) fols. 192v-193r: *Alia. Deus cui omnia uiuunt, ... diligentibus te. per. qui uenturus (Flor p. 95. Inc. cf. PRG 149: 14; PR12 51a [B]: 2).*¹¹⁹
 75) fol. 193r-v: *Alia. Deus cui proprium est misereri ... possideat. per (Odermatt 275; W 115).*
 76) fol. 193v: *Alia. Domine deus omnipotens, qui es salus uiuorum ... concedere. per eundem. qui uenturus (Odermatt 224).*
 77)* fols. 193v-194r: *Tunc reuertantur ad aecclesiam, hoc responsorium cantando; sine uersu. Si bona suscepimus de manu domini mala /194r/ autem quare non suscipiamus dominus? dedit dominus abstulit sicut domino placuit ita factum est sit nomen domini benedictum. Cap. Requiem (Cf. Flor p. 97).*¹²⁰
 78) fol. 194r: *Oratio. Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus; pietatem tuam supplices exoramus pro spiritu famuli tui, illius; cuius hodie corpusculum sepulturae traditum est. constitue eum domine in regione uiuorum et in terra*

¹¹⁵ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 236-39.

¹¹⁶ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 88-100.

¹¹⁷ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 327-28.

¹¹⁸ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 264-68.

¹¹⁹ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, pp. 88-100.

¹²⁰ See Sicard, *Liturgie de la mort*, p. 235, for a discussion of the directions for the return to the church: none of the sources cited are, however, similar to *Ordo 37: 77-78*.

uiuentium. Annumera eum inter sanctos et electos tuos; et partem ei primae resurrectionis annue. per dominum.

Ordo 38 (fols. 194v-200v): *Incipit ordo ad sponsum sponsamque benedicendum. Benedictio anuli.* Benedic domine anulum hunc ... longa pietate custodi. per dominum.¹²¹

1-3) = PR12 App. 8 (Burghes. 49 34v-39v): 3-5

4) fol. 195r: *Tunc aqua sancta aspergatur. Postea apprehendat sacerdos pretium et anulum in manu sua; et mittat in manu uiri. Vir autem donet illud sponsae suae ita dicendo. Hoc aurum siue argentum tibi do. et cum hoc anulo te desponso. et de meo corde te honoro. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti* (cf. PR12 App. 8: 6).

5-6) = PR12 App. 8: 7-8

7) fol. 195v: *Ps. Beati omnes qui timent dominum. usque in finem.*

8) = PR12 App. 8: 9 (m.v.: exp. var.)

9-10) 21-22

11) fol. 196r-v: *Oratio. Omnipotens deus; qui primos parentes nostros adam et euam sua uirtute creauit; suaque benedictione et sanctificatione in societate sancta /196v/ copulauit; ipse corda et corpora uestra sanctificet et benedicat. atque in societate et amore uerae dilectionis coniungat. per* (cf. Martène 2.358).

12) = PR12 App. 8: 23

[Missa]

13)* fols. 196v-197r: *Introitus. Cognoui domine quia aequitas ... repellas. Ps. Beati immaculati* (Ben 34, 229v; GR [68]).

14-15) = PRG 253: 5-6 (1 Cor 6: 15-20) ... PR12 37: 2-3

16)* fol. 197v: *Graduale. In deo sperauit ... confitebor illi. V. Ad te domine ... discedas a me* (Ben 34, 87v; GR 348).

17)* fol. 198r: *Alleluia. V. Confitemini domino quoniam ... misericordia eius* (Schlager, G 277).

18) = PRG 253: 7 ... PR12 37: 6 (Mt 19:3-6)

19)* fol. 198v: *Offertorium. Domine exaudi ... perueniat* (Ben 34, 114v; GR [142]).

20-21) = PRG 253: 8-9 ... PR12 37: 8-9

22) fol. 199r: *Antequam dicatur pax domini; dicatur haec oratio super ambos. et sint tecti uno pallio* (cf. PRG 253: 11; PR12 37: 11).

23) = PRG 253: 12 ... PR12 37: 12

24)* fol. 200v: *Communio. Tu domine seruabis ... in aeternum* (Ben 34, 80v; GR 121).

25) = PRG 253: 13 ... PR12 37: 4.

¹²¹ See above p. 365.

Ordo 39 (fols. 201r-208r): Per omnia saecula ... qui tollis peccata mundi.

1-2)* = Ha 3-4

3)¹²² = Ha 5

Var.: (3) cum famulo] cum beatissimo famulo *Ha*; antistite nostro illo. et rege nostro] antistite nostro ill. *Ha*; orthodoxis catholicae et apostolicae] orthodoxis atque catholicae *Ha*

4) fols. 202v-203r: *Pro se ipso*. Michi quoque indignissimo famulo tuo, illi; propitius adesse digneris. /203r/ et ab omnibus me delictorum offenditionibus emundare; et in tuo seruitio conseruare digneris.

5-12) = Ha 6-13

Var.: (5) Memento etiam] Memento *Ha*; Pro quibus tibi offerimus uel qui tibi] qui tibi *Ha*; (6) beatae et gloriosae] gloriosae *Ha*; semperque] semper *Ha*; laurentii. uincentii] laurenti *Ha*; hilarii. martini. hieronimi. ambrosii. augustini. gregorii. ysidori. benedicti. et eorum quorum uel quarum hodie solemnia celebрамus. et omnium] et omnium *Ha*; (7) Infra canonem] *om.* *Ha*; (9) et dedit] dedit *Ha*; (10) memores] memores sumus *Ha*; in caelos] in caelis *Ha*; (11) hostiam. *Hic flecte ceruicem*] hostiam *Ha*; (12) sancti angeli] angeli *Ha*

13-15)¹²³ = Ha 13bis-15

Var.: (13) *Hic recitentur nomina mortuorum*. Memento domine animarum] Memento etiam domine *Ha*; et eorum qui nos] qui nos *Ha*; lucis et refrigerii lucis] refrigerii lucis *corr. ut Ha*; (14) *Subleua paululum uocem*. Nobis] Nobis *Ha*; et stephano] stephano *Ha*; anastasia. eufemia] anastasia *Ha*; admittas] admitte *Ha*

16-18)* = Ha 16-18

19)* = Ha 19

Var.: (19) intercedente pro nobis] intercedente *Ha*; semperque] semper *Ha*; et beato michahele archangelo. et sanctis apostolis tuis. petro. paulo. andrea atque bartholomeo. et beatis confessoribus tuis gregorii atque benedicto cum omnibus sanctis] et beatis apostolis tuis petro et paulo *Ha*

20)* = Ha 20

Var.: peccata mundi] peccata mundi miserere nobis *Ha*.

Ordo 40 (fols. 208v-209v): *Incipit anathematio*. Canonica instituta et sanctorum patrum exempla sequentes; ... et condignam paenitentiam satisfecerint (-rit).

1) = PRG 88; Burchard, lib. 11: 6 (PL 140.859-860); Regino of Prüm, lib. 2: 415 (Wasserschleben 374).

Ordo 41 (fols. 209v-211v): *Reconciliatio excommunicati*. *Cum aliquis anathematisatus ... conscientia proprii episcopi.,*¹²⁴

¹²² Fol. 202r: blank (probably intended for a historiated 'T' of 'Te igitur clementissime pater', which continues on fol. 202v).

¹²³ Fol. 206v (39: 14): agnete. cecilia. agnete. cecilia] agnete. cecilia *corr. per eras.*

¹²⁴ See above p. 365.

1-3) = PRG 91: 1-3

4) fol. 210r-v: *et VII^m psalmos paenitentiales decantent, cum istis precibus. Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. Pater noster. Capitulum.* /210v/ Saluos fac seruos. Mitte eis domine auxilium. Nichil proficiat. Esto eis domine turris fortitudinis. Domine exaudi orationem (cf. PRG 91: 7).

5) =	PRG 91: 10	... PRDur	3.2: 35
6)	8	... PR12	30a (B): 18

7) fol. 211r-v: *Alia. Deus misericors; deus clemens; qui secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum, peccata paenitentium deles; et preteritorum criminum culpas, uenia remissionis euacuas; respice super hunc (hos) famulum (-los) tuum (-os); N; et remissionem sibi (illis) omnium tribue peccatorum. toto corde confessionem poscentem (-tes) deprecatus exaudi. innoua in eo (eis) piissime pater, quicquid diabolica fraude violatum est.* /211v/ *in unitate corporis aeccliae tuae. Miserere domine gemituum eius (eorum). miserere lacrimarum eius (eorum); et non habentem (-tes) fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia, ad sacramentum reconciliationis admitte. per (PR12, pp. 61 [Vat. lat. 7818 165r-v], 65 [Barb. lat. 631 51v]).*

7-8) = PRG 91: 4-5.

Ordo 42 (fols. 212r-216v): *Consecratio uirginis quae in albis paschae uel in epyphania aut in apostolorum natalaciis celebratur. Virginem episcopo offerant ... in quasdam mentes de largi-*

1*-14) = PRG 20: 1-14

15)*(incomplete) = PRG 20: 15 (until p. 43 l. 3).

III. Rear flyleaf (paper)

No foliation or markings.

APPENDIX 1

Additions to the Manuscript

Later additions to the Beneventan text of the Pontifical are listed by ordo and folio with brief descriptions of the hands, whether Beneventan or Gothic, and inks. Marginal or interlinear corrections in the Beneventan hand of the text are not included in this list but rather in the contents themselves with notes.

Fol. 1r

a) fol. 1r (Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink; much faded, largely illegible):¹²⁵ Ego frater Bernardus abbas monasterii sancte Marie <...> beneven-

¹²⁵ Due to the damaged state of the folio, many readings of the transcription have been reconstruc-

tane diocesis tibi uicario reuerendi patris domini Iohannis dei gratia <.....> Archiepiscopi pro parte eius, et eidem domino Archiepiscopo iuro quoniam fidelis ero sibi (tibi)¹²⁶ Ecclesieque Sancte <Beneficent>ane ab <hac> die in antea, omnibusque successoribus suis (tuis) qui <in> uita mea futuri sunt in sede Beneuentane Ecclesie. obediens<que> ero <sibi> (tibi) <et illis> pro posse meo <et> oportunitate. In uitationes suas (tuas) et illorum ad synodum non euitabo <nisi canon>ica excusatione. Nuntios suos (tuos) et illorum, secundum oportunitatem meam adiuuabo et honorabo eundo et redeundo. Omni anno ueniam ad festum beati bartholomei in mense augusti et si uenire non potero per certum nuntium (me) excusabo. Possessiones ad mensam mee (mei Episcopatus) Abbatie pertinentes <....> Iohanni beneuentano Archiepiscopo non uendam nec de nouo infeudabo seu modo aliquo alienabo sed <eas> pro posse meo in bono statu conseruabo ac etiam distractas et alienatas <iniuste ad proprietatem> ipsius monasterii reuocare curabo. Quemammodum hic <scriptum> est sic attendam secundum meam conscientiam <absque fraude> et malo ingenio per deum et hec sancta uerba euangeli.

b) fol. 1r, right margin (l. 9, black ink, eighteenth century): 133.

c) fol. 1r (later addition to lines 20-22 of the writing space; Gothic hand with cursive features, black ink): Ego frater <....> abbas monasterii sancti Petri in piano beneuentane dyocesis Reuerendo patri domino Iohanni Beneuentano archiepiscopo.

d) fol. 1r, lower margin (library stamp): BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE BORGOTTIANI. MACERATA.

Ordo 2

a) fol. 2r, right margin (2: 1; cursive hand, black ink, eighteenth century): Ordo Sancte Romane Ecclesiae.

Ordo 8

a) fol. 10r (8: 4 after 'benedicere dignare', Gothic cursive, black ink, interlin. corr.): hos.

b) fol. 10v, right margin (8: 4 before and after 'gratiam', Gothic, black ink): per ... spiritus sancti.

Ordo 10

a) fol. 12v, left margin (10: 3 at 'calicem uacuum. + De manu'; Gothic text-hand; black and red inks; trimmed at edge): <..>c archidiaconus <..>

ted from the similar oaths of allegiance to the archbishop found on folio 37r-v. Illegible passages are represented between angled brackets by ellipsis dots corresponding to the approximate number of missing characters; adopted and conjectural readings are also given in angled brackets.

¹²⁶ Interlinear additions in black ink to the text of fol. 1r a) are marked with parentheses.

episcopum dicat. <P>ostulat hec sancta mater aecclesia <ue>nerande pater. hos uiros sacris <or>dinibus aptos. auram sibi paterni<ta>te consecrari. Resp. episcopus. <D>icete ut tales paruos introdu<cu>ntur persone. quibus honor dei. <e>cclesie decet augeatur. Resp. <T>antum ad humanum spectat <..>imen; apti et idonei uidentur <diu>inis seruitiis. Resp. episcopus. Deo gratias. <Po>stea fiant letanie per stratis ordinandis. Quibus <fin>itis; ceteri secedentibus archidiaconus uocans <or>dinandos. in subdiaconatum dicat. <..>agimus et uocamus fratrem. N. <ad> titulum sancti. illius. in subdiaconatum. <..> eundem titulum. Quibus acce<de>ntibus; episcopus tribuit patenam <ua>cuam. et calicem ua-cuum. +¹²⁷

b) fol. 12v, left margin (at 10: 4; Gothic hand with cursive features, green-brown ink; trimmed at edge): <Qua>ntum humana fragili<t>as nossce (!) sinit scio <et t>estificor ipsos dignos <ess>e ad huius honus officii (cf. PRG 16: 1 [A]; PR12 9: 3).

c) fol. 13v, left margin (at end of 10: 6; Gothic text-hand; black and red inks): *Tunc episcopus dans ei mappulam dicat. Accipe mappulam tuam. imple ministerium tuum. potest enim deus <..> augeat tibi gratiam. Post hec induatur <..> tunica* (cf. PRCur 9: 6 n. 1 [R]).

Ordo 12

a) fol. 14r, 17r, left margin (12: 1-8, cursive, faded black): θ ... finit.

b) fol. 15r, right margin (at 12: 3; Gothic hand, black ink): Per omnia secula seculorum. Dominus uobiscum. Sursum corda. Gratias a deo domino nostro.

c) fol. 16r, right margin (12: 4 at 'Emitte in eos quesumus domine spiritum sanctum.'; Gothic hand, red ink): *Hic episcopus solus ponat manum super caput diaconi.*

d) fol. 16v, left margin (following 12: 5; Gothic hand, red and black inks): *Item dans ei euangelium dicat. Accipe potestatem legendi euangelium. tam pro uiuis quam et pro defunctis* (cf. PRG 16: 17 [A]; PR12 9: 14).

Ordo 13

a) fol. 17v, left margin (at 13: 1 with brace marking 'Sicut boni operis ... sublimat indignum.'; later cursive hand, black ink): Non.

b) fol. 17v, left margin (at 13: 2 with brace; later cursive hand, black ink): Non (?).

c) fol. 18r, right margin (at 13: 4; Gothic text-hand, red and black inks; trimmed): *tunc episcopus interrogans dicat. E<st iustus?>* Resp. Iustus. Est dignus? Dignus. <.....> Faciat eum deus dignum gratia sua (cf. PRG 16: 22).

¹²⁷ The added ceremonies on fol. 12v are without parallel in the Roman pontificals; they appear to be local adaptations of the prayers and ritual of the ordinations of the higher clergy, deacons and priests (cf. PRDur 1.12: 4).

d) fol. 18r, right margin (at 13: 4 following addition 13: c; Gothic hand, brown ink; written over Beneventan [?] marginalia; trimmed): *Faciat illum deus semper in suo seru<itio> dignum et iustum permanere* (= PRG 16: 22).

e) fol. 18r, right margin (at 13: 4 following addition 13: d; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink; trimmed): *Sunt digni. Resp digni <.....> iusti. Resp iusti <....> faciat* (cf. PRG 16: 22).

f) fol. 18r, lower margin (at 13: 5; Gothic hand, brown ink): + *Vis castitatem. et sobrietatem. humilitatem. et patientiam. cum dei auxilio custodire et docere? Resp. episcopus. Dominus conseruet uos in bona uoluntate. et sancto propos<...> (?)*.¹²⁸

g) fol. 18r-v, left margin (at the beginning and end of 13: 5; black ink): *Incipe hic ... /18v/ ... usque hic.*

h) fol. 18v, left margin (at the end of 13: 5; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): *finit.*

i) fol. 19r, 22v, right margin (at beginning of 13: 8 and 13: 16; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): *Incipit ... /22v/ ... finit.*

j) fol. 19v, interlin. (at the end of 13: 9, ‘in unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti deus’; Gothic text-hand, black ink): *per dominum Sursum corda.*

k) fol. 20v, left margin (13: 10 between ‘indigemus..’ and ‘Da quesumus omnipotens pater’; Gothic text-hand, red ink): *ponat episcopus manum super capita qui consecrantur. et omnes presbiteri qui circum<...>t.*

l) fol. 21r, interlin. (13: 11 at ‘ut sancti spiritus’ and explicit ‘per’; Gothic text-hand, black ink): *per gratiam ... christum dominum nostrum.*

m) fol. 21r, right margin (at 13: 12, keyed to red cross in the left margin; Gothic text-hand, red and black inks; trimmed): *Hic reflectat episcopus ora<rium> ante pectus dicens. Suscipe iugum domini. Iugum <enim> suave est. et honus eius le<ue.> Item. dans ei casu<lam.> Accipe casulam sacer<dotalem> per quam caritas intell<egitur.> Potens est enim deus<u>t au<geat> tibi caritatem. et opus perfec<tum> Qui uiuit (PRG 16: 30-31).*

Post hec dicat episcopus. Ve<ni> spiritus. Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. Pa<ter> Capitula Emitte spiritum tuum et cre<...> Sacerdotes tui induantur i<...> Mitte eis domine auxilium de <...> Domine exaudi. et clam<...> Dominus uobiscum. Oremus (cf. PRDur 1.13: 13).

n) fol. 21v, interlin. (13: 12 at ‘et per obsequium plebi tuae’; Gothic text-hand, black ink): *panem et uinum in.*

o) fol. 22v, left margin (after 13: 16; Gothic text-hand, red and black inks): *hec episcopus commendet se humili<liter> in orationibus eorum. dicens. <...>edite pro me in orationibus <et sac>rificiis uestris. ut dominus <...>eat mei.*

¹²⁸ The additions to 13: 4-5 (c-f) bring them into conformity with the PRG examination (PRG 16: 22) and add a question to the list (13: f).

Ordo 14

- a) fol. 23v, left margin (black ink, erased and illegible, 2 lines): < >.
- b) fol. 23v, left margin (14: 3 at ‘De ipsa aecclesia est, an de alia?'; brown ink): A ; right margin (14: 3 at ‘Quo honore fungitur?'; brown ink): B.¹²⁹
- c) fol. 23v, left margin (14: 3 added after ‘uiginti'; Beneventan; brown ink): quinque.
- d) fol. 24r, right margin (14: 3, keyed between ‘consensu' and ‘elegimus'; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): postulauimus seu.
- e) fol. 24v, upper margin (14: 3, keyed before ‘illum presbiterum nostre aecclesie'; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): fratrem Laurentium de ordine minorum Electum confirmatum in episcopatum Ecclesie Arianesis (!).
- f) fol. 24v, right margin (14: 3, keyed between ‘hanc' and ‘electionem'; Gothic hand, brown ink): postulationem seu.
- g) fol. 25r, interlin. (14: 5, added after ‘uiginti'; corr. Beneventan; brown ink): quinque.
- h) fol. 28r, interlin. (14: 11, at ‘Vis esse subditus huic nostrae sedi, atque obaediens?'; Gothic text-hand, black ink): atque obediens sanctae Beneuentanae aecclesiae. michique et meis successoribus?
- i) fol. 29r:, right margin (14: 11, keyed between ‘neque' and ‘fantasticum'; cursive hand, brown ink; trimmed): fantasmat<...> (?).
- j) fol. 32r, interlin. (14: 17 at ‘significationum species'; Gothic cursive hand, brown ink; added as alternative to Beneventan ‘sp'-ligature): species.
- k) fol. 35r, right margin (at inc. 14: 20, 14: 21, indicating the choice of the latter between a prayer and its alternative; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): non scribatur ... scribatur.
- l) fol. 35r, lower margin (library stamp): Biblioteca Comunale Mozzi-Borgetti. MACERATA.
- m) fol. 35v, left margin (14: 23; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): scribatur.
- n) fol. 36r, right margin (14: 24; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): non.
- o) fol. 36r, right margin (14: 25; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): scribatur.
- p) fol. 36v, left margin (14: 27; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): scribatur.
- q) fol. 36v, lower margin (Gothic hand with cursive features, green-brown ink; trimmed at bottom): Tunc electus dat osculum pontifici et diaconibus omnibus et

¹²⁹ The letters are signs of correction, indicating that the question ‘Quo honore fungitur’ should follow ‘De ipsa aecclesia ... alia’ and not precede it.

tenens eum archipresbiter deportat in presbiterium <....>biteris et tunc canitur alleluia. diffusa est gratia <....> (= PRG 63 App. [A]: 38-39; PR12 10: 30-31).

r) fol. 37r, right margin (14: 28; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink; trimmed): Ego Iohannes abbas <...> sancte Marie di Rocca Ben<euenti> tibi uicario reuerendi patris <...> Beneuentani electi pro parte <...> domino electo. iuro.

s) fol. 37r, right margin (14: 28; Beneventan hand, brown ink; trimmed): Ego frater Robb<... ab>bas monasterii sancte <...> in plano beneuent<ane di>ocesis tibi uicari<o reue>rendi patris domini/ <... ...>ferri beneuentan<.. ...>ti pro parte eius. et eidem electo iuro.

t) fol. 37r, lower and right margins (Gothic hand with cursive features, green-brown ink; trimmed at bottom and, in the continuation, at the right): off. Benedic anima mea domine. Secreta. Suscipe domine munera ... custodias. per. Infra canonem. Hanc igitur ... exequatur d<iesque nostros.> (PRG 63: 52-53, 55; PR12 10: 33-35)

Cum autem uenerit ad <communicandum com>municat episcopus cum c<etetris> episcopis communicat <....>pennam (?) parua dicet (cf. PR12 10: 36).

<... Mes>sis quidem ... mensem suam. Post<com.> Plenum quesumus ... ualeamus. per (PRG 63: 60, 62; PR12 10: 37-38).

u) fol. 37v, upper margin (14: 28, keyed before 'Quemammodum'; Gothic text-hand, faded black ink): Omni anno ueniam ad festum beati bartholomei in mense augusti. et si uenire non potero; per certum nuntium me excusabo.

v) fol. 37v, left margin (14: 28; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink; trimmed): <Posses>siones ad mensam mee <abba>tie pertinentes inconsul<to> Beneuentano archiepiscopo non <u>endam; nec de nouo infeu<da>bo; seu modo aliquo <ali>enabo. Sed eas pro posse <m>eo in bono statu conseruabo; ac etiam distractas et alienatas iniuste; ad proprietatem ipsius monasterii reuocare procurabo (cf. PR12 App. 3; PRDur 1.14: 65).

w) fol. 37v, left margin (14: 28, keyed at 'Quemammodum'; Beneventan hand, black ink; trimmed): <P>ossessiones ad <men>sam mee¹³⁰ abatie pertinen<t>es inconsulto eneuentano archi<e>piscopo non uendam <n>ec de nouo infeudabo seu modo aliquo alienabo <s>ed eas pro pos<s>e meo in bono <s>atu seruao ac etiam distractas et alienatas iniuste ad proprietatem (!) ipsius monasterii¹³¹ reuocare procurabo.,. (cf. PR12 App. 3; PRDur 1.14: 65).

Ordo 16

a) fol. 40v, left margin (16: 4 at 'nec de preterita ... sapientior'; Gothic cursive, faded black ink): Non.

¹³⁰ mei Episcopatus add. alia manu interlin.

¹³¹ Episcopatus add. alia manu interlin.

b) fol. 41v, left margin (16: 6 at ‘nec confundant ... predicas?'; Gothic cursive, faded black ink): Non.

Ordo 19

- a) fol. 57v, interlin. (19: 14; early Gothic hand, brown ink): Alleluia. Vox domini super aquas.
- b) fols. 69v-71r, interlin. (19: 51; Beneventan notation added at flexa, brown ink; see Appendix 2).
- c) fol. 80v, left margin, interlin. (19: 76; Beneventan notation, brown ink; trimmed).
- d) fol. 81v, left margin (19: 82; late Caroline script, Beneventan notation, black ink; trimmed): <...> tui domine alleluia alleluia alleluia (continues 19: 82, given in incipit).
- e) fol. 83r, right margin (19: 91, inc.; Gothic hand with cursive features, brown ink): finit (?).

Ordo 22

- a) fol. 92r, left margin (22: 1; faded brown ink): Non.

Ordo 25

- a) fols. 101r, 103r, interlin., left margin (25: 1-4; faded black ink): Incipit ... usque hic.
- b)* fol. 101r, right margin (25: 2; Beneventan script and musical notation, brown ink; trimmed): Venite. Veni<te.> Venite filii aud<ite> me timorem dom<ini> docebo uos (PRG 99: 228; PR12 30a: 7).
- c) fol. 103r, left margin (25: 5; faded black ink): Non.
- d)* fol. 106r, right margin (25: 9; Beneventan script and musical notation, brown ink; trimmed): Venite. Veni<ite.> Venite filii audi<te> me timorem dom<ini> docebo uos (PRG 99: 228; PR12 30a [B]: 7).
- e) fol. 107r, left margin (25: 12; Gothic hand, faded black ink): Sic.
- f) fol. 107r, left margin (25: 13; Gothic hand, faded black ink): Sic.
- g) fol. 107v, left margin (25: 14; Gothic hand, faded black ink): Non.
- h) fols. 107v-108r, left margin (25: 15; Gothic hand, faded black ink): Non ... /108r/ non.
- i) fol. 108r, interlin. (25: 16, in the space at the end of the prayer; Gothic hand, brown ink written over faded black letters): non.

Ordo 26

- a) fol. 109r, left margin (26: 4 at ‘Gloria in excelsis deo'; faded black ink): Incipit.
- b) fol. 109r, left margin (26: 5; faded black ink): Non (?).
- c) fol. 114v, left margin (26: 12, keyed between ‘secreta' and ‘recedens'; Gothic

hand, brown ink; trimmed): <...>oc episcopus ter adorando illud sanctum oleum et.

d) fol. 114v, interlin. (26: 12 at ‘oleum ita’; Gothic hand with cursive features, green-brown ink): pro cathecuminis.

e) fol. 115v, left margin (26: 13, at ‘salutem + „. Per dominum’; Beneventan hand, black ink; trimmed): <qu>am etiam per caelestis rege<nera>tionis natuita<tem i>n sacramento sunt <bapt>ismatis adepturi.; (PRG 99: 279; PR12 30a [B]: 58).

f) fol. 119r, right margin (26: 21, keyed to two hair-strokes between ‘saeculorum’ and ‘Amen’; Gothic hand with cursive features, green-brown ink): Aue sanctum oleum. ter. Aue sanctum crisma. ter.

Ordo 27

a) fol. 119v, upper margin (27: 1; Gothic hand, brown ink): dicat.

b) fol. 120r, interlin. (27: 5, after ‘Perlecto autem euangelio’ and after ‘et dicat’, Gothic hand, brown ink): et cantico ... tribus uicibus Ecce lignum + crucis (cf. PRG 99: 330; PR12 31 [L]: 8).

Ordo 28

a) fol. 131r, right margin (28: 31 at ‘Post haec’; faded black ink): *.

b) fol. 131r, interlin. (28: 31, keyed between ‘ipsi’ and ‘septem’; Beneventan hand, black ink): clerici.

c) fol. 133r, right margin (28: 34; Gothic hand, brown ink): dicat.

d) fol. 134v, left margin (28: 36, keyed after ‘Hic manu tange’; Beneventan hand, brown ink; trimmed): <Hi>c diuidatur aquam <i>n modum crucis.

e) fol. 136r, right margin (28: 36, keyed after ‘tu benignus aspira’; Beneventan hand, brown ink): hic sufflet in aqua in modum crucis.

f) fol. 136v, left margin (28: 36, at ‘Hinc omnium peccatorum maculae’; Beneventan hand, brown ink): sufflet in modum *.

g) fol. 137r, right margin (28: 39; Beneventan hand, brown ink; erased and trimmed): Com <....>ones. et cliri<... ...>tis sanctificationis <...> baptistatis. <....> patris. et spiritus sancti.

h) fol. 138r, interlin. (28: 46, keyed at ‘+ Tunc’; brown ink): Non.

i) fol. 138v, upper margin (28: 46; cursive hand, brown ink): Ordo ad confirmandum pueros.

j) fol. 138v, left margin (28: 48, keyed at ‘eos + spiritum’; Beneventan hand, brown ink): septiformem.

k) fol. 140r, interlin. (28: 57, key at incipit; brown ink): X.

Ordo 29

a) fol. 140v, left margin (29: 1; faded black ink): Non.

Ordo 30

- a) fol. 143r, right margin (30: 2, expl.; Gothic hand, brown ink): finit.
- b) fol. 147r, right margin (30: 9, expl.; Gothic hand, brown ink): finit.

Ordo 31

- a) fol. 147r, left margin (31: 1, inc.; Gothic hand, faded black ink): Non.

Ordo 32

- a) fol. 151r, upper margin (32: 1; cursive hand, brown ink; trimmed): Benedictio Abbatis.
- b) fol. 151v, interlin. (32: 5, after 'Vere Dignum aeterne deus', at canc. 'Respicias quesumus'; Gothic hand, brown ink): et te suppliciter exorare ut respicias super.

Ordo 34

- a) fol. 160r, interlin. (34: 8; brown neumes added at flexa).

Ordo 35

- a) fol. 162v, left margin (35: 1; Gothic hand, faded black ink): Non.

Ordo 37

- a) fol. 182r, interlin. (37: 13 after 'natuitatis'; Beneventan hand, black ink): ignorantiae.
- b) fol. 186r, left margin (37: 52; faded black ink): Non.
- c) fol. 190v, left margin (37: 71; faded black ink): Non.
- d) fol. 191r, left margin (37: 72; faded black ink): Non.
- e) fol. 193r, right margin (37: 75, keyed at 'inimici. + sed iubeas'; Beneventan hand, brown ink; written first interlin., then erased and added in right margin; trimmed): et ne obliuisca~~<~~ris> in finem.

Ordo 39

- a) fol. 202v, upper margin (39: 3, keyed to + before incipit 'per iesum christum filium tuum'; cursive hand, brown ink): Te igitur clementissime pater.

Ordo 42

- a) fol. 212r, upper margin (42: 1; cursive hand, brown ink): Consecratio monalium.

APPENDIX 2*Musical Items with Notation*

Each entry gives the folio of the manuscript, the ordo and paragraph number assigned in the present listing of the contents, brief descriptions of the layout and citation of comparable melodies.

The systems of musical layout are described first by the number of lines provided for the notation: 'interlin.' (interlinear) where notation has been added between the lines; '2 line' where musical texts are written on every second rule and the reserved rule used as a guide for the notation. The use of directs but neither extra rules nor clefs is the assumed practice of the musical scribe in the latter instances, except where otherwise indicated; similarly, Beneventan notation in brown or black ink is assumed unless otherwise stated. Secondly, further information on the relation of notation to text is listed: principally whether the musical item is listed by incipit (inc.), in extenso, or with notation at only the positurae or flexes, as is the case in many blessings and prefaces.

Each listing closes with citation of comparable melodies in print or facsimile. Comparisons were made first with the musical incipits listed in John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); since, however, Bryden and Hughes did not use a pontifical in compiling their index, the Roman Pontifical (ed. 1873) has been cited for antiphons proper to episcopal ceremonies.

Fols. 15r-16v.

12: 4. *Consecratio in sono precis.* 'Adesto quae sumus omnipotens aeterne deus; honorum dator ordinumque distributor': interlin., red neumes, at positurae; also some brown neumes added on fol. 15r.

Fols. 31v-33r.

14: 17. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Bonorum omnium largitor': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fols. 33r-35r.

14: 19. *Hic redeat ad priorem sonum prephationis.* 'Hoc domine copiose in eius caput': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fols. 60v-61r.

19: 27. Antiphons 'Surgite sancti' and 'Cum iocunditate': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: 'Surgite' cf. Wo 226; 'Cum iocunditate' cf. *Pontificale Romanum* pp. 225-26.

Fol. 61r.

19: 28. Antiphon 'Zachee festinans': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: *Pontificale Romanum* pp. 200-201.

Fols. 61v-62r.

19: 30. Antiphon 'In circuitu' and V. 'Lux perpetua': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: Wo 423.

Fols. 63v-64r.

19: 38. Antiphon 'Pax aeterna': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: PMon 240.

Fols. 69v-71r.

19: 51. Preface 'VD. Adesto precibus nostris, adesto sacramentis': interlin., at positurae; also brown neumes added.

Fol. 72r.

19: 57. Antiphon 'Sanctificauit': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: cf. LU 1242, AR [106].

Fols. 73v-74v.

19: 62. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Vt propensiōri cura': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 75r-v.

19: 65. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Maiestatem tuam': interlin. red neumes, at positurae.

Fols. 75v-76r.

19: 66. Or. 'Habitator sanctorum mentium deus': interlin., brown neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 77r-v.

19: 69. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Qui post offendicula et lapsum primi hominis': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 80r.

19: 75. Antiphon 'Ingredimini' with verses 'Sancti dei' and 'Sancti et iusti': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: 'Ingredimini' LU 262¹, 1122¹; 'Sancti dei' Wo 393; 'Sancti et iusti' cf. Wo 112 ('Testimonium ergo perhibebat').

Fol. 80v.

19: 76. Antiphon 'Exultabunt' with the psalm 'Cantate': interlin., brown neumes, inc.; mel.: cf. Wo 423.

Fol. 81r.

19: 79. Antiphon 'Sub altare': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: cf. *Pontificale Romanum* p. 235 (var.).

Fol. 81v.

19: 82. Antiphons 'Circumdate' and 'In uelamento clamabunt': interlin., inc.; mel.: 'Circumdate' non inveni; 'In uelamento' LU 1120, AR [29].

Fol. 87r.

19: 102. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Per quem te': interlin., brown neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 92r.

22: 1. Antiphon 'Responsum': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: GR 430, LU 1359, PMon 135, Syg 47.

Fols. 93v-94v.

22: 6. Preface 'Vere Dignum et iustum est aequum et salutare.; Nos tibi deo omnipotenti rerumque omnium creaturi': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fols. 99v-100v.

24: 6. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Mundi conditor': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 101r.

25: addition a. Antiphon 'Venite': 2 line, marg. add., black ink, in extenso; mel.: GS 94.

Fol. 106r.

25: addition b. Antiphon 'Venite': 2 line, marg. add., black ink, in extenso; mel.: GS 94.

Fols. 114v-115v.

26: 13. Or. 'Deus incrementum': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fols. 116r-117v.

26: 17. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Qui in principio': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 121r.

27: 9. 'Oremus': interlin., red neumes, inc.

Fols. 125r-126r.

28: 2. Litany: 2 line, in extenso; mel.: Ben 34 121r (var.).

Fol. 127v.

28: 17. Canticle 'Benedictus es domine': interlin., red neumes, inc.; mel.: B 71r (In paraseue), see above pp. 363-64.

Fol. 133v-136v.

28: 36. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Qui inuisibili potentia ... *hic muta sonum quasi lectionem legas. ...*': interlin., red and brown neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 149v.

31: 16. Antiphon 'Panis quem ego': interlin., red neumes, no musical setting for the psalm; mel.: GR 362, LU 1043, Ben 34 71v.

Fol. 150v.

31: 19. Antiphon 'Panem de caelo': interlin., red neumes, inc.; mel.: GR 356, GS 156, LU 1035.

Fols. 151v-153r.

32: 5. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Respice quesumus super hunc famulum tuum': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fols. 158r-160r.

34: 7. Preface 'VD aeterne deus. Et te suppliciter exorare; ut respicias super hanc famulam tuam': interlin., red neumes, at positurae.

Fols. 160r-161r.

34: 8. '*... dicens hanc orationem in modum prephationis.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus; affluentem spiritum tuae benedictionis': interlin., red and black neumes, at positurae.

Fol. 173r.

36: 20. Resp. 'Domine ne in ira': interlin., red neumes, inc.; mel.: LR 398.

Fol. 173v.

36: 22. Resp. 'Deus qui sedes': interlin., red neumes, inc.; mel.: LA 81.

Fol. 180v.

37: 5. Resp. 'Subuenite': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: AR [183], GR 107*, LU 1765.

Fol. 185v.

37: 51. Resp. 'Peccante me cotidie': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: AR [171], LA 556, LU 1797.

Fol. 186v.

37: 54. Resp. 'Heu michi': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: AR [165], LU 1791.

Fols. 187r-188r.

37: 56. Resp. 'Libera me domine de morte': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: AR [174], GR 102*, LU 1767, PMon 321.

Fols. 193v-194r.

37: 77. Resp. 'Si bona': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: LA 282, LR 422.

Fols. 196v-197r.

38: 13. Introit 'Cognoui': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: GR [68], GS 226, LU 1239, Ben 34 229v.

Fol. 197v.

38: 16. Gradual 'In deo sperauit': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: GR 348; LU 1025; Ben 34 87v.

Fol. 198r.

38: 17. 'Alleluia. Confitemini': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: Schlager, G 277 (including Ben 34 161v).

Fol. 198v.

38: 19. Off. 'Dominus exaudi': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: GR [142], LU 620, Ben 34 114v.

Fol. 200v.

38: 24. Com. 'Tu domine': 2 line, in extenso; mel.: GR 121, Ben 34 80v.

Fol. 201r-v.

39: 1-2. Preface and 'Sanctus': 2 line, in extenso.

Fol. 207r.

39: 17. 'Per omnia Preceptis salutaribus ...': 2 line, in extenso.

Fol. 207r-v.

39: 18. 'Pater noster': 2 line, in extenso; music: Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 339, p. 146; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 6082, fol. 147r-v; Ottob. lat. 576, fol. 228v; Ben 40, fol. 27v; London, British Library Egerton 3511, fol. 176v; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana C 32, fol. 94v.¹³²

Fol. 208r.

39: 19. 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.': 2 line, explicit.

Fol. 208r.

39: 20. 'Pax domini', 'Agnus dei': 2 line, in extenso.

Fol. 212r.

42: 1. Antiphon 'Ipsi sum desponsata': interlin., inc.; mel.: LA 334, Wo 254.

Fol. 215v.

42: 15. 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum': interlin., inc.

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¹³² See John Boe, 'The Neumes and Pater Noster Chant of Montecassino Codex 426' in *Mönastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)* 1 (Miscellanea cassinese 44; Monte Cassino, 1981), pp. 219-35 at pp. 226-27 for the list of Beneventan sources with the same melody.

FLORES PSALMORUM AND ORATIONES PSALMODICAE IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT

Virginia Brown

LITURGICAL books constitute by far the greatest number of extant specimens of Beneventan script. Yet the texts they contain are still unstudied for the most part, and so any potential clues they might contain to the ever vexing puzzles of dating and origin have never been pursued. A good illustration of the various possibilities to be explored concerns Vatican Library ms. Archivio S. Pietro G 49 (hereafter ms. ASP G 49). This volume was briefly rescued from obscurity in 1914 by E. A. Loew who described it in the 'Hand-list of Beneventan mss.' as 'Meditationes psalm. paenitentialium' of the thirteenth century.¹ Despite the title, which is intriguing because of its very uniqueness among texts written in the Beneventan zone of southern Italy and Dalmatia, the codex seems to have attracted no further scholarly attention.² That this book, of small format and rather homely appearance, is actually of considerable interest because of its contents and palaeography is the subject of the present article.

I

Now consisting of 145 numbered folios of slightly varying sizes (owing to damage or trimming) which measure c. 171 x c. 124 mm. and are arranged in

¹ E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914), p. 357. Cf. F. Cancellieri, *De secretariis veteris basilicae vaticanae liber i 2* (Rome, 1786), p. 921: 'Meditationes super viii Psalmis charactere Longobardico' (no date assigned) and the typed *Inventarium codicum manuscriptorum latinorum Archivii Basilicae S. Petri in Vaticano maxima ex parte e recensione Cosimi Stornajolo* (*Arch. S. Petri, H 99-100*) *depromptum*, vol. 3: F-H (1968), pp. 121-22: 'Saec. xii....Orationes ac deprecationes multiplices...' (Vatican Library, Sala Barberini, no. 411³).

² MS. Archivio S. Pietro G 49 is not listed in P. Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, 5 vols. (*Studi e testi* 251, 253, 260, 267, 270; Vatican City, 1968-72) or M. Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968-1980)* 1 (*Studi e testi* 318; Vatican City, 1986). No other bibliography could be found for inclusion in Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, 2nd enl. edition prepared by V. Brown, 2 vols. (*Sussidi eruditivi* 33-34; Rome, 1980), 2.160. To the best of my knowledge, the manuscript still remains unstudied.

twenty gatherings,³ ms. ASP G 49 comprises two (i-ii) codicologically and three (1-3) textually distinct parts. Part i (fol. 1-61) is ruled in dry point, usually two leaves at a time with hair side uppermost, for 16-17 long lines bounded at either end by double vertical lines. Written space measures 125-135 x 79 mm. Pricking holes for horizontal lines are preserved on fol. 30-33, 45, 47-50, 53-58, while those for one or both sets of vertical bounding lines are visible on every page. Part ii (fol. 62-145) is ruled in lead on every flesh side for fourteen long lines, with a written space of 122 x 77 mm. bounded at either end by double vertical lines. Pricking holes for horizontal lines can be seen on fol. 73-76, 80-85, 87, 98-113, 130, 131, and those for one or both sets of vertical bounding lines are found on every leaf. Fols. 89 and 96, 92 and 93, 100-103 seem to have been originally ruled for another text which required a greater number of lines. The parchment of fol. 1-61 and 138-145 is moderately thick and slightly rougher on the hair side; that of fol. 62-137 is noticeably thinner and smoother on the hair side. Purple stains on all folios indicate that the entire manuscript was subjected to harsh conditions at some point after copying; in addition, the edge of the upper right-hand corner of fol. 1-61 has been torn away.

Adding to the variegated appearance is the fact that three scribes were at work, each using a different color of ink and each contributing a separate text:

(1) fol. 2r-61v (brown ink with traces of black): 'Meditationes psalm. paenitentialium' (the title hitherto applied to the entire codex). Fol. 1r-v is blank.

(2) fol. 62r-137v (varying shades of brown ink which seems almost black on the hair side of some leaves): Prudentius ep. Trecensis, *Flores psalmorum*, followed by a litany of the saints and prayers. Fols. 77r-79v and 87r-v have been almost wholly erased (for the few words which can still be read see p. 451 below).

(3) fol. 138v-145r (black ink): Litania de uita Christi etc. Fol. 138r has also been well erased, but, at the very top of the folio (cropped), 'Flores psalmorum' (in a late non-Beneventan hand) is barely visible; below this, in black ink, are three minims ('in'? 'm'?). Then follow three lines of mostly erased and only partially

³ A modern hand has entered in pencil the arabic number of each folio in the right-hand corner below the text. No traces of an earlier numbering remain, and there are no fly-leaves. The gathering scheme is $1^2 + 2\text{-}5^8 + 6^7 + 7^8 + 8^2 + 9^{11} + 10^8 + 11^7 + 12^8 + 13^3 + 14^{10} + 15\text{-}20^8$. The following lacunae and irregularities should be noted: only a stub remains of the conjugate leaf of fol. 1; fol. 4 and 7 (second quire) are single leaves which have been tipped in (with no loss of text); fol. 40 (sixth quire) is a single leaf sewn to fol. 39 and the disappearance of its conjugate has entailed a loss of text between the present folos. 33v and 34r; folos. 59-61 (ninth quire) are three single leaves sewn to fol. 58, the last leaf of a normal quaternion, and the disappearance of their conjugates has entailed a loss of text between the present folos. 50v and 41r (folos. 59-61, 49-50 originally constituted a quaternion); fol. 73 (eleventh quire) is a single leaf sewn to fol. 72 and the disappearance of its conjugate has entailed a loss of text between the present folos. 73v and 74r; fol. 85 (thirteenth quire) is a single leaf which has been tipped in (with no loss of text); folos. 100 and 103 (fifteenth quire) are single leaves which have been tipped in (with no loss of text).

decipherable tiny non-Beneventan script recording (*ut vid.*) various women's names in connection with undetermined transactions (l. 1 'De (?) carina (?)...', l. 2 'De dña unam nigram...').

The textual order in each of the first two works is not consecutive. When the manuscript was rebound in its present cover of wooden boards, with worn brown leather covering the spine and a small portion of the front and back boards (only half of the back board survives), presumably at this time the order of the gatherings was exactly reversed.⁴ With the assistance of the catchwords⁵ as well as textual evidence, it is possible to restore the correct order thus:

- | | |
|-----------|---------|
| (1) fols. | 51-61 |
| | 49-50 |
| | 41-48 |
| | 34-40 |
| | 26-33 |
| | 18-25 |
| | 10-17 |
| | 2-9 |
| (2) fols. | 130-137 |
| | 122-129 |
| | 114-121 |
| | 106-113 |
| | 98-105 |
| | 88-97 |
| | 85-87 |
| | 77-84 |
| | 70-76 |
| | 62-69. |

The scribe of fols. 2r-61v employs a type of Beneventan that is neither particularly calligraphic nor decidedly idiosyncratic. Minims exhibit the lozenge terminations of Cassinese manuscripts, but the letters sometimes have a roundish

⁴ The binding is reinforced by four strips in non-Beneventan writing. The first, third and fourth strips come from a calendar in Gothic script; the third and fourth strips preserve some of the feasts for 21-31 December ('Thome apostoli', 'Gregorii Spo', 'Vigilia', 'Natale domini', 'Stephani proth', 'Iohannis euangeliste', 'Siluestri pape'), while the only words on the first strip are 'et Pauli' (recto?) and 'Vigilia' (verso?) (= the feast of SS. John and Paul on 26 June and the Vigil of St. James on 27 July?). The second strip comes from a different manuscript (unidentified text which is legible on only one side).

⁵ These catchwords, which were used by the first scribe only, are placed parallel to the text in the lower right-hand corner of the last verso of the quire (fols. 17v 'cie tua', 25v 'et coeterus', 33v 'nobis', 40v traces remaining of 'non decidam', 48v 'stodia', 58v 'porridge').

cast; a similar combination is found in manuscripts from Campania and the Abruzzi. All obligatory ligatures are formed according to the usual rules. Final *r* is sometimes short, sometimes slightly long. Abbreviations include *aīa*, *aiabus*, *ōmīs*, *omībus*, *ōmīps*, and the 2-shaped sign over *o* in words like *corpus* and *corde*. The point and the point surmounted by an oblique line signal respectively final and medial stops in a declarative sentence.⁶ There are a fair number of examples of a 2-shaped sign over the interrogative word (e.g., fols. 2v14, 3v11, 15v6) without an answering final interrogation-mark. However, this final sign (shaped like our own question-mark) does appear occasionally, as on fols. 3r7, 25r9-10 and 36v4. Hyphens are not infrequent, and most of them seem to have been inserted by the original scribe (fols. 2v3-4, 3v5, 7v8, 13r17, 22v16, 27r16, 46r14-15, 54r16, 58v14 and elsewhere). Acute accent marks, seemingly also original, are sometimes placed over vowels, e.g., fols. 5v6 ‘orantem’, 21r10 ‘fide’, 21r11 ‘dedisti’, 45r8 ‘uis’. Two consecutive *i*’s are occasionally dotted (fols. 14v8 ‘angustiis’, 40r8 ‘piis’, 40v5 ‘iudicii’, 43v6 ‘iudicii’).

Fols. 62r-137v are copied in a fairly expert ‘Bari-type’. Letters sometimes lean slightly to the left, and they exhibit the features typical of this regional variety of Beneventan (tall *e*, short final *f*, *r* and *s*, *fi* ligature resting on the base line, regular use of broken-back *c*, absence of lozenge strokes) except for the 3-shaped sign designating the omission of final *m*.⁷ Abbreviations are rather diverse and numerous: *aīas*; various forms of *omnis* (*ōmīs*, *ōmē*, *ōmī*, *ōīa*, *ōīum* and *ōmīum*, *omībus* but *ōībus* at the end of the line); *poplīm*; use of the superscript 2-sign to signify *r* (‘cordis’) and -*er-* (‘generis’, ‘redimere’). A simple point indicates medial and final stops, with the comma surmounted by two points being used sometimes at the end of a psalm verse and also on fol. 87r at the conclusion of the *Flores psalmorum*. Hyphens and initial or final interrogation-signs are totally lacking.

Still another kind of Beneventan is found on fols. 138v-145r. The hand in this instance writes a curious script with both rightward and leftward slant and heavy approach stroke which is easily the least calligraphic of the three varieties in the codex. Abbreviations consist of the Nomina Sacra, both systems of contraction of *omnis*, and the superscript 2-sign for *r* and -*er-*. The simple point denotes medial and final stops. Hyphens (added by the scribe himself) are seen often, e.g., on fols. 141r3 and 6, 141v7, 9 and 10, 142r6 and 10, 143v1 and 13, 144v10. There are no interrogation-marks of any kind.

Illumination employed for each work is quite simple. On fols. 2r-61v, slightly larger red letters with dots and occasionally some of the characteristic Beneventan

⁶ An exception is seen at fols. 9v17 and 27v5 where the final stop is a sinuous comma with a point on either side.

⁷ For a list of Bari-type characteristics cf. Loew, *The Beneventan Script* 1.150. ms. ASP G 49, however, does not appear in his list of Bari-type codices (pp. 151-52, 341-43).

protuberances mark the beginning of a psalm verse or prayer. Heads and bodies of fantastic dogs colored in green, red and white stripes form the initial broken-back *C*, approximately four lines high, of the prayer (no. 95) on fol. 130v which precedes the usual beginning of the *Flores psalmorum* and is reproduced in our pl. 3. The initial letter of the first 'flos' (fol. 131r) consists of a green diamond through which runs red and light tan vinestem terminating at the top in a fantastic bird's head of red and light tan. This color combination of green, red and light tan is used throughout for letters beginning each 'flos'; such letters are of varying sizes, with some displaying flourishes, protuberances and black dots and others consisting of human bodies or heads (fols. 100r, 105r, 110r, 111r, 124v). Decorated initials on fols. 138v (*Q*), 142v (*D*) and 143v (*L*) are written in thick black strokes infilled with varying shades of red and purple and embellished with semi-floral motifs (see pl. 4).

Any one wishing to challenge Loew's dating of a Beneventan manuscript is always well advised to do so on the sure footing of historical fact or on the strong probability of significant textual evidence. As will shortly become clear, no such guidelines result from this study of ms. ASP G 49. I venture, however, the suggestion that his thirteenth-century date for the codex was prompted to some extent by its general 'un-Cassinese' and sometimes uncigraphic appearance which is not improved by the simple, often crude illumination. Instead I would propose that part 1 (fols. 2r-61v) is to be assigned to saec. XII ex., part 2 (fols. 62r-137v) to saec. XII/XIII, and part 3 (fols. 138v-145r) to perhaps a slightly later period. This modification of Loew's date is based: (a) on the belief that all three parts of ms. ASP G 49 were intended for private devotion and the attendant supposition that simplicity of writing and decoration does not always imply the 'period of decline' (i.e., thirteenth century); (b) on the palaeographical data furnished by ms. ASP G 49 which seems to me to suggest dates in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

There are no external indications of ownership or provenance added by later hands. How the codex came to its present location is unknown.⁸

II

The unifying element of ms. ASP G 49, otherwise so palaeographically and codicologically heterogeneous, is to be found in its textual content. This may be

⁸ Ms. ASP G 49 does not figure in the inventory of manuscripts belonging to Cardinal Giordano Orsini (d. 1438) and bequeathed by him to the chapter of the Basilica S. Pietro, but it is listed in the 'Index librorum MSS. Archivii Basilicae s. Petri a cl. v. Luca Holstenio digestus'; cf. Cancellieri, *De secretariis* (n. 1 above), p. 921. There is no definitive study of the manuscripts in this *fondo*; for more information see G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo XVI... (Studi e testi 75; Vatican City, 1938)*, pp. 144-68 ('Per la storia dei codici di s. Pietro in Vaticano nei secoli XV e XVI') (ms. ASP G 49, however, is not mentioned).

generally described as ‘psalmodic’: parts 1 and 2 obviously concern the Psalms; the litany in part 3 is a logical accompaniment to the preceding *Flores psalmorum* of part 2. All three parts contain texts worthy of note.

A. ‘Meditationes psalm. paenitentialium’

They begin, without a title, on fol. 51r with several words from Ps 6:2, the first Penitential Psalm, written quite small in lemmatic fashion and followed by a prayer in larger script (pl. 1). This prayer takes as its focus one or more words of the verse, which may be repeated several times, so that the prayer does constitute a kind of ‘Meditatio’. The first person singular is consistently used, and the emphasis is on repentance for sin and trust in divine mercy. Then Ps 6:3 is treated in the same way and so forth for the remainder of the psalm, and also for Pss 31, 37, 50, 101, the next four Penitential Psalms. A verse is sometimes skipped here and there,⁹ but usually every verse of the psalm is given, albeit in an abbreviated form. Pss 129 and 142, the last two of the traditional Seven Penitential Psalms, do not appear. Instead, on fol. 29r, Ps 101:29 is followed by Ps 122:1. The text of all six psalms so glossed is that of the *Psalterium Romanum*. These ‘Meditationes’ conclude on fol. 32r, after Ps 122:4 and accompanying prayer, with the usual prayer for divine acceptance of the recitation of the psalter (no. 83 below). Various prayers to the Trinity and its individual Persons, Mary, the angels and saints fill the remaining folios of part 1.

Certainly the combination of psalms and prayers is not novel. It is well known that psalters copied between the eighth and thirteenth centuries sometimes contain a prayer or collect after each psalm and that these prayers derive from older sources.¹⁰ There are also examples of prayers at the end of each Penitential Psalm recited as a group.¹¹ What is unusual is the accompaniment of practically *every* verse of the Penitential Psalm with a prayer. MS. ASP G 49 may be the most complete witness presently located to such a phenomenon. The prayers which it contains for Ps 50 are also found, with the title ‘Incipit oratio psalmodica ad deum

⁹ There is no prayer for Pss 6:10, 37:10, 101:6, 101:8 and 101:25 even though the text follows consecutively in these instances. The lost folios mentioned in n. 3 above presumably contained the conclusion of the prayers for Pss 37:12 and 50:17 as well as the prayers now missing entirely for Pss 37:13-15 and 50:18.

¹⁰ L. Brou-A. Wilmart, *The Psalter Collects from v-vith Century Sources (Three Series)* (Henry Bradshaw Society 83; London, 1949).

¹¹ Cf., e.g., *Officia per ferias, seu Psalmi secundum dies hebdomadae singulos quibus in ecclesia cantantur, dispositi, cum orationibus, hymnis, confessionibus et litaniiis* (Feria II) (PL 101.526A-532A, from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1153, saec. IX, provenance Saint-Denis) and P. Salmon, *Analecta liturgica. Extraits des manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Contribution à l'histoire de la prière chrétienne* (Studi e testi 273; Vatican City, 1974), pp. 133-34 (from Vatican Library Vat. lat. 84, saec. XI, provenance Nonantola).

quotidie tota mente pro delictis canenda', in Vatican Library ms. Chigi D VI 79, fols. 197r-204v (saec. xi/xii, copied at Subiaco by a scribe writing 'minuscola romanesca') and Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 442, pp. 286-301 (saec. xi ex., a Beneventan product of Monte Cassino).¹² Both the Chigi and Monte Cassino witnesses do not exhibit any of the other penitential psalms with accompanying prayers. Moreover, the prayers after the conclusion of Ps 50 are entirely different in both instances from those which follow Ps 122 in ms. ASP G 49.¹³

Why this codex should preserve a much more complete text of the 'Meditationes' is as much of a puzzle as the authorship and sources of the 'Meditationes' themselves. The latter questions also cannot be answered to any degree of satisfaction, for the three manuscripts now known all present the work as anonymous. Possibly worth noting is the Benedictine origin of two of the manuscripts (Chigi D VI 79 and Monte Cassino 442) and their nearly contemporary date. It has proven very difficult to find parallel texts of these prayers. Indeed, the only such parallels to be located concern the prayers (nos. 33 and 51 below) which follow Ps 50:3 and Ps 50:21; the same texts also appear in, respectively, the *Meditatio super Miserere* sometimes ascribed to Anselm of Canterbury¹⁴ and a Carolingian book of prayers. In strong contrast are those prayers (nos. 84-87, 92-94) given after the conclusion of the 'Meditationes' for which parallels can easily be found in earlier Beneventan and non-Beneventan sources.

Naturally, additional witnesses to the 'Meditationes' and succeeding prayers may emerge. In order to facilitate discovery of other manuscripts, the prayers in ms. ASP G 49, fols. 2r-61v are presented below, with parallels from Beneventan as well as non-Beneventan sources. The full text is given of the prayers which seem to be still unpublished¹⁵ or to vary considerably from published versions or contain

¹² For the origin and palaeography of ms. Chigi D VI 79 see P. Supino Martini, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)* (Biblioteca di Scrittura e civiltà 1; Alessandria, 1987), pp. 177-79 and pl. 41 (fol. 25r). The single scribe who copied this codex also wrote Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 420 ('Breviarium monasticum'), which came from Subiaco to its present location in the fourteenth century via the monastery of S. Luca di Guarino (*ibid.*, pp. 179-80 and pl. 42 [p. 207]). Monte Cassino 442 is a composite manuscript, entirely in Beneventan, whose components were copied at various times during the eleventh century; cf. M. Inguanez, *Codicum casinensis manuscriptorum catalogus 3* (Monte Cassino, 1940-41), pp. 57-63.

¹³ For the contents of ms. Chigi D VI 79 and incipits of the prayers accompanying Ps 50 cf. Salmon, *Analecta liturgica*, pp. 174-75 (nos. 488-507). Most of the preceding folios are occupied by the Psalterium Romanum and its prefaces and prologues (fols. 33r-173r), followed (fols. 173r-187r) by Canticles from the Old and New Testaments and other prayers.

¹⁴ Most, but not all, of the text of no. 33 is found in *Meditatio super Miserere 5* (PL 158.823): 'Non peto secundum meritum meum, vel secundum justitiam tuam vel meam, sive secundum opera mea, quibus ego miser deviavi a te; sed secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.' For the various attributions of the *Meditatio super Miserere* see A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin. Études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1932; rpt. 1971), pp. 200-201.

¹⁵ This latter category, of course, embraces most of the prayers glossing Pss 6, 31, 37, 50, 101

possible localizing clues (names of saints etc.). Punctuation and capitalization follow modern conventions, and orthography is that of MS. ASP G 49 (*e* with cedilla has been rendered as *ae*). As is usual in such texts, there are many instances of faulty syntax. These have generally been left uncorrected, with (*sic*) following particularly questionable words. Only significant scribal corrections have been noted and the few editorial interventions that have been made are enclosed in angle brackets (for additions) or parentheses (for comments). Titles are indicated by a different type font ('small capitals') which designates also the psalm verses of the 'Meditationes'.

(Beneventan sources)

- B 211 = Vatican Library Borg. lat. 211 (a. 1094-1105, copied at Monte Cassino).
- MC 442 = Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 442, pp. 161-333 (saec. xi ex., copied at Monte Cassino).
- R 334 = Vatican Library Reg. lat. 334, fols. 1r-56r (s. xii, written for the use of S. Domenico, Sora).
- V 4928 = Vatican Library Vat. lat. 4928 (saec. xii in., written for the use of S. Sofia, Benevento).

(non-Beneventan sources)

Salmon = P. Salmon, *Analecta liturgica. Extraits des manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Contribution à l'histoire de la prière chrétienne* (Studi e testi 273; Vatican City, 1974), pp. 127-79 (prayers, nos. 1-563).

Turner = D. H. Turner, 'The Prayer-Book of Archbishop Arnulph II of Milan', *Revue bénédictine* 70 (1960) 360-92.

Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels* = A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1932; rpt. 1971).

Wilmart, 'Bury Psalter' = 'The Prayers of the Bury Psalter', *The Downside Review* 48 (1930) 198-216.

Wilmart, 'Gualbert' = A. Wilmart, 'Le manuel de prières de saint Jean Gualbert', *Revue bénédictine* 48 (1936) 259-99.

Wilmart, *Precum libelli* = A. Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome, 1940).

and 122. The prayers which accompany Ps 50 were published in full from Monte Cassino 442 by E. Gattola, *Historia abbatiae cassinensis* 2 (Venice, 1733), pp. 763-65, and their incipits are listed by Salmon, *Analecta liturgica*, pp. 174-75 (cf. n. 13 above). Gattola's transcription, however, may not be generally available, and so these texts (nos. 33-52 below) are given here in their entirety for the sake of convenience.

- 1 (f. 51r) DOMINE NE IN IRA TUA ARGUAS ME (Ps 6:2). Domine non in futuro sed modo me precipie emundare dum in isto seculo sum ut in die iudicii non in ira et in furore tuo me arguas quando dicturus es peccatoribus 'Esuriui et non dedistis mihi manducare, sitiui et non dedistis michi potum' et reliqua que dominus Iesus Christus in euangelio suis predixit discipulis. Propterea metuo quia dies ire, dies illa, dies calamitatis et miserie, dies magna et amara ualde.
- 2 MISERERE MIHI DOMINE QUONIAM INFIRMUS (Ps 6:3). (f. 51v) O misericordissime domine miserere calamitatis et miserie mee quia peccando ualde infirmus sum; tu sana me per misericordiam tuam. Cognosco infirmitatem meam peruenisse usque ad interiora cordis mei et corpus meum stare minime posse eo quod mea ossa contracta sunt omnia, et cognosco me miserum (-a.s.s.) in mortis baratro esse precipitatum. Propterea deprecor ne tardes mihi dare auxilium.
- 3 ET TU DOMINE USQUEQUO CONUERTERE (Ps 6:4-5). Precor piissime domine clementiam tuam ne longo tempore pro(f. 52r)trahas me, sed cito audi precem meam. Conuerte me domine ad te et conuertar quia scio te dixisse 'Nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me'. Ideo abstrahe et libera animam meam a supplicio aeterno non meis meritis sed propter tuam misericordiam in qua, dum quisque firmiter sperat, eius ueniam obtinebit.
- 4 QUIA NON EST IN MORTE QUI MEMOR SIT TUI (Ps 6:6). Scio me mortuum esse in peccatis, ideoque te domine laudare non ualeo eo quod non est munda laus in ore peccatoris. Quapropter posco te o misericordissime ut, dum in hac uita sum, concedas (f. 52v) mihi ueram peccatorum confessionem quia scio post mortem non restat nisi sola bonorum malorumue retributio sicut diues qui Lazarum uidebat in sinu Abrahe peccata sua in inferno legitur fuisse confessus. Sed non est exauditus ad ueniam quia hic non fuit confessus ubi uenia inuenitur.
- 5 LABORAUI IN GEMITU MEO (Ps 6:7). Ore te o domine ut non in sola confessione uerborum sed in afflictione et castigatione peccatorumque recordatione et cordis compunctionem peccati mei recorder. Et future pene con(f. 53r)sideratione terrear et lacrimando et flendo ualeam delere peccata mea que grauiter commisi a iuuentute mea ut fiam ex peccatore iustus, ex lugente letus, ex egrotus sanus.
- 6 TURBATUS EST PRE IRA OCULUS MEUS (Ps 6:8). Valde inter inimicos meos inueteratus sum quia suadente humani generis inimico peccaui grauiter in fornicatione adulterio periurio sacrilegio furto ebrietate uana gloria detractione rixa inuidia contemptione emulatione seu ceteris que pre multitudi(f. 53v)ne enumerare non possum. Proinde pauens et tremens iram tuam formido quod, si mihi non misertus fueris, morior. Proinde concede mihi concede laborare et plangere ne ad illam iram perueniam que est uindicta tua.

Si enim in hoc mundo mihi penitere largiris et pietas tua me emendare permiserit, credo me in futuro iram tuam non sentire.

- 7 DISCREDITE A ME OMNES QUI OPERAMINI (Ps 6:9). Assume orationem meam piissime deus et audi uocem fletus mei qui exaudisti Ionam de uentre ceti, qui exaudisti (f. 54r) Dauid prostratum in concilio iacentem. Et ne despicias me opus manuum tuarum sed salua me gratuito munere tuo, quem dignatus es redimere tui pretio sanguinis.
- 8 ERUBESCANT ET CONTURBENTUR (Ps 6:11). Iubeat clementia tua erubescere inimicos meos qui cotidie sicut leo rugientes deuorare me querunt. Ne des eis domine super me potestates quia quamuis peccator et flagiosus tuo sum pretioso sanguine redemptus. Sed salua et adiuua me trinitas et inseparabilis unitas deus noster qui es benedictus in secula se(f. 54v)culorum. Amen. GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO.
- 9 BEATI QUORUM REMISSE SUNT (Ps 31:1). Agnosco domine peccata mea; iniquitates mee multiplicate sunt super caput meum. Delicta mea creuerunt usque ad celum quia, postquam suscepi fidem et gratiam baptismi, nequiter peccauit coram te et sanctis angelis tuis. Et ideo humiliter oro atque obnixe imploro clementiam ut absolutionem omnium meorum peccatorum accipere merear sicut acceperunt illi beati quibus remisisti iniquitates et cooperuisti peccata. (f. 55r)
- 10 BEATUS UIR CUI NON IMPUTAUIT DOMINUS PECCATUM (Ps 31:2). Scio domine illum esse beatum in cuius ore non est fraus, non mendacium, non periurium, non detractio nec cetera uitia que trahunt homines in infernum. Et ideo domine obsecro te miserere mei quia cognosco me peccatricem et mendacem. Sed tu clemens, quia potens es, concede ut ore et corde confitear tibi.
- 11 QUONIAM TACUI INUETERAUERUNT (Ps 31:3). Tacui quia peccata mea que confiteri debueram non sum confessus, sed e contrario acclamando manifestando merita mea que celare debueram sum con(f. 55v)fessus. Et propter hoc fortitudo anime mee inueterauit quia uulnus peccatorum meorum non patefeci celesti medico ut anima mea sanaretur.
- 12 QUONIAM DIE AC NOCTE GRAUATA EST SUPER ME (Ps 31:4). Potestas tua domine die ac nocte super me grauatur quia perseueraui in superbia malignitatis mee, eo quod plus peccauit quam Sodoma, plus deliqui quam Gomorra, et abscondi illud tamquam aurum et nolui emendare. Sicut grauata est manus tua super Phariseum qui noluit se emendare confessione peccati, humiliatus (f. 56r) est pondere diuinitatis; puplicanus uero qui se humiliauit exaltatus est. Propterea ad te humiliter clamo 'Exaudi me pie et benignissime deus'.
- 13 DELICTUM MEUM COGNITUM TIBI FECI (Ps 31:5). Et quomodo cognitum tibi facio peccatum meum, cui nichil est occultum et qui prius scis omnia quam ego faciam? Sed nolo tibi domine abscondere peccata mea quantacum-

que sint. Sed tota illa per confessionem tue misericordie aperio: peccauit grauiter per audaciam per neglegentiam in furto in adulterio in periurio in homicidio (f. 56v) et ceteris que longum est enumerare. Sed tu piissime domine, qui de conuerso peccatore gaudium in celo esse dixisti, miserere peccatrici anime mee.

- 14 DIXI: PRONUNTIABO ADUERSUS ME (Ps 31:5). Scio domine scio dixisse Dauid in corde suo ut esset manifestaturus tibi peccata sua et te deus omnipotens fuisse tante misericordie ut ad solam promissionem cordis eius sic cuncta peccata ei relaxares, tamquam si proprio ore illa tibi confessus fuisset. Confessio autem eius nondum ad os uenerat, et tu clementissime deus audisti uocem cordis eius. Propterea magna spes est mihi pecca(f. 57r)tori (-trici s.s.) agere penitentiam uolenti quia scio ipsum prophetam non tantum pro se hoc dixisse quantum de persona eorum qui ad te domine conuertantur, sicut filius qui peregre profectus est et dixit 'Ibo ad patrem meum et dicam ei: "Pater peccauit in celum et coram te; iam non sum dignus uocari filius tuus. Fac me sicut unum ex mercennariis tuis".'
- 15 PRO HAC ORAUT AD TE OMNIS SANCTUS (Ps 31:6). Pro ipsa uenia quam prophete donasti orat cotidie ad te omnis sanctus quia, si non dimitteres peccata, non esset sanctus qui ad te oraret. In ista mundi uita ubi locus est penitendi, doce me domine semper confiteri peccata mea, doce me (f. 57v) esse humilem et mansuetum. Et per humilitatem et mansuetudinem appropinquare ad te ualeam qui omnes homines uis saluos fieri et ad agnitionem ueritatis perducere.
- 16 TU ES MIHI REFUGIUM A PRESSURA (Ps 31:7). Ad te configlio pater orphanorum, consolatio mestorum, non ad auxilia hominum, non ad munera loca, sed ad te piissime qui solus potes dissipare cunctos speciales inimicos. Disperge illos in uirtute tua et destrue eos protector meus domine, meque de presenti seculo et de futura tribulatione eripe, et cum sanctis tuis precipe in celesti regno gaudere. (f. 58r)
- 17 INTELLECTUM DABO TIBI ET INSTRUAM TE (Ps 31:8). Doce me domine intelligere, bene agere et ad mandata tua cor meum conuertere. Scio me domine actenus seruisse inmundicie luxurie, omnibus uitiis carnalibus fuisse deditum. Instrue et dirige me piissime domine in uia tua que non habet errorem et quam beate uirtutes circumdant. Noli auferre a me oculos misericordie tue sed dirige me lumen intelligentie tue.
- 18 NOLITE FIERI SICUT EQUUS ET MULUS (Ps 31:9). Confiteor me coram te nimium peccasse. Proinde contenebrati sunt oculi mei, et te qui es lumen uerum uidere non ualeo nec te intellige(f. 58v)re possum quia cor meum induratum est sicut petra et tamquam mulus ita sum absque intellectu. Sed tu domine da mihi intellectum bonum in quo sunt omnes sapientie thesauri et scientie reconditi ut, cum te intelligere et cognoscere cepero, non ualeat me hostis antiquus suis dentibus laniare.

- 19** IN FRENO ET CAMO MAXILLAS (Ps 31:9). Clementissime domine confringe maxillas meas freno misericordie tue ut non queam ire ad latam et spatirosam huius seculi uiam quam mea uoluntas non uult dimittere. Sed tu domine manum tuam mihi misera (-o s.s.) (f. 59r) porrige qui Lazarum fetidum a claustris traxisti inferni.
- 20** MULTA FLAGELLA PECCATORUM (Ps 31:10). Tu me domine corripe in misericordia et non in furore quia flagella tua ualde sunt formidanda mihi peccatrici. Tu autem domine miserere et illumina oculos cordis mei ut cognoscam te et patefaciam tibi uulnera mea. Scio enim quod clamantes toto corde ad te cito sanas, quia in te mitissime domine sperantes sic tua misericordia illos undique circumdat ut non diabolus locum habeat unde ingredi possit. (f. 59v)
- 21** LETAMINI IN DOMINO ET EXULTATE IUSTI (Ps 31:11). Fac me omnipotens deus in te letari et gloriari in quo letantur et gloriantur omnes recti corde, et concede mihi ueniam de peccatis meis. Tu enim dignatus es dicere 'Petite et accipietis, querite et inuenietis, pulsate et aperietur uobis'. Hac confusis promissione peto ut accipiam, quero ut inueniam, pulso. Aperi mihi pie et misericors deus qui es benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen. GLORIA PATRI.
- 22** DOMINE NE IN IRA TUA ARGUAS ME (Ps 37:2). Hic in misericordia me corripe domine quia timeo ne in futuro peiora tormenta patiar quam in ista uita in qua plorare possum et gemere. Qua(f. 60r)propter rogo et dico 'Domine ne in ira tua arguas me'. Peto misericors deus ut non sim inter illos quibus dicturus es 'Ite in ignem aeternum qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius'. Sed in hac uita emendes me et purges et talem me facias ut ad aeternum ignem non me reserues.
- 23** QUONIAM SAGITTE TUE INFIXE SUNT MIHI (Ps 37:3). Proinde manifesto penas meas ut in futuro iudicio non iudicer, sed in me corripe et da mihi patientiam sicut beato Iob. Et peto ne tardes a me domine auferre tribulationes et dolores que me fortiter premunt. Sed me iube misericorditer casti(f. 60v)gari ut ad te redeam et faciam uoluntatem tuam.
- 24** NEC EST SANITAS IN CARNE MEA (Ps 37:4). Domine de ira tua et uindicta quam excepti de Adam non habeo sanitatem in carne mea nec pacem in ossibus meis, quoniam ex primo peccato porto corpus mortale plenum temptationibus et doloribus languidum infirmum, quod fames et sitis et somnus interficiunt. Et ideo obsecro domine ne me irato uultu aspicias quia nec requies nec sanitas in carne mea. Timorem enim future uindicte sub magno pauore contremisco.
- 25** QUONIAM INIQUITATES MEE SUPERPOSUERUNT (Ps 37:5). (f. 61r) Iniquitates mee eleuate sunt super caput meum eo quod assidue peccando multiplicantur peccata mea et per superbiam erexi me aduersus te. Et ideo multiplicata sunt et eleuata sunt ipsa peccata super caput meum; sicut sarcina grauis descen-

dendo comprimunt me. Et quia prius contra tua precepta erupta ceruice agebam, modo peccatorum pondere curuatus humiliiter fleo.

- 26 COMPUTRERUNT ET DETERIORAUERUNT (Ps 37:6). Cicatrices mee computruerunt deteriorauerunt eo quod post baptismum multa commisi sclera in adulterio fornicatione periurio furto con(f. 61v)cupiscentia et omnibus uitiis, quod longum est enumerare. Et propter hoc dolendo multotiens ego penitentia sed semper in deterius eo; precepta tua superbiendo contempno. Promissiones meas quas tibi deo meoque spirituali patri spondi non custodiui, sed sicut canis ad uomitum et sus ad uolutabrum sum reuersus. Sed tu qui multis peccatoribus misertus es, sana me domine medicamento penitentie pie deus.
- 27 MISERIIS AFFLICTUS SUM (Ps 37:7). Tristatur et affligitur anima mea dolore et fletu quia multis tribulationibus et miseriis uallatus (-a- s.s.) (f. 49r) sum nec est ulla in carne mea sanitas. Sed tu pie deus concede mihi ueniam ut ad te omnipotentem infelix ego perueniam.
- 28 QUONIAM ANIMA MEA COMPLETA EST ILLUSIONIBUS (Ps 37:8). Anima mea temptationibus diabolicis pletur (*sic*) quia, cum uolo orare, subito uenient in mentem meam multe terrene cogitationes quas ego nolo. Et cum uolo ad te mittere orationes meas, iterum occurunt menti mee et alia innumerabilia que non cogito nec uolo, et auferunt de mente mea ipsas orationes. Et queque diabolice illusiones numquam recedunt a me (f. 49v) nisi uirtus tua eos dispergere iusserit, qui es rex regum et dominus dominantium.
- 29 INCURBATUS SUM ET HUMILIATUS (Ps 37:9). Pre multitudine peccatorum meorum scio me esse curuatum et humiliatum ex omni parte. Sed tu domine concede michi ut ualeam plorare et gemere, et fac orationem meam ante te esse 'Tibi domine omnia confiteor cui omnia nuda sunt et aperta'. Tu domine miserere mei qui multis peccatoribus misertus es.
- 30 COR MEUM CONTURBATUM EST IN ME (Ps 37:11). Scio domine quia non es mecum dum te offendio, et oculi mei (f. 50r) obtenebrati sunt quia non es mecum tu qui es lumen uerum, qui illuminas omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum. Ideo rogo ut tu domine parcas et me non occidas, sed concede mihi ut per confessionem et penitentiam lacrimando delere incipiam ut numquam illa post dorsum meum ponam sed sint semper ante me. Et adulteria et homicidia et periuria et fornicationes et cetera uitia pone cotidie ante oculos cordis mei. Scio me dignum esse perpetua morte. Ego domine agnosco peccata mea, sed perseuero in iniqui(f. 50v)tatibus meis et non festino ad penitentiam quam peccatoribus largiri dignatus es.
- 31 AMICI MEI ET PROXIMI MEI ADUERSUS ME (Ps 37:12). Mater mea me dereliquid que me in peccatis genuit; propinqui et amici mei a longe steterunt quia, postquam coram te peccauit, omnes fratres mei inimici mihi facti sunt. Sed confido quod multe sunt miserationes tue deus. Peto ut sic funditus deleas

iniquitatem meam ut nullum in me remaneat signum peccati. Scio enim me in libro uite ascribi si omnia peccata mea di- (*hic desunt tria folia*)

- 32 (f. 41r) et uulneratis prebere medelam. GLORIA PATRI.
- 33 MISERERE MEI DEUS SECUNDUM MAGNAM (Ps 50:3). Non peto secundum meritum meum siue secundum iustitiam meam uel secundum desiderium meum seu secundum opera mea quibus in omnibus ego peccatrice deuiaui a te. Non secundum facta mea mala te contra me agere deposco sed secundum pietatem tuam.
- 34 ET SECUNDUM MULTITUDINEM (Ps 50:3). Perii enim peccatis, lapsa sum miserabiliter, omnem iuuentutem meam confundi, omnem uitam meam perdidи. Fruebar enim presentis uoluptatibus; seduxi cor (f. 41v) meum per inanem letitiam et inanem gloriam quia carnalibus desideriis super modum consentiens eram. Nunc ergo domine fac me assueta mala derelinquere et tibi placita opera agere quatinus te adiuuante diabolicas possim persuasiones deuitare et in tuo sancto famulatu firmiter atque constanter in perpetuum perseuerare.
- 35 AMPLIUS LAUA ME DOMINE AB INIUSTITIAM (Ps 50:4). Noui peccata mea maxima. Tamen tu pie deus uel paruam penitentie concede mihi confessio- nem ante diem mortis mee; da oculis mei cordis uere (f. 42r) compunctionis lacrimas ut per singulos dies plangere possim terribilia peccata mea que pre multitudine numerari non possunt.
- 36 QUONIAM INIQUITATEM MEAM EGO AGNOSCO (Ps 50:5). O benignissime medice adhibe mihi misera curationes tuas; seca uulnis anime mee; aufer putredinem peccatorum meorum; compone mihi misericordie confessionem quia, quod homines orescunt audire, tu solus uis portare quoniam tibi soli data est potestas a patre iudicare nos, qui es simul iudex et intercessor ac defensor apud patrem. Ad te ego pater configlio; quia (f. 42v) tu pius es, miserere mei.
- 37 TIBI SOLI PECCAUI ET MALUM CORAM (Ps 50:6). Considera ergo misericors deus substantiam infirmitatis uel fragilitatis mee et ostende super me magnitudinem bonitatis tue quia nemo bonus nisi tu solus deus. Inmensum misericordie tue pelagus attolle super me miserum, et tua benigna clementia omnia mea dele peccata que michi ex originali contagione adheserunt aut ex meis postea prauitatibus super me creuerunt. Ex his me domine omnibus clementer emunda, et omnibus parentibus (f. 43r) meis et benefactoribus meis concede gaudia sine fine mansura.

33 MC 442, p. 286; Salmon, no. 488; cf. ‘Anselmus ep. Cantuariensis’, *Meditatio super Miserere* 5 (PL 158.823c). 34 MC 442, p. 286; Salmon, no. 489. 35 MC 442, p. 287; Salmon, no. 490. 36 MC 442, p. 287; Salmon, no. 491. 37 MC 442, p. 288; Salmon, no. 492.

- 38** ECCE ENIM INIQUITATIBUS (Ps 50:7). Ne reminiscaris domine delicta mea uel parentum meorum neque uindictam sumas de peccatis meis. O domine Iesu Christe, deus bone et benigne qui ob hoc homo fieri dignatus es ut misere humane nature notitiam tuam aperies, insere pectori meo ueram uoluntatem tue caritatis ut numquam te obliuiscar sed tuorum preceptorum omni tempore reminiscam (*sic*). Tu enim domine qui omnia potes (f. 43v), si uis potes me mundare.
- 39** ECCE ENIM UERITATEM DILEXISTI (Ps 50:8). Memoriam peccatorum meorum domine igne uere penitentie accende ut semper ante oculos cordis mei habeam diem iudicii et paradisi delicias quas sanctis tuis preparasti. Et ita me fac hanc presentem uitam in tua uoluntate perducere ut penas inferni ualeam euadere et aeternam beatitudinis partem te largiente sine fine merear possidere.
- 40** ASPERGES ME DOMINE YSOPO ET MUNDABOR (Ps 50:9). Doce me domine semper recor(f. 44r)dari peccatorum meorum, et tu eorum in perpetuum obliuiscaris; doce me semper recordari magnitudinis beneficentie tue deus. Et studium quod nunc usque in peccatis exercui, in tua deinceps uoluntate exercere concede ut tibi nunc libenter famulari incipiam et in tua seruitute te adiuuante constanter ualeam permanere sic, ut in die tui examinis audire cum tuis electis merear 'Venite benedicti patris mei, percipite paratum uobis regnum a constitutione mundi'.
- 41** AUDITUI MEO DABIS GAUDIUM (Ps 50:10). Dico enim iniquitates meas ut (f. 44v) larga clementia tua iustifices me. Exaceruaui quidem te domine per multa mala opera que ab infantia mea usque nunc perpetrare consueueram et adhuc agere non cesso. Sed tu domine pie presta michi desiderabilem fontem lacrimarum ne presumptionis desperatione peream, sed flebili confessione et bonorum operum exhibitione fructuosam et tibi placitam digne possim agere penitentiam. Iube peccatum meum ante diem iudicii transferri a me ut merear feliciter sine fine laudare te.
- 42** AUERTE FACIEM TUAM A PECCATIS MEIS (Ps 50:11). Emunda pollutum cor meum deus (f. 45r) per quod ualde elongor a te ut fias mihi appropians deus et non a longe, ut spiritus tui feroce accensa semper cogitare ualeam que tibi sunt placita, quia, cum adducta fuero de hoc seculo, etiam si penitebit me, nulla erit utilitas penitentie. Quamuis sit stridor dentium, licet ululatus et fletus, licet effundam preces et innumerabilibus obsecrationibus proclamem, nullus audiet, nullus subueniet. Ideo domine pie in corde meo fructum prepara penitentie ut auxilium gratie tue illic ualeam inuenire. Dele a me in

38 MC 442, p. 289; Salmon, no. 493. 39 MC 442, p. 289; Salmon, no. 494. 40 MC 442, p. 290; Salmon, no. 495. 41 MC 442, p. 291; Salmon, no. 496. 42 MC 442, p. 291; Salmon, no. 497.

isto seculo (f. 45v) omnia peccata mea ut in futuro saluari merear clementia tua. Domine fac me puro corde in tuo famulatu permanere ut in aliqua beatorum sorte tuo merear auxilio sine fine gaudere.

43 COR MUNDUM CREA IN ME DEUS (Ps 50:12). Domine Iesu Christe qui et filius hominis es propter humilitatem et filius dei in maiestate, homo inter homines conuersatus, tibi ab insidiatoribus cognomentum positum est miserie nostre ualde necessarium ‘peccatorum et puplicanorum amicus’ quia multos suauitate mansueti spiritus tui (f. 46r) ab errore suo ad te misericordissimum dominum conuertisti. Respice in me et miserere mei domine deus meus, et illumina cor meum sancti spiritus tui illustratione ut tibi recte seruientium per tuam clementiam particeps fieri merear.

44 NE PROICIAS ME A FACIE TUA (Ps 50:13). Consolare me domine tuo sancto spiritu; fac molliri et letificari cor meum lapideum ut spiritus malignus ultra in me non habeat locum. Sed spiritus pacis et pietatis, qui est totius largitor bonitatis, suo me gratissimo lumine accendat et ab omnibus me (f. 46v) maculis clementer defendat in isto seculo atque in futuro.

45 REDDE MIHI LETITIAM SALUTARIS TUI (Ps 50:14). Curro ego ad tranquillum et communem peccantium portum, ad tuam scilicet domine Iesu Christe misericordiam quam habuisti in utero uirginali. Homo dignatus es fieri ut miseram hominis naturam tue coniungeres bonitati, a qua ego misera et peccatrice longe me separauit quia plura mala perpetraui. Propter carnalia enim desideria tua sanctissima transgressa sum precepta quia ab infantia mea usque nunc (f. 47r) semper fui inobediens superba auara ebriosa adultera fura ypocrita simulatar periura puplicana homicida inuidiosa iracunda contumax odiosa malitiosa nequitia plena iniqua inmunda sanguine polluta, substantiam meam luxuriose dissipans, persequens et euellens tuos fideles malis meis exemplis. Nunc ergo domine ad te confugio qui de conuerso peccatore gaudium esse in celo dixisti. Conuerte me domine ad te et omnem malam meam consuetudinem procul (f. 47v) repelle a me. Fac ut mala mea hodie habeam et bona tua diligam. Concede mihi ut uelim et possim recte uiuere bonumque aliis exemplum prebere ut omnes bonitatem tuam in me cognoscentes, meam autem conuersationem et liberationem uidentes, glorificant nomen tuum sanctum quod est benedictum in secula.

46 DOCEBO INIQUO UIAS TUAS (Ps 50:15). Abieci enim domine suaue iugum tuum et duras ac ferreas catenas peccatorum ceruicibus meis imposui. Abieci onus tuum leue et pro eo mo(f. 48r)lam asinariam infelici collo meo suspendi. Sed tu domine mitissime in profundum inferni non me patiaris demergi, sed

43 MC 442, p. 292; Salmon, no. 498. 44 MC 442, p. 293; Salmon, no. 499. 45 MC 442, p. 294; Salmon, no. 500. 46 MC 442, p. 295; Salmon, no. 501.

libera me de omnibus iniquitatibus et de inimicis meis priusquam furiosam in me exercere preualeant potestatem.

- 47 LIBERA ME DE SANGUINIBUS (Ps 50:16). Solue me domine de uinculis peccatorum meorum. Porridge manum tuam ut me prostratam erigas et ad tuam quandoque misericordiam perducas et confitendo cum latrone dicere possim 'Memento mei domine dum ueneris in regnum (f. 48v) tuum'.
- 48 DOMINE LABIA MEA APERIES (Ps 50:17). Recordare misericors deus fragilitatis et miserie mee et inenarrabilis clementie tue. Et quia solummodo sacrificium bone uoluntatis desideras, presta ut in memoriam semper habeam exaceruationes multas quibus exaceruaui te sepissime et ad iracundiam multipliciter prouocau. Tu autem domine clementissime actenus perdere me penitus noluisti, sed ad penitentiam misericorditer reseruasti. Idcirco te laudo et glorifico. In tua me deinceps cu- (*hic deest unum folium*)
- 49 <SACRIFICIUM DEO SPIRITUS CONTRIBULATUS> (Ps 50:19). (f. 34r) Magna fiducia et maxima spes est salutis nostre quod misericordie tue uisceribus infirmitati nostre tam benigne compati soles, ut tibi sacrificium sit contritio et humilitas cordis nostri. Et quamuis in peccatis conuersantes simus, tibi soli per confessionem tui nominis et per compassionem misericordie audemus dicere quod homines orrescunt audire. Propter hoc suscipe me miseram et peccatricem corde fugientem ad te piissime domine deus meus.
- 50 BENIGNE FAC DOMINE (Ps 50:20). Ostende domine super me fragilem benignitatem bone (f. 34v) uoluntatis tue. Visita cor meum durum et mollifica illud; inmitte ei ex habundantia pietatis tue tibi placentes perfecte penitentie lacrimas ut multa peccata mea que ab infantia usque nunc perpetraui acerrime et amarissime ab hac ora semper deflere preualeam. Fac me domine immensum pelagus peccatorum meorum de collo meo excutere et iugum importabile diabolice deceptionis procul a me eicere ut corde et corpore tibi subiecta tuoque iugo subdita precepta tua ualeam adimplere et in tuo famulatu sine fine merear (f. 35r) permanere.
- 51 TUNC ACCEPTABIS (Ps 50:21). Persolue miserations tuas domine mihi...in Hierusalem celestem componi.
- 52 GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO (Ps 50:21). Gloria patri ingenito qui proprio filio suo non pepertit tradere illum pro nobis peccatoribus, et filio eius unigenito qui fuit obediens patri usque ad mortem, et spiritui sancto (f. 35v) qui in linguis igneis in homines uenit totumque humanum genus illustrare et ad ueram lucem conuerti dignatus est. Gloria et iubilatio, laus et gratiarum actio, honor et imperium sempiternum sancte trinitati et indiuidue unitati, deo

⁴⁷ MC 442, p. 296; Salmon, no. 502. ⁴⁸ MC 442, p. 296; Salmon, no. 503. ⁴⁹ MC 442, p. 298; Salmon, no. 505. ⁵⁰ MC 442, p. 299; Salmon, no. 506. ⁵¹ MC 442, p. 300; Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 29, 127. ⁵² MC 442, p. 300; Salmon, no. 507.

magno et inmenso eterno et excelso, qui est omnipotens mirabilis glorusus atque laudabilis, bonus ac benignus ac (*sic*) benignus (*sic*) et omni laude dignus. Gloria tibi trinitas equalis, una deitas et ante omne seculum et nunc et in perpetuum.

- 53 DOMINE EXAUDI ORATIONEM MEAM ET CLAMOR MEUS (Ps 101:2). O piissime domine ideo deprecor ut exaudias quia sine assump(f. 36r)ta olim dignatus est per fructum huius mysterii dicere carnem (*sic*) ‘Inuoca me in die tribulationis tue, eripiam te et magnificabis me’, et post assumpta repetendo dicere ‘Petite et accipietis, querite et inuenietis, pulsate et aperietur uobis’, et iterum ‘Omnis qui petit accipit, et qui querit inuenit, et pulsanti aperietur’, itemque ‘Omnia quecumque petieritis a patre in nomine meo fiet uobis’. Quibus testimoniis roborata oro ut respicias, peto ut exaudias, obsecro ut suscipias. Et ne des partem tuam alteri pro qua emisso sanguine inferni (f. 36v) claustra dignatus es estringere (*sic*).
- 54 NE AUERTAS FACIEM TUAM (Ps 101:3). Et si auerteris quis respiciet, si abieris quis inueniet? Numquid est aliud rex regum et dominus dominantium nisi tu solus, cui inuiolabile nomen permanet in eternum? Et ideo respicere dignare et uelociter audire quatinus tuo iubamine protecta omnibus caream aduersitatibus et tua perfraui letitia possim sine fine mansura.
- 55 QUA DEFECERUNT SICUT FUMUS DIES MEI (Ps 101:4). Peccata mea innumera-bilia contra me erecta stimulantur terrore orribili quia permanentibus (f. 37r) oris momentis atque temporibus cunctis sceleribus applicat nox in qua nemo potest operari. Et ideo tu clementissime ore deifico ne dedigneris dicere ‘Amen dico tibi: hodie mecum eris in paradyso’.
- 56 PERCUSSUS SUM SICUT FENUM (Ps 101:5). Iaculor tota die cuspide tetra, iniquatior cogitatione inepta, sollicitor desiderio nefando, et conculcata aresco. Sed tu pie deus, qui es panis uiuus et fons indeficiens, succurre mee miserie et reconciliare inopie, et fac me in operibus mandatorum tuorum persistere ut refocilata tue pietatis dul(f. 37v)cedine abiciam omne teturum et contagione sordidum.
- 57 SIMILIS FACTUS SUM PELLICANO (Ps 101:7). Qui a te sequestratur solus inuenietur, et more auium solidudine commorantium relictus abicitur. Sed tu qui sterilem fecundam esse uoluisti gentilitatem et referaa (*sic*) uiriditatis deserta germine aeterno, tu me deduc in portum uoluntatis tue et in aulam angelice habitationis, ut collocata in agmine tuorum fidelium possim canendo dicere ‘Beati qui habitant in domo tua domine in seculum seculi laudabunt te’.
- 58 TOTA DIE EXPROBRABANT (Ps 101:9). Carnalis operatio spiritualis est expro(f. 38r)bratio et, quamuis delectetur, seuam mortem exercere uidetur et nullum uirtutis ibi factum repperitur. Vnde tu iussisti me, et omnium misericordissime cum laudas honorem tribuis, cum temptas iusta inpendis, libera me perpetuum roseum cruentum ex omni carnali contagione ut exuta

omni nequitia circumder spirituali letitia et ad te factorem meum quando expedita cursu possim peruenire.

- 59 **QUIA CINEREM SICUT PANEM** (Ps 101:10). Agnosco me diu deliquisse et de carnis spurcitia nichil pater (*sic*) misisse odia contentiones lites peruria falsa (f. 38v) testimonia homicidia exercuisse. Et idcirco clementissime largire ad penitendum uitam et cum uita permitte mentem cantare diuina et nulla serpentis desiderare nocua.
- 60 **A FACIE IRE INDIGNATIONIS** (Ps 101:11). Tu me de puluere eleuasti et de luto tuam ad imaginem conformasti, et ego non sum contemplata anteriora sed euoluto capite semper posteriora. Et ideo in statua salis conuersa sum. Sed recordare pretiosi sanguinis tui domine quem meo debito errore fudisti et quia pro me mortem suscipere uoluisti. Mori me ne permittas quia tua (f. 39r) mors mea est uita et sanguis tuus pretium redemptionis quem pro me dare ad emendum non es deditnatus.
- 61 **DIES MEI SICUT UMBRA DECLINAUERUNT** (Ps 101:12). Peccando errando deiando illecebras operando dies mei perierunt et iuste sicut umbra, quia, omnia tetra et orribilia exercens, sicut fenum arefacta sum. Et quia nullum anime egi opus uiriditatis, ueluti palea exusta factis (*sic*) cor. Sed tu lux lucis et fons beatitudinis eterne da michi tui lumen splendoris et spiritualis humorem uiriditatis ut intelligendo te creatorem meum te sequar, te amplexatar, te diligam et in aeter(f. 39v)num non obliuiscar.
- 62 **TU AUTEM DOMINE IN ETERNUM PERMANES** (Ps 101:13). Quia tu solus dominus aeternus, tu inuolabilis permanes, tu desiderabilis et timendus, tu exorabilis et amplectendus, tu carens principio et sine fine perseuerans, ideo fac me memorem misericordie tue ut in operibus mandatorum tuorum perseuerans te solum dominum regem deum sempiternaliter habeam et ubique regnare credam et benedicere et laudare non pretermittam.
- 63 **TU EXURGENS MISEREBERIS SYON** (Ps 101:14). Tu misericors et mitis indultor et pius indulge peccatis meis (f. 40r) et miserere mei modo quando est tempus miserendi, ne tetra d*<i>es*
- et ultima precipiti finem absorbens ducat me in lacu miserie et erroris, ubi nulla pietas inuenitur sed luctus et stridor dentium sine fine sentitur.
- 64 **QUIA BENEPLACITUM HABUERUNT** (Ps 101:15). Scio quia bonus bonus es et piis pius et a te suscipiunt cunctaque bona impendunt. Sed ego quia abiecta sum a conspectu oculorum tuorum, putas uidebo templum sanctum tuum? Miserere quia misericors es; indulge quia pius es; parce quia clemens es; dimitte quia donator es; suscipe quia suscep(f. 40v)tor es. Te iudice quod uenit ad te non eicietur foras.
- 65 **ET TIMEBUNT GENTES** (Ps 101:16). Si gentes timent et reges terrarum, ego uile mancipiam quid dictura sum in die tremendi iudicii quando potestates cuncte et gentium nationes profitentur timuisse te, nisi forte illud subuenerit

testimonium ‘Quicumque inuocauerit nomen domini saluus erit? Ego au-
dacter dicam ‘Memento mei domine cum ueneris in regnum tuum’.

66 QUONIAM EDIFICAUT DOMINUS SYON (Ps 101:17). Edifica me domine in
ueritate tua ut fundata non corruam, edificata non polluar, erecta (f. 26r) non
decidam, ut, ueniente tua potestate qua iudicaturus es seculum per ignem,
uideam te mihi tranquillum in maiestate tue deitatis et merear sanctis illis
connumerari quibus dicturus es ‘Venite benedicti benedicti patris mei,
percipite regnum quod uobis paratum est ante mundi constitutionem’.

67 ET RESPEXIT IN ORATIONES PAUPERUM (Ps 101:18). Scio et credo quia pro
peccatoribus in hunc mundum aduenisti et crucem ascendisti et passionem
sustinuisti, te sacro ore proficiente quod non est opus sanus medicus sed male
habentibus. Et ideo respicere dig(f. 26v)nare et ne meas preces rennuas, sed
suscipte clementissime qui suscepisti momentaneam latronis confessionem et
una cum eo me fac possidere paradysi delicias.

68 SCRIBANTUR HEC IN GENERATIONE (Ps 101:19). Et si Iudayca reprobaris
amentia et de lapidibus Habrahe soboles suscitar sustines, mei queso domine
ne obliuiscaris clementissime sed tu numera me in angelorum collegio, non
meo seruitio sed tuo sancto et clementissimo subsidio.

69 QUONIAM PROSPEXIT DE EXELSO (Ps 101:20). Si cotidie respicere non
debuisses a sublimioribus, ad humili(f. 27r)lia non uenisses nec hac seruili
carne indutas esseis (*sic*). Et quia pro me tam magna egisti, oro ut usque in
finem percipias iustissime pater et respice de sublimi polorum habitaculo et
erue me de manibus inimici et de eisdem operationibus propter nomen tuum
sanctum quod est benedictum in secula.

70 UT AUDIRET GEMITUM (Ps 101:21). Ligata sum uinculo ferreo meorum
peccatorum et mortuus operatione dampnatorum, sed tu terribilis et pie rex
per Petrum a uinculis et Danielem de leonum rostris potenti uirtute liberasti.
Tu me libera et absolute ab omni peccati iugo ut exuta omni mortali(f. 27v)tate
possim cum tribus pueris libera uoce dicere ‘Benedictus es domine deus
patrum nostrorum et laudabilis et gloriosum nomen tuum in secula’.

71 U<T ADNUNTIETUR IN SYOND> (Ps 101:22). Porridge mihi rex piissime
dexteram celestis auxili et duc me in ethereum regnum quatinus refocilatur
dulcedine misericordie tue letabunda ualeam canere ‘Hec domus domini
firmiter edificata’ et ‘Quam ammabilia sunt tabernacula tua domine uirtutum’.

72 IN CONUENIENDO POPULOS (Ps 101:23). Ancilla tua sum misera ego non
opere sed tantummodo ore (f. 28r), et ne mihi reputes illud propheticum
domine ‘Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me’. Sed
tu domine salua me tua pietate sicut saluasti Leui sedentem ad thelonium, et
concede mihi ueniam peccatorum per cuncta secula seculorum.

73 R<ESPONDIT EI IN UIA> (Ps 101:24). Si cogniti dies mei tua mihi fuerint
pietate domine, numquid sine te conualesto aut ueniam adipiscor? Nemo

namque ad te ueniet nisi eum qui te misit pater traxerit. Et ideo quomodo uis et quomodo scis, tantum tu me salua et in tua uirtute emunda (f. 28v) et ab omni lesione custodi.

74 INITIO TERRAM TU FUNDASTI DOMINE (Ps 101:26). Tui sunt domine celi et tua est terra; orbem terrarum et plenitudinem eius tu fundasti; tu me de luto ad imaginem tuam formasti. Tu me uirtute tua redime et de leonis ore potenter eripe et in ouile ouium tuarum pacifice connumera ut semper te dominum tutoremque et pastorem habeam per secula seculorum.

75 IPSI PERIBUNT TU AUTEM PERMANEBIS (Ps 101:27). Et quia omne manu factum consumitur et cum mundo finitur, decet te solum uenerari deum et ab omnibus glorificari qui nescis ini(f. 29r)tium neque finem habes et nescis abesse his qui te sedule mundo corde perquirunt.

76 TU AUTEM IDEM IPSE ES ET ANNI TUI (Ps 101:28). Tu semper dominus et dominator omnium; tu decus et imperium et potestas sublimis per omne seculum. Tibi laus honor et gloria per cuncta seculorum. Amen.

77 FILII SERUORUM TUORUM (Ps 101:29). Fac me domine ancillam tuam permanere in mandatis tuis et me toto corde et ore te purum dominum sectari benedicere et glorificare et numquam a preceptis tuis deuiare. GLORIA PATRI.

78 AD TE LEUAUI OCULOS MEOS (Ps 122:1). (f. 29v) O celorum magnificentissime conditor qui in altis potenter habitas et humilia et abiecta misericorditer intueris, ad te clementissime mentis mee oculos suppliciter eleuo postuloque cernuo corde quatinus illo me respicere digneris intuitu quo latronem illum uenerabilem latronem misericorditer respexisti, qui audire meruit 'Hodie tecum eris in paradiso'.

79 ECCE SICUT OCULI SERUORUM (Ps 122:2). Cum constet famulantibus homini indebitos summa cura perspicere ne quam(f.30r)uis offensa suos ad iracundiam prouocent dominos, qua sollicitudine quoque uigilanti studio perpendere debet peccator infelix maiestatis tue aduentum terribilem, quem non solum humana uerum etiam angelica natura quodammodo tremescit. Quapropter profusis lacrimis ad misericordiam impe<t>randum illam tuam flagica (*sic*) miserrimus pietatem que te pro humani generis redemptione proprium, quod proprium quod (*sic*) ammodo, conpulit olim fundere sanguinem. (f. 30v)

80 ET SICUT OCULI ANCILLE IN MANIBUS DOMINE SUE (Ps 122:2). Iudicium inmense potestatis tue pro meis formidans criminibus, ancillarum more suspectus existo ne quando improuise mortis occupatus aduentu factorum meorum noxiis cogar soluere rationem. Sed quia iusta prophetam 'Misericordie tue numerus non est', idcirco impia postulo pietatem, inmerita gratiam quero, seuissima clementiam flagito. Non enim me fallit tua quam dicere dignatus es sententia: 'Omnis qui petit accipit, et qui querit inuenit'. (f. 31r)

- 81 MISERERE NOBIS DOMINE MISERERE NOBIS (Ps 122:3). Deus omnipotens quem pro ineffabili misericordie tue pietate non modo misericordem sed etiam misericordiam nuncupo, pietatis tue inconsiderabilia uiscera miserrima (*sic*) mihi propitius exibe diuersarum iniuitatum molibus aggrauata (*sic*) ne, quod absit, me peccatorum fecibus inquinatam suscipiant Tartara, consumat edax Gehenne incendium, Stigia palus inmersum detineat meritoque despactum ab angelis sanctis, tenebrarum potestas cum satellitibus suis nequam pos(f. 31v)sidet nequiter. Miserere ergo michi cuius clementia permanet imperpetuum.
- 82 ET MULTUM REPLETA EST (Ps 122:4). Deus cuius conspectu maiestatis non alta et tumida sed humilia delectata consueuer<unt> placere, respice domine de polorum excelsis propitius sedibus et uide deprecationis mee humillimam uotumque conscientie reatus. Puplicani more non sinis alta syderum contemplari. Verum quia uiuifico immo deifico dignatus es dicere ore ‘Quacumque die peccator conuersus fuerit (f. 32r) ab iniuitate sua, uita uiuet et non morietur’, idcirco confusa licet et opprobrio plena a te misericordiam postulo, cuius proprium est potentie solidare contrita deiectaque subleuare potenter uidelicet plenitudine mediante.
- 83 Omnipotens sempiterne deus suspicere digneris hos psalmos quos in conspectu tuo et in nomine tuo cantaui pro me misera et peccatrice et multis criminibus irreta. Mole enim peccatorum pressas nullatenus queo tuam digne laudare clementiam, sed (f. 32v) tu qui pius es hanc modulacionem exigui peccatoris mei benigne suscias et preteritorum michi ueniam peccatorum et emendationem presentium et futurorum cautelam largire digneris, quatinus uitiis emundata celestis incola patrie inter cunctorum merear ascribi numerum beatorum. Per.
- 84 Domine Iesu Christe fili dei uiui unigenite qui es et qui eras cum patre et spiritu sancto unius essentie deus...(f. 33r)...sed ad remedium (f. 33v) anime mee proueniat et gratiam sempiterne salutis. Qui uiuisc.
- 85 ORATIO. Deus ineffabilis et incircumscripte nature institutor...(f. 19v)...in communione sancti spiritus eternaliter ac sempiternaliter uiuit et regit deus. Per.
- 86 Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus precor te in nomine dilecti filii tui domini nostri Iesu Christi per quem omnia facta sunt...(f. 22r)...et de sancti spiritus consolatores (*sic*) nostri aduentum. Qui tecum et cum eodem filio tuo domino nostro uiuit.
- 87 Domine Iesu Christe filius dei uiui creator generis humani, per quam

⁸⁴ Wilmart, ‘Gualbert’, no. 94. ⁸⁵ B 211, f. 63r-v; Wilmart, ‘Gualbert’, no. 4. ⁸⁶ MC 442, pp. 180-184; Salmon, no. 140; Wilmart, ‘Gualbert’, no. 5. ⁸⁷ MC 442, pp. 184-187; Salmon, no. 141; Wilmart, ‘Gualbert’, no. 8.

(sic) deo patris reconciliati sumus... (f. 24r)... cui est cum patre et spiritu sancto equalis maiestas, pars (sic) gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

88 ORATIO. Omnipotens inmense ineffabilis actum (sic) incomprehensibilis et piissime deus qui tantum es quantum esse uoluisti, (f. 24v) cuius nec initium nec finis aduertitur, cuius nuta (sic) cuncta sunt condita, qui ex te filium ante omnia sine initio genuisti, per quem creasti omnia cooperante spiritu sancto ex te deo patre et eodem filio procedente – trinitas inseparabilis! – quem unum deum tribus in personis confitemur, una gloria una maiestas una potestas una aeternitas una equalitas una immensitas summa potentia, te totis uiribus, te toto mentis intentione glorifico tibique ut uires suppetunt gratias ago. Qui ut humanum genus a laqueo diaboli eriperes filium tuum unigenitum incarnari pati (f. 25r) mori et resurgere uoluisti, qui seras mortis confringens iustos ab inferos pro debito protoplausti compeditos erueris, ad celi regna cum latrone aduexit, a quo illuc adeundi per sanguinem eius nobis auditum patefecit. Quis enim hominum angelorum te omnipotens tue clementie perpendit magnalia? aut que sufficit lingua dignas tibi laudes referre? Si uero omnia super terram et subtus et in aquis morantia et cuncta agmina angelorum uerteretur in linguas et sine temporum interuallo tibi laudes cecinerent, tantum de me sola peccatrice tibi nequiverant (f. 25v) dignas persoluere laudes, quem creasti et de seruitute iniqua sanguinem dilecti filii tui redemisti et ad gloriam nominis tui mihi largitus es te creatorem et redemptorem scire. Amen.

89 ORATIO. Domine Iesu Christe deus eterne deus ante omnia secula qui creasti omnia omnia fecisti omnia tenes omnia disponis omnia gubernas, qui in eadem deitate in eadem essentia in eadem maiestate in eadem uirtutem in eadem dominatione uiuit et regnas, coleris et adoraris cum domino deo patre tuo per omnia secula seculorum, qui cum esses in forma dei coequalis (f. 10r) et coaeternus patri et spiritui sancto inmortalis aeternus et impassibilis, tamen pro peccatis nostris pro redemptione nostra factus est homo in uterum uirginis Marie, uenisti ad passionem ad crucem ad mortem ad sepulturam, pro nobis descendisti ad inferna, tertia die surrexisti a mortuis, ascendisti ad celos, sedes ad dexteram dei patris inde uenturus es iudicare uiuos et mortuos, te domine Iesu Christe adoro te confiteor te ueneror tibi gratias ago. Miserere mei; propitius esto mihi peccatri. Dimitte mihi peccata mea et munda domine cor meum et corpus meum ab omni iniuitate et prauitate, (f. 10v) ab omni inmunditia et pollutione. Repelle a me domine spiritum superbie spiritum auaricie spiritum uane glorie spiritum luxurie spiritum fornicationis spiritum inmunditiae et omnis iniuitatis. Longe fac a me domine per gratiam et misericordiam tuam omne scelus et omne malum. Saluam me fac deus meus. Prosit mihi domine incarnationis tua natuitas tua passio tua crux tua sepultura tua resurrectio a mortuis ascensus ad celos. Constituar in secundo

tuo aduentu ad dexteram tuam inter sanctos tuos. Fac me domine humilem castam sobriam patientem; reple me bonis tuis et gratia tua; fac me implere legem (f. 11r) tuam et diligere omnia mandata tua. Esto michi defensor et protector; sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me. Defende me domine ab impugnatione omnium inimicorum meorum uisibilium et inuisibilium; libera me a periculo mortis anime mee et dirige me in beneplacito tuo. Miserere etiam domine animabus patris et matris mee omniumque parentum meorum. Miserere famule tue abbatisse nostre et omnibus fratribus et sororibus nostris, et parce eis domine omnibusque Christianis fidelibus tuis uiuis et defunctis. Miserere ecclesie tue quam redemisti pretioso sanguine tuo et saluasti resurrectione tua Iesu Christe domine deus. Qui uiuis. (f. 11v)

90

Tibi domine deus meus confiteor crimina et delicta mea; tu propter ineffabilem pietatem et misericordiam tuam suscipe queso confessionem meam. Immo ipse largire ut in toto corde confitear. Tu enim clementissime domine dignatus es dicere 'Nolo mortem peccatoris sed uertatur et uiuat'. Ideo peto domine Iesu Christe clementiam tuam ut resuscites me a peccatis meis ut ad ueram penitentiam uenire possim antequam moriar. Mea culpa peccauit et, quia cotidie in peccatis multis nimis affligor, in gule ebrietatis et crapule uitiis, in femoribus sine intermissione(f. 12r)ne deseruo ac propter hoc grauatur misera animam meam et corpus meum. Inde sompniculosus et torpens tarde ad orationes et officia occurro; fornicationibus et libidinis stercoribus putrefacta sum et intus exteriusque tota inquinata. Pollutum est cor meum, os meum et labia mea, oculi mei et aures mee, gustus meus pariter odoratus et tactus, et usque ad hanc horam in cogitationibus uanis et spurciissimis sordatur cor meum. Tristitia dimersus (-a- s.s.) sum; accidia dissoluta; ire facis inflammata sum; cupiditatibus igne perusta; inuidie uenenis infecta sum; sororis hodie toxi(f. 12v)cata sum; detractione conuulsa sum; omni malitia tabefacta; obliuione et desidia ebefacta sum; fraude et ypocrisin obruta; fragilitate et neglegentie languida; periuriis falsitate et mendacis maculata sum; uane glorie leuitate turgida. Sepe maiorum iussa contempsi; sepe rebellis et murmuriosa extiti; sepe contempta sororum et propositorum meorum extiti; sepe corde tumido excusationes falsas obieci. Promisi de his et huiuscemodi malo emendationem et semper in eisdem dilabor. Precepta tua sine intermissione contempno; promissiones tuas quibus me sanctam re(f. 13r)gulam seruaturam spopondi momentis singula uiolaui. Semper infelix ad securitates ad uana gloria ad ositates festino. Heu me! Quante impietates quante blasphemie! Quante diuersarum tenebre lacerant mentem meam que uniuersa nisi ineffabili bonitatis tue misericordiam repellas ac deleas. Mortua est in peccatis animam meam. Plara (*sic*) sunt que animo meo exciderunt; innumerabilia omnino sunt mala que ego misera commisi. Et quanta enarrare non sufficio, pro quibus omnibus mihi perduto tormenta paratur et uermes,

ignis pariter aeternus. Succurre domine Iesu Christe mihi miserri(f. 13v)ma et captiuia, et ne me perire patiaris quem dignatus es redimere pretioso sanguine tuo. Ne perdas me cum peccatis meis neque in eternum reserues mala mea. Ne proicias me a facie tua, ne despicias me neque confundas me sperantem in te. Reminiscere miserationum tuarum qui facis magna mirabilia absque numero. Salua me gratuito munere tuo. Qui non spreuisti puplicanum, ne spernas me. Qui latroni in cruce posito subuenisti, subueni mihi. Qui mulieri peccatrici flenti ad uestigia tua misertus es, miserere mei deus, cui (f. 14r) est cum deo patre et sancto spiritu una in deitate substantia, equus honor et pax, gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

91 Omnipotens sempiterne deus aspice uotum et desiderium meum, et dirige uitam meam in uolumtate tua, et ne proicias me a facie tua. Si tu me prohici et misericorditer non aspicis, quo progam (*sic*) aut quo me conuertam nescio. Nullus est ob alium abs te; sini (*sic*) te nullus saluabitur. Qui te derelinquid statim mortis laqueo capietur; quicumque te inuenerit statim inueniet uitam. Tu es uirtus uiduarum; tu es pater orphanorum et iudex; tu uia errantium (f. 14v) salusque miserorum. De quacumque tribulatione ad te clamauerint aliquis aut de quacumque necessitate inuocauerit aliquis, auxilium tue defensionis sine mora percipiet. In memet ipsa probauit de quod (*sic*) dico. In meis angustiis sepe te inuocauit. In meis quam pluribus necessitatibus te protectorem semper inueni: de multis me eripuisti miseriis; de pluribus me liberasti calamitatibus. Et nunc piissime pater numquam derelinquas quem tanto tempore protexisti; numquam dimittas quem tanto tempore protexisti; numquam dimittas quem (f. 15r) tanto tempore portasti. Ne glorietur de me hostis iniquus, ne exaltetur in meam perditionem; ne umquam dicat inimicus 'Praeualui aduersus eam'. Semper domine auxilio tuo indigeo. Numquam secura esse possum quia in carne adhuc fragili posita sum. Multi sunt in circuitu hostes, multi insidiatores. Varie uoluntates et cogitationes in me succedunt: una me trait in partem ista, aliam in parte altera, et fluctuo miser in medio, ignorans quid faciam. Homo sum fragilis; nescio quo me uertere presumam. Domine doce me quid agere debeam; (f. 15v) ostende mihi que uia sit melior. In illa semper me dirigat que tibi placeat, non ut mea uoluntas impellit sed ut pietas tua destinauit. O domine pater clementissime quid amplius dicam, quid amplius petam, quid magis queram nisi ut tu rex piissime, qui usque modo me gubernasti, deinceps usque in finem conserues dirigas et protegas in cogitationibus in uerbis et in omnibus operibus meis quia tu es deus benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.

92 ORATIO. Domine Iesu Christe qui in hunc mundum propter nos peccato-

92 'Domine Iesu Christe qui in hunc mundum....Tamen ueniam mihi concede digneris Christe filius dei': A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedelhuald the Bishop Commonly Called the Book*

res de sinu patris aduenisti...(f. 2r)...Tamen ueniam mihi concedere digneris Christe filius dei. Auxiliatrix sis mihi sancta trinitas...(f. 2v)...in te requiescam et ad te resurgam. Heu mihi infelix anima mea in tantis peccatis in tantis criminibus et in multis iniquitatibus deuoluta est. Quid primum plorem, quid lugeam prius, quas lacrimas summam? Non sufficit referre memoria tantorum criminum gesta. Peccata quoque mea mihi sensum doloris (f. 3r) tulerunt, ebitudinem cordis dederunt. Coagolate sunt lacrime, obriguit uirtus, anima mea nullo dolore compungitur. Anima mea in stupore conuersa est; insensata facta est anima mea. O lacrime ubi uos subduxistis, ubi fontes lacrimarum, ubi est meroris unda? Accelerate obsecro moueamini fontes lacrimarum. Aspergite me fletus, fluite super faciem meam, humectate maxillas meas, irrigate, date mihi planctum amarum. Ego miser et infelix flendus miserrimus flagitium meum conspicio, reatum meum agnosco, scio me esse peccatricem, uideo quantum sum turbata. Iniquam me esse reprehendo, impia me eam esse ac(f. 3v)cuso. Deprecor te domine ut ignoscas mihi. Inter omnes enim grauius corrui. Inter omnes enim plus plus peccato subiacui; plus ceteris omnibus in carnalibus delectationibus subcubui; omnium impiorum malitiis subiacui. Tartarea tormenta uix malis meis sufficient. Non est iniquitas super iniquitatem meam. Pauore peccati iram tuam timeo deus. Si enim uix iustus saluabitur, ego impiam ubi parebam? Quid faciam, ubi uadum dum uenerit tremendi formido iudicij? Ubi abscondam me a uultu ire tue? Exaudi me domine, memento domine sicut iurasti patri nostro Dauid ut auertas iram tuam a me famula tua .N. (f. 4r) Angelus Gabriel, angelus Michael, angelus Raphael, omnes angeli et archangeli, omnes throni et dominationes, omnes principatus et potestates, omnes patriarche et prophete, omnes apostoli et martires, omnes sancti confessores et uirgines in adiutorium state mihi. Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas et Iohannes. Sancte Georgi famule dei intercede pro me. Sancte Pauline famule dei intercede pro me. Deus de limo terre formasti me, ossibus et neruis formasti me. Domine pro tua pietate custodi me et saluam fac me. Pax mihi deus Iesu Christe (*ut uid.*).

93

ORATIO. Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te perueniat (f. 4v) quia tibi soli peccaui et malum coram te feci...(f. 6r)... Indulgeat mihi dominus omnia pecca(f. 6v)ta mea hic et in futuro. Amen.

of Cerne (Cambridge, 1902), no. 18; Salmon, nos. 301, 527; Wilmart, 'Bury Psalter', no. 3. 'Auxiliatrix sis mihi sanctas Trinitas....in te requiescam et ad te resurgam': *Book of Cerne*, pp. 119-20, no. 22. 'Heu mihi infelix anima mea....Ubi abscondam me a uultu ire tue': cf. Isidore, *Synonyma* 1.57-59, 63-64 (PL 83.840-41). 'Exaudi me domine, memento domine....Pax mihi deus Iesu Christe': *De psalmorum usu* 6 (PL 101.477D-478A). 93 *De usu psalmorum* 6 (PL 101.478A-479A).

94 Domine exaudi orationem meam quia iam cognosco tempus meum prope est... (f. 9v)... te auxiliante hic et in aeternum semper saluam esse merear. Saluator mundi qui uiuis et regnas cum deo patre sanctoque spiritu per aeterna secula seculorum. Amen.

B. Prudentius ep. Trecensis, *Flores psalmorum*

This abbreviated psalter (fols. 130r-87r), composed perhaps c. 830-833,¹⁶ consists of a loose paraphrase of one or more verses from each psalm. It was intended for the use of the faithful (both lay and religious) who, as Prudentius states in the prologue, were not able for various reasons to recite daily the full psalter. The work was not unknown in the Beneventan zone; two other witnesses in Beneventan script to the *Flores psalmorum* are Vatican Library Reg. lat. 334, fols. 1r-30r (see above, p. 431), and Chigi D V 77 (s. xi ex., copied at S. Vincenzo al Volturno), fols. 1r-43v.¹⁷ The text in these codices does not differ significantly from that in ms. ASP G 49 except in a number of prayers preceding (fols. 130r-131r) and following (fols. 80v-84v, 70r-76v, 62r-69v) the *Flores* and in the Psalter Collects (Roman series)¹⁸ which have been inserted (fols. 105r-v, 88r-91v) between Pss 118 and 119 of the *Flores*. Curiously enough, ms. Reg. lat. 334 also exhibits prayers (fols. 23r-25v) added between Pss 118 and 119, but they are wholly different.¹⁹ Prudentius' composition is not presented as anonymous in ms. ASP G 49. Fol. 130r, written entirely in red, exhibits, first, an excerpt from *De psalmorum usu* and then a title: 'Si uis omnipotentem deum laudare et ipsius maiestati omniumque beneficiorum suorum quibus humano generi ab initio mundi in ueteri testamento per patriarchas et prophetas, in uno (*sic*) quoque per incarnationem sempiterni filii sui misertus est gratias agere, lege per singulos dies flores psalmorum mente deuota. In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi incipiunt flores psalmorum quos Prudentius episcopus car>sit'.²⁰

94 Salmon, nos. 81, 309, 526; Turner, no. 18; Wilmart, 'Bury Psalter', no. 16 and 'Gualbert', no. 97.

¹⁶ Salmon, *Analecta liturgica*, p. 88 (citing E. Dümmler).

¹⁷ For a brief discussion of Prudentius' *Flores psalmorum*, together with an edition based on manuscripts in the Vatican Library, see Salmon, *Analecta liturgica*, pp. 74-76, 84-85, 93-119. MSS. Chigi D V 77 and Reg. lat. 334 were used for the edition, but not ms. ASP G 49 which seems to have been unknown to him and was not described in his *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*.

¹⁸ Nos. 118 (i) - (x), (xiii) - (xxi) in Brou-Wilmart, *The Psalter Collects*, pp. 211-14, 215-17. No. 118 (iii) (fol. 105v), which is not the usual Collect, is found also in Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale 70 (s. xii, Benedictine Psalter from Remiremont) and Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève 1177 (s. xiv, Bible-Psalter 'à la italienne'); cf. p. 229.

¹⁹ Salmon, *Analecta liturgica*, pp. 112-14 transcribes the inserted prayers in Reg. lat. 334.

²⁰ Cf. *De psalmorum usu liber*, praef. ('Tertius usus') (PL 101.466c-d). Note also that ms. Chigi D VI 79 contains on the final fly-leaf (saec. xv) a fragment from this work (Salmon, *Analecta liturgica*, pp. 173, 180 n. 235).

I give now the prayers (nos. 95-126) which precede and follow the *Flores*. Their presentation is governed by the same principles explained on p. 430-31 above. It will be evident that parallel texts are easily found for most of them. What little can still be read of the Litany of the Saints on fols. 87r-v, 77r-79v, which have been extensively erased, is also given.

95 (f. 130r) IN PRIMIS ORATIO. (f. 130v) Confiteor tibi domine ore et toto corde quia peccau in hac die coram te in cogitatione delectatione consensu locutione et opere, in motu menbrorum, in uisu, in auditu gustu odoratu et tactu, in concupiscentia cibi et potus, in pigritia et neglegentia circa diuina opera, in inobedientia, in sensu, in memoria, in uoluntate. Et ideo in quocumque quomodo(f. 131r)cumque peccau uolendo seu nolendo scienter siue nescienter ueniam de his omnibus peto. Obsecro parce michi infi~~ta~~te pietatis et misericordie deus qui es benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.

96 Comitetur nos quesumus domine semper gratia tua...meliori exitu consumemus.

(ff. 87r-v, 77r-80v) (Litany of the Saints) (f. 87r) Christe audi nos III uic. Christe exaudi nos. Christe adiuua nos. Pater de celis. F*<ili redemptor mundi deus>*....Sancta Maria....Sancta dei ge~~nitrix~~. (f. 87v) Sancta uirgo uirginum. Sancte Mich~~ael~~....Sancte Ra~~phael~~....(f. 77v) Sancte Ioh~~annes~~ ora....(f. 78v)...unitatem....<confe>ssionem peccatorum nobis....Christianis protegas et super.... Da (f. 79v) ...Ab...libera....Ab -tibus malis libera. Ab omni malo libera. III uic. Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi (f. 80r) parce nobis domine. Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi exaudi nos Domine. Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. Kyrie. Christe. Kyrie. Pater noster. Et ne. Domine refugium factus es nobis. Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam. Et salutare. Fiat pax in uirtute tua. Et habundantia. Domine misericordia tua preueniat nos. Et subsequatur nos dextera tua. Memento congregationis tue. Quam possedisti. Esto nobis domine (f. 80v) turris fortitudinis. A facie. Nichil proficiat inimicus in nobis. Et filius. Saluos fac seruos tuos. Deus meus. Mitte nobis domine auxilium de sancto. Et de Syon. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor. Oremus.

97 Omnipotens sempiterne deus clementiam tuam suppliciter deprecor ut me famulam tuam .N. tibi fideliter seruire concedas et perseuerantiam bonam et felicem consumationem mihi largiri digneris. Et hi flores psal(f. 81r)morum quos in conspectu tuo cantaui, intercedentibus pro me omnibus sanctis tuis quorum nominaui et quorum nomina preteriui, ad remedium et salutem anime mee proficiat sempiternam. Per.

- 98 Tuam domine clementiam deprecor ut mihi famulo tuo, per hos flores psalmorum quos in conspectu diuine maiestatis tue decantauit, remissionem cunctorum tribus peccatorum et omnibus pro quibus debitus sum exorare uiuis siue (f. 81v) defunctis misericordie tue munera inpendas, quatinus ad eternam uitam perueniamus et tue ubique gratie dona percipere mereamur. Per.
- 99 PRO CONGREGATIONE ORATIO. Deus qui nos a seculi uanitate conuersos ad brauium...(f. 82r)...que in te perseuerantibus promittere dignatus es pertinere mereamur. Per.
- 100 PRO CONFUSIONE. Mentem familie tue quesumus domine intercedente beato archangelo tuo Michahelo cum omnibus sanctis et munera confusioneis aperi et largitate pietatis exaudi.
- 101 AD PATERM. Domine deus pater omnipotens qui consubstantialem et tibi coeternum ante omnia ineffabiliter secula filium genuisti...(f. 82v)...sed salua et adiuua me propter nomen sanctum tuum. Per eum.
- 102 AD FILIUM ORATIO. Domine Iesu Christe fili dei uiui qui es uerus et omnipotens deus, splendor et imago patris et uita eterna...(f. 83r)...quem dignatus es redimere pretioso sanguine tuo. Amen.
- 103 AD SPIRITUM SANCTUM. Domine sancte spiritus omnipotens deus qui coequalis et coeternus et consubstantialis patri filioque existens ab eis innarrabiliter procedis...(f. 83v)...et ignem sancti ac desiderabilis amoris tui. Amen.
- 104 AD SANCTAM TRINITATEM. Domine deus omnipotens eterne et ineffabilis sine fine atque initio, quem unum in trinitatem et trinum in unitate ueneramus...(f. 84r)...fac me indignum et miserum obsecro quandoque ad tuam peruenire uisionem. Qui uiuis et regnas trinus et unus deus benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 105 ORATIO AD BEATAM MARIAM. Singularis meriti sola sine exemplo beata

98 MC 442, pp. 174-175; V 4928, f. 192r; Salmon, no. 485. 99 G. Richter-A. Schönfelder, eds., *Sacramentarium fuldense saeculi X. Cod. theol. 231 der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Göttingen* (Fulda, 1912), no. 2287. 100 K. Gamber-S. Rehle, eds., *Manuale casinense (Cod. Ottob. lat. 145)* (Textus patristici et liturgici 13; Regensburg, 1977), no. 351; J. Deshusses, ed., *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. 1: *Le sacramentaire, le supplément d'Aniane* (Spicilegium friburgense 16; Freiburg/Switz., 1971), no. 466. 101 MC 442, pp. 231-32; Salmon, no. 232; Turner, no. 89; Wilmart, 'Bury Psalter', no. 5 and 'Gualbert', no. 1 and *Precum libelli*, pp. 14-15. 102 Salmon, nos. 233, 420; Turner, no. 22; Wilmart, 'Bury Psalter', no. 7 and 'Gualbert', no. 2 and *Precum libelli*, pp. 15, 139. 103 Salmon, no. 234; Turner, no. 23; Wilmart, 'Bury Psalter', no. 8 and 'Gualbert', no. 7 and *Precum libelli*, pp. 15, 139. 104 Salmon, nos. 50, 61, 139, 395; Wilmart, 'Gualbert', no. 1 and *Precum libelli*, pp. 15-16, 139-40. 105 H. Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du sauveur des origines à saint Anselme* (Paris, 1963), pp. 75-76; Salmon, no. 164; Wilmart, 'Gualbert', no. 35 and *Precum libelli*, pp. 16, 140.

mater et inmaculata uirgo Maria...(f. 84v)...tuis uirgo splendidissima saluatus
meritis celeste consequar regnum. Amen.

- 106 AD SANCTAM MARIAM. Flos mundi decus generis hu(f. 70r)mani splen-
didissima uirgo beata Maria que in tantum domino placuisti...sociari merear
florido et candidissimo uirginum choro.
- 107 AD SANCTAM MARIAM. Precor te sancta Maria mater (f. 70v) domini
nostri Iesu Christi que uirgo peperisti et post partum uirgo permansisti ut per
illius amorem digneris pro me misero et peccatore interuenire. Et in tremenda
exitus mei de corpore hora cum omni exercitus celestis militia a diabolis
defende insidiis ut ante tribunal eiusdem domini nostri Iesu Christi tuo fretus
auxilio merear indempnis presentari et celestium gaudiorum consortibus
eternaliter aggregari. Amen.
- 108 AD SANCTUM MICHAHELEM. Queso te et obsequenter rogo sancte angele
dei cui omni(f. 71r)potens deus dignatus est committere curam...et precibus
auxiliante domino Iesu Christo qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat.
- 109 Queso te et suppliciter rogo spiritus angelici numinis, cui omnipotens
conditor anime et corporis mei tradidit curam, ut a luce in uesperam et a
uespera (f. 71v) ad lucem me custodire digneris ab impiis et inmundis
spiritibus qui in circuitu nostro ambulantes rugiunt querentes ut rapiant. Et
ne me astutia sua frangant uiribus me tuis foue et precibus. Per uiuentem et
regnantem in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 110 AD SANCTUM MICHAHELEM. Sancte Michael archangele qui uenisti in
adiutorium populo dei, subueni mihi apud altissimum iudicem...(f. 72v)...cum
letitia et inenarrabili gaudio futurum iudicium et gloriam beate resurrectionis
expectant. Per eum.
- 111 Precor te princeps egregie Gabrihel fortissime agonitheta certantium...(f.
73r)...tuo opitulatu uicti fulgentur, fauente Iesu Christo domino nostro qui
cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat.
- 112 Auxiliare obsecro mihi et tu princeps eximie Raphael...ac corporis
tenebras amputare celitus orando ne differas. Per eum. (f. 73v)
- 113 Obsecro uos sancte Michahel sancte Gabrihel sancte Raphael cum sociis
uestris qui assistitis...et in bonis operibus perseverantiam usque in finem. (*hic
deest unum folium*)
- 114 (f. 74r) <Beatissime Paule uas electionis quem dominus> de celo

106 Barre, *Prières anciennes*, p. 97; Salmon, no. 165; Wilmart, ‘Gualbert’, no. 36. 108
Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 552. 109 Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 540 and ‘Gualbert’, no. 39.
110 Salmon, no. 512; Turner, no. 35; Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, pp. 212-13 and ‘Gualbert’, no.
72. 111 Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 580. 112 Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, pp. 580-81.
113 Salmon, no. 514; Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, p. 582 n. 1. 114 Salmon, no. 517; Turner,
no. 40; Wilmart, ‘Gualbert’, no. 42.

uocare dignatus est, obsecro te...et donet mihi continuo celebrare pascha suum in azimis sinceritatis et ueritatis. Amen.

- 115 Oro (Pro ms.) te sanctissime Andrea apostole et martir Christi, postula...(f. 74v)...in extremo agmine uestro sequi uestigia sua. Amen.
- 116 Sanctissimi apostoli domini mei Iesu Christi beatissime Petre...(f. 75r)...et donet mihi sequi uestigia sua uel in extremo agmine uestro. Amen.
- 117 Obsecro te beatissime Stephane leuita et protomartir Christi...tuis meritis consequar misericordiam Christi. Amen. (f. 75v)
- 118 AD SANCTUM STEPHANUM. Obsecro te beatissime Benedicte dilecte dei et beatissime Basili sancte ecclesie dissertissime doctor, intercedite simul pro omni Christiano. Intercedite obsecro et pro me indigna et infirma seruula uestra ut purget dominus cor meum tactum et uniuersos anime et corporis mei sensus a cunctis immunditiis et uniuersis uitiis. Tribuat mihi obseruare cuncta que precepit et sancte legis tramitem inuiolabiliter custodire quam me seruaturum spopondi. Amen. (f. 76r)
- 119 AD SANCTAM MARIAM ET OMNES ANGELOS ET ARCHANGELOS ET ALIOS SANTOS ET SANCTAS DEI. Suppliciter uos et deuote precamur o glorioissima mundi domina uirgo semper Maria princepsque angelici ordinis eminentissime Michahel...(f. 76v)...et in perpetuum omnes pariter uestro meremur aggregari consortio. Per Christum.
- 120 PRO SANCTA ECCLESIA CATHOLICA. Propitiare queso domine uniuersae ecclesie tue catholice...(f. 62r)...Propitiare famula (*corr. ex -lo*) tua abbatissa nostra .N. et cuncte congregationi beatissimi confessoris tui Benedicti...(f. 63v)...et suorum omnium ueniam delictorum et nobis miserere. Per eundem.
- 121 AD BENEFICIA DEI PETENDA. Fac me queso domine famulum tuum toto corde semper ad te concurrere et tibi subdita mente seruire et tuam misericordiam suppliciter implorare et de tuis iugiter beneficiis gratulari. Per.
- 122 AD SAPIENTIAM POSTULANDUM. Domine deus omnipotens qui consubstantialem tibi filium genuisti qui uera...(f. 64v)...ad aliorum eruditionem patienter et humiliter proferre. Per eundem.
- 123 AD FONTEM LACRIMARUM PETENDUM. Domine deus altissime qui solus sine peccato es, tribue mihi peccatori...(f. 65v)...quoniam tibi debetur omnis adoratio et gloria et potestas in secula seculorum. Amen.
- 124 UNDE SUPRA. Omnipotens sempiterne deus da capiti meo abundantiam

115 R 334, f. 49r-v; Salmon, no. 518. 116 Salmon, nos. 173, 352; Turner, no. 51; Wilmart, 'Gualbert', no. 44 and *Precum libelli*, pp. 16-17, 140. 117 R 334, ff. 50v-51r; Salmon, nos. 173, 175, 354; Wilmart, 'Gualbert', no. 46. 118 R 334, f. 51v; Salmon, no. 176; Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 140-41 and 'Gualbert', no. 47. 119 Salmon, no. 249. 120 Salmon, no. 126; Wilmart, 'Gualbert', no. 15. 123 MC 442, pp. 208-209, 302-303; Wilmart, 'Gualbert', no. 12 and *Precum libelli*, p. 14.

aque et oculis meis uerum fontem lacrimarum iugiter manentem ut peccati maculas abluendo ultrices penarum flamas fletuum ubertate uincam. Per.

125 PRO INSIDIIS INIMICORUM. Domine exaudi orationem meam (f. 66r) quia iam cognosco quod tempus meum prope est... (f. 69r)... Et nunc exoro dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ut ille misericors exaudiat uocem meam. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum.

126 Dominator omnium domine deus qui mirabiliter cuncta condidisti et tua dispositione creasti omnia (f. 69v) qui que iussisti conditionem propagande sobolis ex uiro et femina esse et precepisti dilectionem et honorem circa patrem et matrem exhibere, exaudi me misericors deus clamantem ad te pro genitore meo .N. et genitricem meam .N., quos utrumque ex tua prouidentia mihi humillimo preparare dignatus es, seu et pro fratribus meis atque sororibus omniq[ue] parentela qui mihi ex carnis consanguinitate coniuncti sunt tam uiuis quam et defunctis, quorum nomina et merita tibi domino deo uniuersorum sunt cognita, ut protegas eos atque ab omni malo defendas et in uiam salutis disponas. Et ne dies eorum ante finiri sinas quam per ueram confessionem ueramque emendationem suorum et omnium illorum delictorum peccata dimittas. Per.

C. Litania de uita Christi etc.

Fol. 138r has been erased except for a few later entries noted on p. 425-26 above. A short prayer precedes the beginning of the litany on fol. 138v.

This litany (fols. 138v-142v) cannot be easily classified in terms of its contents, and no other parallels in Beneventan script are known to me at present.²¹ The first twelve invocations recount the birth, passion, descent into hell, resurrection, ascension and heavenly rule of Christ.²² These are followed by three invocations

125 See no. 94 above. **126** R 334, ff. 33v-34r.

²¹ Beneventan manuscripts almost invariably contain the Litany of the Saints. Aside from ms. ASP G 49 and certain instances in the text of a *Rituale*, the only other exceptions seem to be New York, Columbia University, Butler Library X264.02/C28 (fols. 110r-119v Litany of Mary 'Venetian type'; fols. 194v-198v Litany of the Life and Passion of Jesus) and Vatican Library Borgia lat. 356 (fols. 40r-48r Litany of Mary 'Venetian type'). Both codices were copied in the sixteenth century at Santa Patrizia, Naples; cf. V. Brown, 'The Survival of Beneventan Script: Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine Monasteries in Naples' in *Monastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del xv centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)* 1 (Miscellanea cassinese 44; Monte Cassino, 1981), passim and especially pp. 284, 304, 321.

²² They are, however, fewer in number and quite different from the invocations of the Litany of the Life and Passion of Jesus in ms. Columbia X264.02/C28 (see the preceding note), which correspond almost exactly with the litany of this name in T. Saily, *Thesaurus litaniarum ac orationum sacer cum suis aduersus Sectarios Apologiis* (Paris, 1599), fols. 109v-112r. None of the other litanies published by Saily are relevant.

to Mary, one invocation each to Michael and the first three choirs of angels, Gabriel and the next three choirs, Raphael and the last three choirs. Thereafter all the invocations are general in nature (to the patriarchs, prophets, doctors, confessors, martyrs, etc.) except for the invocation to John the Baptist. Groups named in the general invocations are always qualified by epithets which are usually placed in clauses beginning with *qui*. The result is a quite elaborate and lengthy series of supplications with a rhyming effect.²³ Invocations are written continuously across the page except for fol. 140r, the first two invocations on fol. 140v and scattered (perhaps fortuitous) instances thereafter.

In the transcription below, I have retained the manuscript orthography and placed the invocations on separate lines as is customary for other types of litanies in Beneventan codices. The prayers (nos. 128-129) following the litany are given according to the principles stated on p. 430-31 above.

127 (f. 138v) Qui cognoscis omnium occulta, a delicto meo munda me;
tempus mihi concede ut repenitens plagam peccavi.

(f. 138v) Miserere mei. Kyrie leyson. Christe leyson. Kyr. Christe audi
nos iii uic. Deus omnipotens miserere mei.

Qui in hunc mundum uenisti miserere mei.

Qui in presepio iacuisti miserere mei.

Qui pro nobis es flagellatus miserere mei.

Qui in cruce pependisti miserere mei.

Qui in sepulcro iacuisti miserere mei.

Qui ad inferos descendisti miserere mei.

Qui exinde captiuos liberasti miserere nobis.

Qui tenebras illorum illunasti miserere nobis.

Qui tertia die resurrexisti miserere nobis.

Qui in celos ascendisti miserere nobis.

Qui sedes ad dexteram (f. 139r) patris miserere nobis.

Qui iudicas uiuos ac mortuos miserere nobis.

Sancta dei genitrix uirgo Maria semper intemerata miserere nobis.

Sancta Maria conscientia secretorum dei miserere nobis.

Sancta Maria maris stella lucida miserere nobis.

Princeps uictoriosissime Michahel simulque cherubin et seraphin adque
throni beatissima agmina intercedite pro me.

Princeps fortissime Gabriel simulque dominationum principatus adque
potestates beatissima agmina intercedite pro me.

Princeps gloriosissime Raphahel simulque uirtutum archangelorum (f.
139v) adque angelorum beatissima agmina intercedite pro me.

²³ The Litany of the Life and Passion of Jesus in Sailly, *ibid.* lacks invocations to Mary, the angels, saints and other groups. Thus the litany in ms. ASP G 49 would appear to be 'mixed'.

Orate pro me cuncta simul supernorum spirituum agmina que de creatoris sedula uisione gaudetis.

Ora pro me beate Iohannes natuitatis mortisque Christi fidelis precursor quo nullus maior innatus est mulierum.

Orate pro me sancti patriarche pre cunctis mortalibus primi dei electis eiusque sermocinationis participes.

Orate pro me sancti prophete quibus archana uobis reuelata sunt celi ipsumque deum hominem pronuntiasti futurum. (f. 140r)

Orate pro me sancti apostoli columpne altissime fundamentum ecclesie cum magistro futuri iudicis.

Orate pro me sancti martyres qui pro Christo sanguinem uestrum fudistis iudicantes fortiores ferientes robustiores.

Orate pro me sancti doctores qui de aurea scripturarum radice suauissimos fructus nobis porrexitis.

Orate pro me sancti confessores qui non materiali set spirituali gladio mundo mortui deo uixistis.

Orate pro me sancti sacerdotes quibus uice ligandi soluendique copia adtributa est. (f. 140v)

Orate pro me sancti leuite sacerdotum socii mense celestis participes dominici sanguinis idonei dispensatores.

Orate pro me sancti monachi qui corpora uestra cum uiciis et concupiscentiis crucifixistis.

Orate pro me sancte uirgines quas dupliciter dominus beatificauit dum ex essu fragilem domastis et pro Christo sanguinem uestrum fudistis.

Orate pro me sancti innocentes qui nullius peccati consciu sequimini agnum quocumque perrexit.

Orate pro me omnes iusti qui in pacientia uestra possedestis animas uestras.

Propitius esto, parce mihi domine. (f. 141r)

Propitius esto, libera me domine.

Ab ira tua libera me domine.

A carnalibus et specialibus inimicis libera me domine.

A karitate fincta et falsa pace libera me domine.

A spiritu fornicationis et delectatione carnis libera me domine.

Ab omni perpetratione et consuetudine iniquitatis libera me domine.

A subitanea et eterna morte libera me domine.

Ab occursu et potestate tenebrarum principis libera me domine.

A tenebris exterioribus et eterno igne libera me domine.

A peccato et omni malo libera me domine.

Per genitricem et natuitatem tuam te rogo audi me.

Per sanctam crucem et passionem tuam te rogo audi me. (f. 141v)

Per mortem et gloriosam resurrectionem tuam te rogo audi me.

Per ammirabilem ascensionem tuam te rogo audi me.

Per aduentu spiritus sancti paracliti te rogo audi me.

In die iudicii libera me domine.

Peccatrix te rogo audi me.

Ut criminum et peccatorum indulgentiam mihi dones, te rogo audi me.

Ut initium et perseverantiam boni operis mihi dones, te rogo audi me.

Ut timorem et amorem tuum mihi dones, te rogo audi me.

Ut fidei spei caritatisque perfectionem mihi dones, te rogo audi me.

Ut uitia exstingues in me et uirtutes nutrias, te rogo audi me.

Ut me ubique et per omnem tempus custodias, te rogo audi me. (f. 142r)

Ut his qui nobis fecerunt et faciunt bona immaculata via et prospera cuncta concedas, te rogo audi me.

Ut mihi commendatos in sanctis et tibi placentibus operibus conseruare digneris, te rogo audi me.

Ut uiuentibus et defunctis parentibus meis eterne uite gaudia dones, te rogo audi me.

Ut fidelibus populis de infidelibus uictoram dones, te rogo audi me.

Ut preces et orationes meas perpetuo exaudire digneris, te rogo audi me.

Fili dei te rogo audi me.

Redemptor mundi te rogo audi me.

Pastor bone te rogo audi me.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis domine.

Agnus dei qui tollis (f. 142v), exaudi nos domine.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Christi audi nos iii uic. Kyr. Christe. Kyr. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Ego dixi domine. Miserere mei. Sana. Ab occultis meis munda me domine. Et ab alienis. Exurge domine adiuua nos. Et. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor.

128 Domine deus omnipotens clemens et misericors te adoro, te inuoco, te laudo, te deprecor. Exaudi me peccatrix ... (f. 143v)...et amplius non reuertar ad peccata mea. Per.

129 Liberator et saluator animarum tribulantium adque clamantium ad te fidelium, deus mundi conditor, domine Iesu Christe qui es inmortalis et eternus rex, qui omnium dominaris que in celis et que in terra consistunt, qui es trinus et uir fortis et misericors, te humiliter supplico et rogo ego peccatrix et indigna tua famula (f. 144r) per inmensam clementiam et magnam misericordiam tuam, indulge mihi indigne peccatrici in presenti seculo omnia crimina et s<c>elera adque delicta mea que ab infantia mea usque in presenti

tempore perpetraui adque commisi. Et dona mihi locum penitentiam perficiendi et fac me deinceps cessare a malis operibus et fac me in tuo sancto seruitio permanere et usque ad extremum uite mee in bonis actibus perseuerare. Permitte ut tibi deo patri omnipotenti in futuro de omnibus tribulationibus meis laudes et gratias referre ualeam et ad tuam beatitudinem (f. 144v) feliciter possim peruenire. Et presta mihi ut per modulationem psalmorum quos ego infelix in tuo nomine et honore decantaui et per intercessione beate Marie semper virginis et omnium sanctorum tuorum exaudire me digneris ut mihi proficiant in hoc seculo et in futuro. Et libera animam meam et corpus meum a seruitute peccati et repelle a me domine omnes concupiscentias carnales. Et eripe me de omni impedimento Sathane et ministrorum eius uisibilium et inuisibilium et infidelium tuorum (f. 145r) qui querunt impedire animam meam. Et libera me sanctissime et piissime pater de omnibus peccatis meis, et abstraas cor meum de omnibus prauis et perfidis cogitationibus. Exaudi me queso omnipotens deus psallentem tibi et deprecantem pro peccatis meis. Conserua me et libera me in tua iustitia et miserere mei saluator mundi qui uiuis et regnas cum deo patre in unitate spiritus sancti deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

III

From the texts of some of the prayers given above we may now glean a few clues regarding the origins of ms. ASP G 49. First, the consistent recurrence of various forms of *peccatrix* (nos. 10, 14, 20, 33, 45, 83, 89, 92, 128, 129), *famula tua* (nos. 100, 120) and *ego misera* (nos. 19, 36, 45, 49, 72, 83, 90) are clear indications that all three parts of the codex were intended for feminine use. Next, the petitions made on behalf of *abbatissa nostra* (nos. 89, 120), *congregatio* (no. 99) and *congregatio beatissimi confessoris tui Benedicti* (no. 120) suggest that the user(s) of parts 1 and 2 belonged to female monasteries,²⁴ one of which was certainly Benedictine. It might have been possible to identify at least one monastery from the litany on fols. 87r-v, 77r-79v, but the invocations to numerous saints (approximately fifty-five in number) have been too well erased, and those which could be deciphered (see p. 451 above) are not helpful in this regard. There are, however, two prayers which merit further attention. St. Paulinus is invoked in no. 92 (part

²⁴ There are, to be sure, some instances of masculine forms in the prayers, e.g., 'peccatori' (no. 14), 'miser' (no. 92), 'famulo tuo' (no. 98), 'misero et peccatore' (no. 107), but these constitute only a small minority. The appearance of masculine forms is normal in a codex written for women; cf. J. Mallet-A. Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent 1* (Paris, 1985), p. 79 n. 2 where the same phenomenon occurs in Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare 37 (fols. 59-158), a martyrology-necrology for the use of the nuns of S. Pietro intra muros, Benevento.

1 and pl. 4), while no. 100, which implores the aid of St. Michael, is placed in a prominent position in part 2.

Let us consider the mention of Paulinus. No. 92 actually consists of several prayers combined to form one continuous prayer. An almost identical juncture is also used for the long prayer at *De psalmorum usu* 6 ('Pro custodienda humilitate et cognitione humanae fragilitatis').²⁵ The section which concerns us in both no. 92 and the *De psalmorum usu* begins 'Exaudi me domine. Memento domine sicut iurasti patri nostro Dauid...'. In the list of saints which follows, both texts agree in all particulars except for the substitution of *Sancte Pauline* in ms. ASP G 49 for *Sancte Christophe* in the *De psalmorum usu*. The invocation of St. Paulinus is so unusual²⁶ as to suggest that we have here a possible clue for the origin of this part of the manuscript.

Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) is certainly the most obvious candidate. This is attested by the many calendars and martyrologies in Beneventan script; they commemorate his feast on 22 June and place his cult specifically in Nola.²⁷ But there are pros and cons attributing part 1 of the manuscript to Nola or its diocese. Our information for the existence of medieval monasteries in this region is presently very sparse. Available surviving records do not list any medieval female monasteries in the diocese of Nola before the fourteenth century; nor do we know of any monasteries, male or female, throughout Campania which were dedicated to St. Paulinus.²⁸ Further afield, there is mention in the early fourteenth century of the 'clericis s. Paulini' in the diocese of Guardialfiera.²⁹ Only one other Beneventan manuscript can be presently attributed to the region of Nola, namely, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VIII C 5 (saec. XII²: martyrology of S. Maria ad

²⁵ It is evident from the parallels given on pp. 448-49 above that only the excerpts from Isidore's *Synonyma* are lacking.

²⁶ There do not seem to be other prayers in Beneventan script (apart from an *Orationale*) which ask for Paulinus' intercession, and he does not occupy a place of honor in Beneventan litanies.

²⁷ Entries for St. Paulinus occur in every Beneventan calendar and martyrology except for a few of the oldest calendars and in instances where the relevant folio is missing from the calendar or martyrology. For a list of occurrences see V. Brown, 'A New Beneventan Calendar from Naples: The Lost "Kalendarium Tutinianum" Rediscovered', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984) 408-409.

²⁸ M. Inguanez-L. Mattei-Cerasoli-P. Sella, *Rationes decimatarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Campania* (Studi e testi 97; Vatican City, 1942), nos. 4201-4558 (Nola) and p. 624 (under 'S. Paulinus'). 'Paulinus' was not a popular name; the three entries in the index concern churches in the diocese of Nola for which no female connection can now be demonstrated. Cf. also H. Hoberg, *Taxae pro communibus servitiis ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectis* (Studi e testi 144; Vatican City, 1949), where there is a similar scarcity of information. For the names and brief history of female monasteries in Nola itself (all founded in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), see G. Remondini, *Della nolana ecclesiastica storia* 1 (Naples, 1747), pp. 218 ff.

²⁹ P. Sella, *Rationes decimatarum Italiae. Aprutium - Molisium. Le decime dei secoli XIII-XIV* (Studi e testi 69; Vatican City, 1936), no. 4757; identified in the index (p. 435) as the modern 'S. Paolino Fonteraini'. I have not been able to find any information on this place, and it is not listed in the *Annuario Generale dei comuni e delle frazioni d'Italia* (Milan, 1980) of the Touring Club Italiano.

Plescum). Palaeographically speaking, our part 1 is closer to this type of Beneventan than to the Beneventan practiced in the Abruzzi. The logical association of St. Paulinus with Nola and its diocese also connects part 1 more closely with this area than with the Abruzzi.

To examine now the significance of no. 100, which falls in part 2 of ms. ASP G 49. Nos. 97 and 98 follow the erased Litany of the Saints and present the usual entreaties for divine acceptance of the recitation of the psalter. Then begins a new set of prayers. No. 99 is said on behalf of the congregation (as indicated by the rubric). 'Pro conpunctione' is the purpose of no. 100, and Michael the Archangel is the special intercessor. Following are the usual prayers (nos. 101-107) to the Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Trinity, Mary, and then five prayers (nos. 108-113) to the angels in which Michael is twice named explicitly in the title (nos. 108, 110). These are succeeded by well-known prayers (nos. 114-119) to certain Apostles, SS. Stephen, Benedict and Basil, Mary, the Angels et al., and a number of prayers asking for wisdom, God's kindness, repentance for sins, etc. (nos. 120-126).

Clearly most of these prayers (nos. 101-126) are arranged on the order of a litany. Nos. 99 and 100 alone do not fit into this scheme, occupying as they do the place of honor at the beginning and even before the prayers to the Deity. The position of no. 99 as well as its title ('Pro congregazione oratio') underscores the fact that this is a monastic book. Since Michael is named in no. 100, we may speculate that this saint had special significance for the monastery to which the user of these folios belonged. Could he, in fact, have been the patron to whom the monastery of Benedictine nuns (cf. no. 120) was dedicated and after whom it was named?

Such a hypothesis is logically attractive and infuriatingly difficult to prove. Given the Bari-type of Beneventan, Puglia and Dalmatia are the obvious areas in which to look for female Benedictine monasteries bearing the name of 'Sanctus Michael' (or 'Sanctus Angelus' or 'Sanctus Archangelus'). Dalmatia is the easier of the two to deal with since no such monastery is listed in a recent authoritative history of Benedictine monasticism in this region.³⁰ As for Puglia, there are three candidates: S. Arcangelo (Monte Sant'Angelo in the Gargano), S. Michele di Frangesto (Monopoli), and S. Angelo (Molfetta).³¹

All three present certain difficulties. Apart from the fact that they once existed, little or nothing is known about any of them, particularly with regard to a library or scriptorium. However, simply by virtue of its geography, Sant'Arcangelo seems the most attractive possibility. We know from the evidence of Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VIII C 13 (saec. XII: martyrology of S. Cecilia de Pulsano) and Vatican

³⁰ I. Ostojic, *Benediktinci u hrvatskoj i ostalim nasim krajevima*, 3 vols. (Split, 1963-65).

³¹ *Monasticon Italiae*, vol. 3: *Puglia e Basilicata* (Cesena, 1986), nos. 214, 204, 197. On Sant'Arcangelo cf. also D. Vendola, *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Apulia - Lucania - Calabria* (Studi e testi 84; Vatican City, 1939), nos. 31, 82, 129.

Library Vat. lat. 10657 (s. XIII: cartulary of S. Maria in Tremiti) that the general area did possess scriptoria. The script of both these codices is Cassinese rather than Bari-type, but this might be expected in one instance at least since S. Maria in Tremiti was for a time a dependency of Monte Cassino.³² Given the location of Sant'Arcangelo, it would not be surprising if the monastery had a scribe from a region further south who had been trained in the Bari-type (= part 2) as well as a scribe, albeit inexpert, whose hand exhibited non-Bari-type features (= part 3³³).

This is as far as the argument can now be pressed. The damaged condition of all folios in ms. ASP G 49 shows that they have kept company for probably quite some time. Just as clearly there are a number of points still to be settled with respect to the relationship of the various components, and for these there must emerge new evidence concerning not only monasteries in Campania and northern Puglia but also the *fondo Archivio s. Pietro* itself. To name but a few of these problems: how and when did all three parts come to be included in the same codex? did such a union take place through monastic (perhaps Benedictine) connections or simply by sheer chance or artificially because of similar subject matter? if there are monastic connections, do they have some bearing on the matter of origin? were parts 2 and 3 copied in the same center or at least in the same general area? through what means did our manuscript come to its present location? Unsatisfactory as it is to conclude an investigation with such basic questions unanswered, there is still some consolation in the fact that this modest volume preserves throughout interesting texts, many of which are hitherto unknown among Beneventan manuscripts. These texts may contain in themselves the starting point for a solution.³⁴

INCIPITS OF PRAYERS³⁵

Abieci enim domine suave iugum tuum (ff. 47v-48r): 46

Ad te confugio pater orphanorum consolatio mestorum (f. 57v): 16

³² On their stormy relationship cf. H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* 2 (Rome, 1986), pp. 689-94.

³³ If I am right in suggesting that part 3 may be slightly later than part 2 (p. 428 above), this does not preclude an origin for both parts in the same center. Obviously the same system of ruling could have continued to remain in effect.

³⁴ Part of the research for this article was carried out with the help of a Research Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I would like to thank Dr. Richard F. Gyug for a number of valuable suggestions, especially those concerning the significance of the prayers to St. Michael discussed on the preceding page.

³⁵ No. 32 is not included below since its incipit is now missing.

- Agnosco domine peccata mea iniquitates mee (f. 54v): 9
 Agnosco me diu deliquisse et de carnis spurcitia (f. 38r-v): 59
 Ancilla tua sum misero ego non opere (ff. 27v-28r): 72
 Anima mea temptationibus diabolicis pletur (*sic*) (f. 49r-v): 28
 Assume orationem meam piissime deus et audi uocem (ff. 53v-54r): 7
 Auxiliare obsecro mihi et tu princeps eximie Raphael (f. 73r): 112
 Auxiliatrix sis mihi sancta trinitas (f. 2r-v): 92
 Beatissime Paule uas electionis quem dominus (f. 74r): 114
 Carnalis operatio spiritualis est exprobratio (ff. 37v-38r): 58
 Cicatrices mee computruerunt deteriorauerunt (f. 61r-v): 26
 Clementissime domine confringe maxillas meas freno (ff. 58v-59r): 19
 Comitetur nos quesumus domine semper gratia tua (f. 131r): 96
 Confiteor me coram te nimium peccasse (f. 58r-v): 18
 Confiteor tibi domine ore et toto corde quia peccauit in hac die (ff. 130v-131r): 95
 Considera ergo misericors deus substantiam infirmitatis (ff. 42v-43r): 37
 Consolare me domine tuo sancto spiritu (f. 46r-v): 44
 Cum constet famulantibus homini indebitos summa cura (ff. 29v-30r): 79
 Curro ego ad tranquillum et communem peccantium portum (ff. 46v-47v): 45
 Deus
 cuius conspectu maiestatis non alta et tumida (ff. 31v-32r): 82
 ineffabilis et incircumscripte nature institutor (ff. 33v, 18r-19v): 85
 omnipotens quem pro ineffabili misericordie tue pietate (f. 31r-v): 81
 qui nos a seculi uanitate conuersos ad brauium (ff. 81v-82r): 99
 Dico enim iniquitates meas ut larga clementia (f. 44r-v): 41
 Doce me domine intelligere bene agere et ad mandata (f. 58r): 17
 Doce me domine semper recordari peccatorum meorum (ff. 43v-44r): 40
 Dominator omnium domine deus qui mirabiliter cuncta condidisti (f. 69r-v): 126
 Domine de ira tua et uindicta quam excepi (f. 60v): 24
 Domine deus altissime qui solus sine peccato es (ff. 64v-65v): 123
 Domine deus omnipotens
 clemens et misericors te adoro te inuoco (ff. 142v-143v): 128
 eterne et ineffabilis sine fine atque initio (ff. 83v-84r): 104
 qui consubstantiale tibi filium genuisti (ff. 63v-64v): 122
 Domine deus pater omnipotens qui consubstantiale et tibi coeternum ante omnia
 ineffabiliter (f. 82r-v): 101
 Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te perueniat quia tibi soli
 peccauit (ff. 4r-6v): 93
 Domine exaudi orationem meam quia iam cognosco quod tempus meum prope est
 (ff. 6v-9v, 65v-69r): 94, 125
 Domine Iesu Christe
 deus eterne deus ante omnia secula qui creasti omnia (ff. 25v, 10r-11r): 89

- fili dei uiui qui es uerus et omnipotens deus splendor (ff. 82v-83r): 102
 fili dei uiui unigenite qui es et qui eras cum patre (ff. 32v-33v): 84
 filius dei uiui creator generis humani per quam deo patris reconciliati sumus
 (ff. 22r-24r): 87
 qui et filius hominis es propter humilitatem (ff. 45v-46r): 43
 qui in hunc mundum propter nos peccatores de sinu patris aduenisti (ff.
 15v-17v, 2r-4r): 92
 Domine non in futuro sed modo me precipere emundare (f. 51r): 1
 Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus precor te in nomine dilecti filii tui
 (ff. 19v-22r): 86
 Domine sancte spiritus omnipotens deus qui coequalis et coeternus et consub-
 stantialis (f. 83r-v): 103
 Edifica me domine in ueritate tua ut fundata (ff. 40v, 26r): 66
 Emunda pollutum cor meum deus per quod (ff. 44v-45v): 42
 Et
 quia omne manu factum consumitur (ff. 28v-29r): 75
 quomodo cognitum tibi facio peccatum meum (f. 56r-v): 13
 si auerteris quis respiciet (f. 36v): 54
 si Iudayca reprobaris amentia (f. 26v): 68
 Fac me
 domine ancillam tuam permanere in mandatis tuis (f. 29r): 77
 omnipotens deus in te letari (f. 59v): 21
 queso domine famulum tuum toto corde (f. 63v): 121
 Flos mundi decus generis humani (ff. 84v, 70r): 106
 Gloria patri ingenito qui proprio filio suo non pepercit (f. 35r-v): 52
 Heu mihi infelix anima mea in tantis peccatis (ff. 2v-4r): 95
 Hic in misericordia me corripe domine (ff. 59v-60r): 22
 Iaculor tota die cuspide tetra (f. 37r-v): 56
 Iniquitates mee eleuate sunt super caput meum (f. 61r): 25
 Iubeat clementia tua erubescere inimicos meos (f. 54r-v): 8
 Iudicium inmense potestatis tue pro meis formidans (f. 30v): 80
 Liberator et saluator animarum tribulantium adque clamantium (ff. 143v-145r):
 129
 Ligata sum uinculo ferreo meorum peccatorum (f. 27r-v): 70
 Magna fiducia et maxima spes est salutis (f. 34r): 49
 Mater mea me dereliquid que me (f. 50v): 31
 Memoriam peccatorum meorum domine igne (f. 43v): 39
 Mentem familie tue quesumus domine intercedente beato archangelo tuo Micha-
 hele (f. 82r): 100
 Ne reminiscaris domine delicta mea (f. 43r-v): 38
 Non peto secundum meritum meum (f. 41r): 33

Noui peccata mea maxima tamen tu pie (ff. 41v-42r): 35

O

benignissime medice adhibe mihi (f. 42r-v): 36

celorum magnificentissime conditor qui in altis (f. 29v): 78

misericordissime domine miserere calamitatis (f. 51v): 2

piissime domine ideo deprecor ut exaudias (ff. 35v-36v): 53

Obsecro

te beatissime Benedicte dilecte dei et beatissime Basili (f. 75v): 118

te beatissime Stephane leuita et protomartir (f. 75r): 117

uos sancte Michahel sancte Gabrihel sancte Raphael cum sociis uestris (f. 73v): 113

Omnipotens inmense ineffabilis actum incomprehensibilis et piissime deus qui tantum es quantum (ff. 24r-25v): 88

Omnipotens sempiterne deus

aspice uotum et desiderium meum et dirige (ff. 14r-15v): 91

clementiam tuam suppliciter deprecor ut me famulam tuam (ff. 80v-81r): 97

da capiti meo abundantiam aque (f. 65v): 124

suscipere digneris hos psalmos quos in conspectu (f. 32r-v): 83

Oro te o domine ut non in sola confessione uerborum (ff. 52v-53r): 5

Oro te sanctissime Andrea apostole et martir (f. 74r-v): 115

Ostende domine super me fragilem benignitatem (ff. 34r-35r): 50

Peccando errando deuiando illecebras operando dies mei perierunt (f. 39r-v): 61

Peccata mea innumerabilia contra me erecta (ff. 36v-37r): 55

Perii enim peccatis lapsa sum miserabiliter (f. 41r-v): 34

Persolute miseraciones tuas domine mihi (f. 35r): 51

Porrige mihi rex piissime dexteram celestis auxilii (f. 27v): 71

Potestas tua domine die ac nocte super me grauatur (ff. 55v-56r): 12

Pre multitudine peccatorum meorum scio me (f. 49v): 29

Precor

piissime domine clementiam tuam ne longo tempore (ff. 51v-52r): 3

te princeps egregie Gabrihel fortissime agonitheta (ff. 72v-73r): 111

te sancta Maria mater domini nostri Iesu Christi que uirgo peperisti (f. 70r-v): 107

Pro ipsa uenia quam prophete donasti (f. 57r-v): 15

Proinde manifesto penas meas ut in futuro (f. 60r-v): 23

Propitiare queso domine uniuersae ecclesie tue (ff. 76v, 62r-63v): 120

Queso te et obsequenter rogo sancte angele dei cui (ff. 70v-71r): 108

Queso te et suppliciter rogo spiritus angelici numinis (f. 71r-v): 109

Qui a te sequestratur solus inuenietur (f. 37v): 57

Qui cognoscis omnium occulta a delicto meo (f. 138v): 127

Quia tu solus dominus aeternus tu inuiolabilis (f. 39v): 62

- Recordare misericors deus fragilitatis (f. 48v): 48
Sancte Michael archangele qui uenisti in adiutorium (ff. 71v-72v): 110
Sanctissimi apostoli domini mei Iesu Christi (ff. 74v-75r): 116
Scio domine
 illum esse beatum in cuius ore (f. 55r): 10
 quia non es tecum dum te offendō (ff. 49v-50v): 30
 scio dixisse Dauid in corde suo (ff. 56v-57r): 14
Scio et credo quia pro peccatoribus in hunc mundum (f. 26r-v): 67
Scio me mortuum esse in peccatis (f. 52r-v): 4
Scio quia bonis bonus es et piis pius (f. 40r-v): 64
Si
 cogniti dies mei tua mihi fuerint pietate (f. 28r-v): 73
 cotidie respicere non debuisses a sublimioribus (ff. 26v-27r): 69
 gentes timent et reges terrarum ego uile (f. 40v): 65
Singularis meriti sola sine exemplo beata mater (f. 84r-v): 105
Solute me domine de uinculis peccatorum (f. 48r-v): 47
Suppliciter uos et deuote precamur o gloriosissima mundi domina (f. 76r-v): 119
Tacui quia peccata mea que confiteri debueram (f. 55r-v): 11
Tibi domine deus meus confiteor crimina (ff. 11v, 14r): 90
Tristatur et affligitur anima mea dolore (ff. 61v, 49r): 27
Tu
 me de puluere eleuasti et de luto (ff. 38v-39r): 60
 me domine corripe in misericordia (f. 59r): 20
 misericors et mitis indultor et pius (ff. 39v-40r): 63
 semper dominus et dominator omnium tu decus (f. 29r): 76
Tuam domine clementiam deprecor ut mihi famulo tuo per hos flores psalmorum
 (f. 81r-v): 98
Tui sunt domine celi et tua est terra (f. 28v): 74
Valde inter inimicos meos inueteratus sum (f. 53r-v): 6



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